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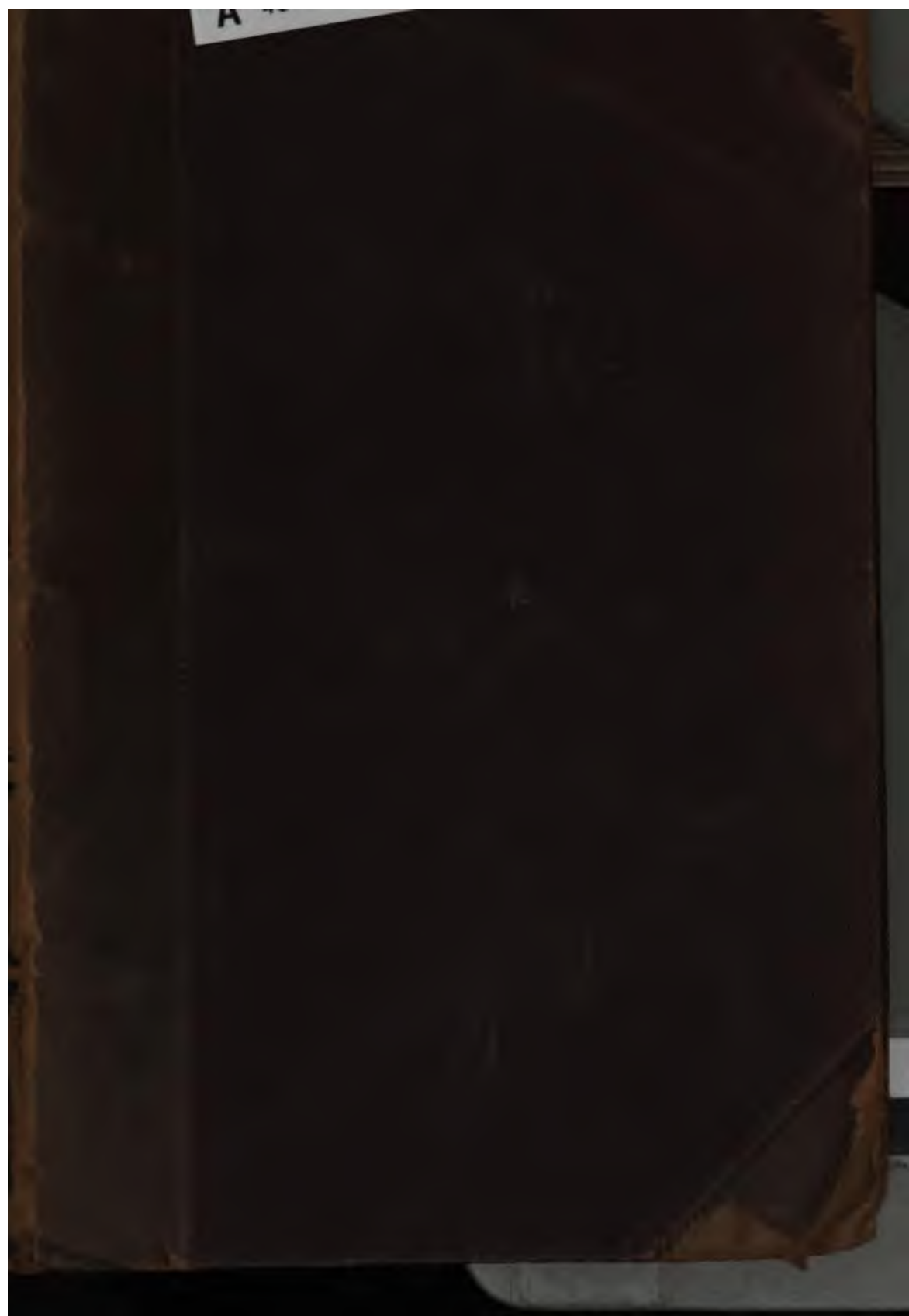
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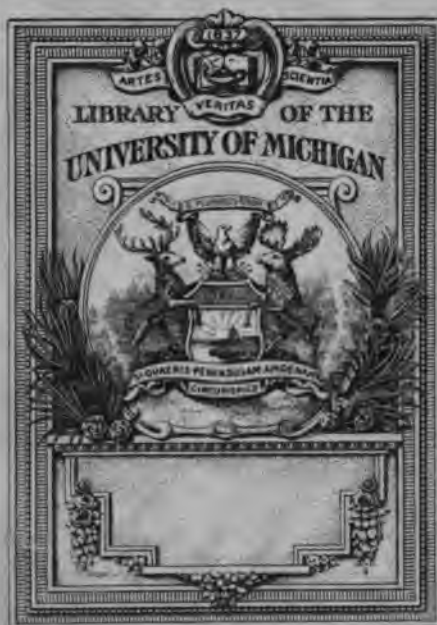
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ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY;

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LIVES OF EMINENT MEN,

CONNECTED WITH THE

HISTORY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND;

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION

TO THE REVOLUTION;

SELECTED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES,

BY

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D.

LATE MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND RECTOR OF BUXTED, WITH UCKFIELD, SUSSEX.

Fourth Edition,

WITH MANY ADDITIONAL HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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The Church of England, having with great deliberation reformed itself in a lawful Synod, with a care as much as was possible of reducing all things to the pattern of the first and best times, was interpreted, by such as would have it so, to desert from the Church Catholic; though for the *manner*, they did nothing but warranted by the continual practice of their predecessors; and in *the things amended* had antiquity to justify their actions: so that nothing is further off truth than to say that such as reformed this church made a new religion; they having retained only that which is truly old and catholic, as Articles of their faith. Thus was religion reformed, and thus by the Queen established in England, without seeking any new way not practised by our ancestors, but using the same courses which had been formerly traced out unto them, for stopping profaneness and impiety.

SIR ROGER TWISDEN.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

The reformation of our church was begun and carried on with so much piety, wisdom, and fulness of due authority; that a faithful and exact account is the best vindication and defence of it.

HENRY WHARTON.

The cause why I do dissent from the Romish religion is not any study of vayne glory or of singularitie, but of conscience, of my bounden duty towardes God, and towardes Christes church, and the salvation of myne owne soule; for the which, by Goddes grace, I will willingly jeopard here to lose life, lands and goods, name and fame, and what else is or can be unto me pleasant in this world.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

AMONG manie other worthy histories and notable acts of such as of late daies have been turmoiled, murthered and martyred for the true gospel of Christ, in queene Maries raigne, the tragicall story and life of doctour Ridley I thought good to commend to chronicle, and leave to perpetuall memory : beseeching thee, gentle reader, with care and studie well to peruse, diligentlie to consider, and deepelie to print the same in thy brest, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostlie inspired and godlie learned, and now written doubtlesse in the booke of life, with the blessed saints of the Almightye, crowned and throned amongst the glorious companie of martyrs.

First descending of a stocke ¹ right worshipfull, he was borne in Northumberlandshire ; who being a childe, learned his grammar with great dexteritie in Newcastle, and was removed from thence

¹ *Descending of a stocke.*] “ He was born in the beginning of the sixteenth century,” says Dr. Gloucester Ridley, in his accurate and well-written life of this great prelate, p. 2, from which it is to be inferred, that the exact year of his birth is not ascertained. Dr. Turner, who knew him well, in a letter to Fox, the martyrologist, among other particulars, communicates the following. “ He was born in my native county of Northumberland, and sprung of the gentile pedigree of the Ridleys. One of his uncles was a knight, and another was doctor of divinity, who, by the name of Robert Ridley, was famous, not only at Cambridge, but at Paris, where he long studied ; and throughout Europe, by the writings of Polydore Virgil. At the charges of this doctor was our Nicholas long maintained at Cambridge, afterwards at Paris, and lastly at Louvain. After his return from the schools beyond the seas, he lived with us for many years in Pembroke Hall : but at length was called away from us to the bishop of Canterbury, whom he served faithfully : and lastly, was raised to the dignity of a bishop. The town where he was born was called Willowmontiswich, now Willowmont.”—*Strype's Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 229.

to the university of Cambridge², where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptnes, he was called to hyer functions, and offices of the universitie, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to bee head of Pembroke hall, and there made doctour of divinitie. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, who at his returne was made chaplaine to king Henrie the eight, and promoted afterwards by him³ to the bishopricke of Rochester: and so from thence translated to the see and bishopricke of London in king Edwards daies.

In which calling and offices he so travelled and occupied himselfe by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good childe was more singularlie loved of his deare parents, than he of his flocke and dioces. Every holiday and sundaie he lightlie preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weightie affaires and busines: to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitfull doctrine, which hee did not onelie preach, but shewed the same by his life, as a glittering lanterne, to the eies and senses of the blinde, in such pure order and chastitie of life (declining from evill desires and concupiscences) that even his verie enemies could not reproove him in any one jote thereof.

Besides this, he was passinglie well learned, his memorie⁴ was

² *University of Cambridge.*] Dr. Richardson, in the notes to his edition of bishop Godwin's book, *De Prasulibus*, p. 192, gives us the following dates, in the *Life of Ridley*. "Fellow A.D. 1524; A.M. 1526; B.D. 1534; D.D. 1540. Also in 1533 Proctor of the University, and in 1547 Rector of Soham." He was elected Master of Pembroke Hall in 1540—Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 424—consecrated bishop of Rochester, Sept. 5, 1547; Le Neve, p. 251; and translated to London April 1, 1550.—*Ibid.* p. 180. There is little doubt but that his studying at Paris must have been anterior, and not subsequent to his taking the degree of D.D. See Ridley's *Life*, p. 94. In the *Life of Latimer* we saw his notice of the disorderly disputations which he had witnessed at the Sorbonne, above, vol. ii. p. 608.

³ *Promoted afterwards by him.*] Not by Henry, but by king Edward VI. See Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 251; and Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 211.

⁴ *His memorie.*] But we saw above, *Life of Latimer*, vol. ii. p. 578, note (?), that he himself speaks with great diffidence of his powers of memory.—The following circumstances, communicated by Dr. William Turner to Fox, must not be omitted: "Concerning his memory, and his manifold knowledge of tongues and arts, although I am able to be an ample witness (for he further instructed me in a knowledge of the Greek tongue), yet without my testimony, almost all Cantabrigians, to whom he was sufficiently knowen, can and will

great, and he of such reading withall, that of right he deserved to bee comparable to the best of this our age; as can testifie as well divers his notable workes, pithie sermons, and sundrie his disputations in both the universities, as also his verie adversaries, all which will say no lesse themselves.

Besides all this, wise he was of counsell, deepe of wit, and verie politike in all his dooings. How mercifull and carefull he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentlenes to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of doctour Heath, late archbishop of Yorke, being prisoner with him in king Edwards time in his house one yeare, sufficientlie declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godlie and ghostlie a man, that England may justlie rue the losse of so worthie a treasure.—And thus hitherto concerning these publike matters.

Now will I speake something further particularlie of his person and conditions. Hee was a man right comelie and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the bodie. He tooke all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancor from his heart, but straightwaies forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kinde and naturall to his kinsfolke, and yet not bearing with them anie thing otherwise then right would require; giving them alwaies for a generall rule, yea, to his owne brother and sister, that they doing evill should seeke or looke for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens unto him, and they to bee his brother or sister, which used honestie, and a godlie trade of life.

testify. How able he was in confuting or overthrowing any thing, yet without any boasting or noise of arms, not only I, but all with whom he disputed, easily perceived: unless he understood that they thirsted more after glory than was fit; for this he used to set himself more vigorously to crush. His behaviour was very obliging, and very pious, without hypocrisy or monkish austerity; for very often he would shoot at the bow, and play at tennice with me. If there were no other witness of his beneficence to the poor, I will testify this to all, that before he was advanced to any ecclesiastical preferment, he carried me along in company with him to the next hospital, and when I had nothing to give to the poor, besides what he himself, according to his estate, gave liberally, he often supplied me, that I might give too. Whilst he was himself in prison, what aid he sent out of England to us in our exile in Germany, that learned man, his faithful Achates, Dr. Edmund Grindal, now bishop of London, can testify; and many others, who were assisted by his liberality.”—*Strype's Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 229.

Hee using all kindes of waies to mortifie himselfe, was given to much praier and contemplation. For duellie everie morning, so soone as his apparell was done uppon him, he went forthwith to his bedchamber, and there upon his knees praied the space of halfe an houre ; which being done, immediatelie he went to his studie (if there came no other busines to interrupt him), where he continued till ten of the clocke, and then came to common praier, dailie used in his house. The praiers being done, he went to dinner where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had beene ministered, and then it was sober, discreet, and wise, and sometime merie, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not verie long, he used to sit an houre or thereabouts talking or playing at the chesse.—That done, he returned to his studie, and there would continue, except suters or busines abroad were occasion of the contrary, untill five of the clocke at night, and then would come to common praier, as in the forenoone : which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himselfe there as at his dinner before. After supper, recreating himselfe in playing at chesse the space of an houre, he would then returne againe to his studie : continuing there till eleven of the clocke at night, which was his common houre to go to bed, then saying his praiers upon his knees as in the morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read dailie a lecture to his familie at the common praier, beginning at the Actes of the Apostles, and so going throughout all the Epistles of S. Paule, giving to everie man that could reade a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learne by heart certain principall chapters, but especially the thirteenth chapter⁵ of the Actes, reading also unto his household oftentimes the 101st Psalme, being marvellous carefull over his familie, that they might be a spectacle of all vertue and honestie to other.—To be short, as he was godlie and vertuous himselfe, so nothing but vertue and godlines raigned in his house, feeding them with the foode of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle

⁵ *The thirteenth chapter.*] The reader will be interested in noticing this eminent prelate's judgment of the *domestic* uses of certain portions of the sacred volume.

We had before us, above, under the *Life of Rogers*, some account of certain chapters, psalms, &c., in special use with the *Martyrs*, at their executions.

nature and kindly pitie in the usage of an olde woman called mistris Boner, mother to doctour Boner, sometime bishop of London; which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemencie of doctour Ridley, as the unworthie immanity and ingratefull disposition againe of doctour Boner. Bishop Ridley being at his manor of Fulham, alwaies sent for the saide mistres Boner, dwelling in an house adjoyning to his house, to dinner and supper, with one mistres Mungey, Boners sister, saying, Go for my mother Boner; who comming, was ever placed in the chaire at the tables end, being so gentlie intreated, welcommed, and taken, as though hee had beene borne of her owne bodie; being never displaced of her seate, although the kings council had beene present, he saying, when any of them were there (as divers times they were) By your lordships favour, this place of right and custome is for my mother Boner. But how well he was recompenced⁶ for this his singular gentlenes, and pitifull pitie after, at the hands of the said doctour Boner, almost the least childe that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward, was more enemie to Ridley, then Boner and his? Who more went about to seeke his destruction then he? recompensing his gentlenes with extreame crueltie. As well appeared by the strait handling of Ridleys owne naturall sister⁷, and George Shipside her husband⁸, from time to time: whereas the gentlenes

⁶ *How well he was recompenced.*] See above, *Life of Latimer*, vol. ii. p. 668—671, and 678.

⁷ *Naturall sister.*] Alice.

⁸ *Shipside her husband.*] Bishop Burnet, in his *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. ii. book ii. no. 7, Records, has published a letter of Bonner, which I am tempted to transcribe, as it will serve to show how low-minded a man this was, who had so powerful and fatal an influence at this period.

“To my loving and dearly beloved friends, my cousin Thomas Shirley, the worshipful Richard Leechmore, &c. In most hearty wise I commend me unto you, ascertaining, that yesterday I was, by sentence, restored again to my bishoprick, and reposed in the same, even as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived; and by the said sentence, my usurper Dr. Ridley is utterly repulsed; so that I would ye did order all things at Kidmerley and Bushley at your pleasures, not suffering *Sheepshead*, or *Shipside*, to be any meddler there, or to sell or to carry away any thing from thence; and I trust, at your coming up now at the parliament, I shall so handle both the said *Sheepsheads*, and the other Calves-heads, that they shall perceive their sweet shall not be without sour sauce. This day is looked that Mr. Canterbury must be placed where is meet for him. He is become very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things; but that will not serve; in the same

of the other did suffer Boners mother, sister, and other his kindred, not onelie quietlie to enjoy all that which they had of Boner, but also entertained them in his house, shewing much courtesie and friendship, dailie unto them : whereas on the other side, B. Boner being restored againe, would not suffer the brother and naturall sister of B. Ridley, and other his friendes, not onelie not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother bishop Ridley, but also currishlie without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrasted from them all the livings they had.

And yet being not therewith satisfied, hee sought all the meanes he could, to work the death of the foresaide Shipside, saying that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him : which had beene brought to passe indeed, at what time hee was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by meanes of doctour Heath bishop then of Worcester.

Whereby all good indifferent readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversitie was in the disposition of these two natures. Whereof as the one excelled in mercie and pitie, so the other againe as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude, and despitefull disdaine.—But of this matter enough.

Now concerning Gods vocation, how doctor Ridley was first called to the savouring and favouring of Christ and his gospell ; partlie by his disputation before, and other his treatises it may appeare, that the first occasion⁹ of his conversion was by reading of Bertrams¹⁰ booke of the sacrament, whom also the conference with bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr did not a little confirme in that behalfe. Who now by the grace of God, being thoroughly woon and brought to the true way, as he was before blinde and zealous in his olde ignorance, so was he as constant and faithfull in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him, (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during

predicament is Dr. Smith, my friend, and the dean of Pauls, with others. Commend me to your bed-fellows most heartily, and remember the liquor that I wrote to you for. This bearer shall declare the rest, and also put you in remembrance for beeves and muttons for my house-fare. And thus our blessed Lord long and well keep you all. Written in haste this 6th of September (1553).

“ Assuredly all your own,

“ EDMUND LONDON.”

⁹ *The first occasion.*] See above, *Life of Latimer*, vol. ii. p. 583.

¹⁰ *Of Bertrams.*] See vol. ii. p. 668.

all the time of king Edward) and so long he did much good, while authoritie of externe power might defend and hold up the peace of the church, and proceedings of the gospell. But after that it pleased so the heavenlie will of the Lord our God, to bereave us of our stay, and to call from us king Edward that precious prince; as the whole state of the church of England was left desolate and open to the enemies hand, so this bishop Ridley, after the comming in of queene Mary, eftsoone and with the first¹ was laid hands upon and committed to prison, first in the Tower; then after translated from thence² with the archbishop of

¹ *With the first.*] July 23, 1553, a letter was dispatched by the council to Sir Thomas Cheyney and Sir John Gage, directing them to confine Ridley close prisoner in the Tower.—Haynes's *Burghley State Papers*, p. 160. It is not difficult to show why he was particularly obnoxious. As the learned Mr. Baker says, "There needed no colours; he had given too just offence. In a MS. of Corp. Chris. Coll. Cambridge, *miscell. P.*, this account is given.

Sunday, July 16. Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, preached at Paul's cross; where he declared in his sermon—the lady Mary and Elizabeth to be illegitimate and not lawfully begotten, &c., according to God's law;—and so found both by the clergy, and acts of parliament in Henry the VIIIth's time; *which the people murmured at.*"—Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 409. Appendix.

Fox has given a fuller relation of the same sermon. "Doctor Ridley in time of q. Jane had made a sermon at Pauls crosse, so commanded by the council, declaring there his mind to the people, as touching the lady Mary, and dissuading them, alledging there the incommodities and inconveniences which might arise by receiving her to bee their queene, prophesying as it were before, that which after came to passe; that shee would bring in foreign power to reign over them: besides the subverting also of Christian religion then alreadie established: shewing moreover that the same Mary being in his diocesse, he, according to his duty, being then her ordinary, had travailed much with her to reduce her to this religion; and notwithstanding in all other points of civillitie, she shewed herselfe gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, she shewed herselfe so stiff and obstinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to disturb and overturn all that which with so great labours had been confirmed and planted by her brother afore.—Shortly after this sermon, queene Mary was proclaimed; whereupon hee speedily repairing to Fremingham [in Suffolk] to salute the queene, had suche cold welcome there, that being despoiled of all his dignities, he was sent backe upon a lame halting horse to the Tower." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1280.

² *From thence.*] "According to Machyn, Thursday, March 8th, 1554, *Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer* came out of the Tower, and so to Brentford, where Sir John Williams received them, and so to Oxford.—p. 57. Fox says that the letter for their delivery was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower on the 10th, and that they were conveyed from the Tower to Windsor on

Canterburie, and maister Latimer, to Oxford, he was with them inclosed in the common gayle and prison of Bocardo ; while at length being dissevered from them, hee was committed to custodie in the house of one Irish³, where he remained till the last day of his death and martyrdome⁴, which was from the yere of our Lord 1554, till the yere 1555, and 16. day of October. Furthermore, as touching his disputations had at Oxford, inough hath beene said already (in the life of Hugh Latimer).—We now come to relate his travels in persuading and instructing the lady Mary, before she was queene : his reasons and conference likewise had in the Tower at the lieutenants board ; and certain other conferences he had in prison with master Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

About the eight of September⁵, 1552, doctor Ridley then

the 10th of April, and thence to Oxford.—Fox, vi. 439. Burnet says the order was sent on the 8th.—Part iii. book v. p. 226.” Maitland, *Essays on the Reformation*, p. 431.

³ *One Irish.*] — Irish, mayor of Oxford.

⁴ *Death and martyrdome.*] Ridley appears to have had forebodings of the kind of death by which he should die. Laurence Humphrey, in his *Life of Bishop Jewell*, records the following anecdote :

“ Similiter et D. Ridlæus, tametsi indignante in tempestate jactatus, suos jam territos cohortans, ‘ Bono,’ inquit, ‘ animo estote, et remis incumbite : hæc cymba fert episcopum, quem non mergi sed comburi oportet.” P. 258, 259, A.D. 1573.

⁵ *The eight of September.*] In king Edward’s journal, published [from the autograph MS. now in the British Museum] by bishop Burnet, in the Appendix to his *History of the Reformation*, we have the following interesting notice of proceedings with his sister, concerning her religion, about a year and a half before.

“ March 18, 1550. The lady Mary, my sister, came to me at Westminster ; where, after salutations, she was called with my council into a chamber, where was declared how long I had suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation ; and now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it. She answered, That her soul was God’s, and her faith she should not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings. It was said, I constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey ; and that her example might breed inconvenience.

“ 19. The emperor’s ambassador came in with a short message from his master, of war,—if I would not suffer his cousin, the princess, to use her mass. To this no answer was given.

“ 20. The bishops of Canterbury, London, and Rochester did consider that to give licence to sin, was sin. To suffer and wink at it for a time might be borne,—so all possible haste might be used.”

bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham in Hartfordshire, went to visit the lady Mary then lying at Hunsden⁶ two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton⁷, and other her officers, till it was almost eleven of the clock. About which time the said lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her grace, and said, that hee was come to doe his duetie to her grace. Then she thanked him for his paines, and for a quarter of an houre talked with him very pleasantly⁸: and said, that she knew him

⁶ *Hunsden.*] “Anno 23 Henry VIII. The king having erected a palace royal here at his great cost and charge, where he was pleased to resort for the preservation of his health, did annex the manors of Royden and Stansted, and other lands to this palace, and made them an honour, and this palace the capital place of the honour; and the king made choice of this seat for the breeding and education of his children in respect of the benefit of the air. King Edward VI., by patent dated the 17th of May, 2 *regni sui*, assigned this honour of Hunsden to the lady Mary, eldest daughter to king Henry VIII., who resided here until the lady Jane Dudley was proclaimed queen of England: and upon that news she removed to her castle of Framingham in Suffolk, where she gathered to her assistance such noblemen and friends in that county as she could get.” Chauncy, *Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, p. 197.

⁷ *Sir Thomas Wharton.*] Son of Thomas, first lord Wharton, whom he succeeded in 1568.

⁸ *Very pleasantly.*] William Thomas has given us a very attractive picture of the lady Mary at this period.

“If I shold say that the lady Mary, the kynges daughter, deserveth not an husband, I should surely prove a wyttie yonge man, and therefore wyll I now make you my judges. When for the stature of a woman’s body she is neither too highe nor too low, for bewtie of face she hath few fellowes that I know; and in proporcion of membres, my penne cannot paint her. Butt what is all this? Nothinge, for when I come to conside her vertue, her shadow maketh me tremble. All the prudence, all the modesty, all the curtesy, and all the sober smylyng chere, that may be in a woman, is suerly in her. Prompt in invention, awares in speach, learned in the tongues, perfect in musick, to syng and play; and on the lute and virginalles, without master in the world. Yea, she is gratefull to all persons, so that I wote not what livyng creature were sufficient worthely to descryve her. So, if a husband might be a reward unto the bountye of so gracious a lady, I wyll say she is, and ever hath bene worthy to have the worthiest husband of the world.” *Apology for King Henry VIII*, p. 111.

“There are some points in English history, or rather in English feeling upon English history, which have become part of the national belief,—they may have been hastily or superficially assumed—they may be proved by as good evidence as the case admits of, to be erroneous; but they are fondly clung to—screwed and dovetailed into the mind of the people, and to attack

in the court when hee was chaplaine to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before king Henry her father, at the marriage of my lady Clinton* that now is, to Sir Anthony Browne, &c. and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

After dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said lady Mary, resorted againe to her grace, betweene whom this communication was. First the bishop beginneth in manner as followeth.

Bishop. Madame, I came not onely to do my duty to see

them is a historical heresy. It is with these musings that I approach her who is so generally execrated as the 'bloody Mary.' The idea of exciting a feeling in her favour, will appear a chimerical, perhaps a blameable one; yet, having examined the point with some care, let me say, for myself, that I believe her to have been naturally rather an amiable person. Indeed, until she was thirty-nine, the time of her marriage with Philip, nothing can be said against her, unless we agree to detest her because she remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Church; nor can there, I think, be any doubt that she has been treated by Fox, Strype, Carte, and other Protestant writers, with injustice. The few unpublished letters of hers which I have met with, are simple, unaffected, and kindhearted; forming, in this respect, a remarkable contrast to those of Elizabeth, which are often inflated, obscure, and pedantic. The distinguishing epithets by which the two sisters are commonly known, the 'bloody Mary,' and the 'good queen Bess,' have evidently a reference to their times; yet we constantly employ them individually. These observations apply, however, more to Mary the princess, than Mary the queen. After her marriage with Philip, we can trace a gradual change in her feelings and public conduct. Her devoted attachment to Philip, and the cold neglect with which he treated her, could not fail to tell upon a kind and ardent heart: blighted hope and unrequited affection will change the best dispositions; and she whose youthful years had undoubtedly given a good promise, became disgusted with the world, suspicious, gloomy, and resentful. The subsequent cruelties of her reign were deplorable; yet it is but fair to ascribe much of them rather to her ministers than to herself: she believed it to be a point of her religion to submit her judgment to the spiritual dictation of Pole, Gardiner, and Bonner; and they burnt men upon principle. This was a miserable mistake, bigotry in its worst sense; but we can imagine it existing in a mind rather distorted and misled, than callously cruel. No one ever accused Cranmer of cruelty; yet he insisted on burning Joan of Kent." Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, i. 49, 50.

* *Lady Clinton*.] Elizabeth Garrett or Fitzgerald (the "*fair Geraldine*" of Lord Surrey) daughter of Gerald, earl of Kildare, was married first, when about sixteen years old, in 1543, to Sir Anthony Browne, K.G. (father of the first Viscount Montacute), who died in 1549; and secondly, to Edward, lord Clinton, afterwards, in 1572, created earl of Lincoln. She was his third wife. A letter from her to Cecil, afterwards lord Burghley, written in 1547, in favour of her brother, is printed in Tytler, vol. i. p. 73.

your grace, but also to offer my self to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to heare mee. At this her countenance changed, and after silence for a space, she answered thus.

Mary. My lord, as for this last matter, I pray you make the answer to it your selfe.

Bishop. Madame, considering mine office and calling, I am bound of duetie to make to your grace this offer, to preach before you.

Mary. Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter your selfe: for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer; this shalbe your answer; The doore of the parish church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach, if you list, but neither I, nor none of mine shall heare you.

Bishop. Madame, I trust you will not refuse Gods word.

Mary. I cannot tell what yee call Gods worde. That is not Gods word now, that was Gods word in my fathers daies.

Bishop. Gods word is all one in all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some ages, then in other.

Mary. You durst not for your eares have advouched that for Gods worde in my fathers daies, that now you doe. And as for your new bookes, I thanke God I never read none of them: never did, nor never will doe.

And after many bitter words against the forme of religion then established, and against the government of the realme, and the lawes made in the young yeares of her brother, which shee said shee was not bound to obey, till her brother¹ came to perfect

¹ *Till her brother.*] This idle pretence, totally unconstitutional, suggested perhaps by the sophistry of Gardiner or Bonner (see Fox, p. 1201), was a very prevalent one, and occasioned great uneasiness to the friends of the young king. Hence it was, that Latimer was under the necessity of shewing in his sermons, that "kings though they be children, yet are they kinges notwithstanding." "For," says he, "there be some wicked people, that will say: *Tush, thys geare will not tarry. It is but my lord Protectours, and my lord of Canterburies doing: the king is a childe, and he knoweth not of it.* What people are they that saye, the kinge is but a childe? Have not we a noble king! Was there ever king so noble, so godly brought up with so noble counsellors, so excellent and well-learned schoole-maysters? I wyll tell you this, and speake it even as I thinke. His majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge, at thys age, than twenty of hys progenitours, that I could name, had at any time of theyr life." Latimer's

age, and then affirmed she would obey them; she asked the bishop whether he were one of the counsell: he answered, No. You might well enough, said shee, as the counsell goeth now daies.

And so she concluded with these words; My lord, for your gentlenes to come and see me, I thanke you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thanke you never a whit.

Then the said bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and desired to drinke. And after he had drunke, hee paused a little while, looking very sadly, and sodainly brake out into these wordes, Surely I have done amisse. Why so, quoth Sir Thomas Wharton? For I have dronke (said he) in that place where Gods worde offered, hath beene refused: whereas if I had remembered my duetie, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shooes for a testimonie against this house.—These words were by the said bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterward confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the said bishop departed, and so returned to his house.

Sermons, fol. 36. edit. 1584. And in like manner the council, with becoming dignity and wisdom, instructed the lady Mary's chaplain to say to his mistress, in reply to a declaration that she would defer her obedience to a newly enacted law, till his majesty were of sufficient years, "That she could in no one saying more disallowe the authoritie of the king, the majestie of his crowne, and the state of the realme. For herein she suspendeth his kingdom, and esteemeth his authoritie by his age, not by his right and title. Her grace must understand hee is a king by the ordinance of God, by descent of royall blood, not by the numbring of his yeeres. As a creature subject to mortalitie, he hath youth, and, by Gods grace, shall have age: but as a king he hath no difference by daies and yeares. The Scripture plainly declareth it not only young children to have bin kings by Gods special ordinance, but also," &c. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1212. Compare Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 23, 4. 160. Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 191. Hence it was, as we may conjecture, that the loyalists devised a means of showing their attachment to their youthful prince, which we collect from an incidental mention of it by a zealous popish writer in the succeeding reign. "Doth not a lively image, I beseech you, make folkes remember the man, that is represented by it, better than a bare naked white wall? or when a man cometh into a house, and findeth the image of kinge Edwarde, whether doth he there more remember hym, or when he goeth into another house, and findeth no image of hym at all? It was wonte to be sayd, that such as were the kinges very frendes wold have the kinges image in their houses, bothe to make them remember their duties toward hym, and also to declare their good wil, that they bare him." Christopheron *against Rebellion*, signat. U 3.

It was declared a little before², how doctor Ridley was had from Fremingham to the Tower; where being in durance, and invited to the lieutenants table, he had certaine talke or conference with secretary Bourne³, M. Fecknam, and other, concerning the controversies in religion: the summe whereof, as it was penned with his owne hand, hereafter ensueth.

Here followeth the summe and effect of the communication between D. Ridley, and secretary Bourn, with others, at the Lieutenants table in the Tower.

Maister Thomas of Bridges⁴ sayde at his brother maister lieutenants boorde, I pray you M. Doctours, for my learning tell mee what an hereticke is? M. secretarie Bourne said, I will tell you who is an hereticke: whoso stubbornly and stiffely main-taineth an untruth, he is an heretike. Ye meane, syr, sayd I, an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith. Yea that is true, said he: and in this we are soone agreed. Then said maister Fecknam⁵, sitting at the upper end of the table, whome they called M. deane of Paules, I will tell you by S. Augustine who is an heretick: *Qui adulandi principibus vel lucrī gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hæreticus est*, saith S. Augustine⁶. And then he englished the same. Sir, said I, I ween S. Augustine addeth the third member, which is, *vel vancæ gloriæ causa*. Ye say even true M. doctor, sayd he; and thus farre we did agree all three.

M. Fecknam began againe to say, Whoso doth not beleewe *that* the Scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintaine the

² *A little before.*] See note, p. 9.

³ *Secretary Bourne.*] Sir John Bourn, secretary to queen Mary, one of her privy council, and a commissioner against heretics and conjurers. He was deprived under Elizabeth.

⁴ *Thomas of Bridges.*] Thomas Bruges or Brydges, younger brother of John Bruges, first lord Chandos, lieutenant of the Tower. He held some place at court under Henry VIII., at whose funeral he bore the dragon standard. He was sheriff of Gloucestershire 3 Edw. VI., who, in 1553, granted to him the priory of Keinsham, co. Somerset. In 3 and 4 Phil. and Mary, he was sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. He died 14th Nov. 1559.

⁵ *Maister Fecknam.*] See note, vol. ii. p. 551, note (³).

⁶ *Saith S. Augustine.*] “Quandoquidem hæreticus est, ut mea fert opinio, qui alicujus temporalis commodi, et maxime gloriæ principatusque sui gratiā, falsas ac novas opiniones vel gignit vel sequitur; ille autem qui hujusmodi hominibus credit, homo est imaginatione quadam veritatis ac pietatis illus.” *Augustini de utilitate credendi Liber*, cap. 1.

contrary, he is *hæreticus*. As in the sacrament of the aultar, Mathew doth affirme there to be Christs bodie, Marke doth affirme it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore to holde the contrary it is heresie. It is the same bodie and flesh that was borne of the virgine: and this is confirmed by unitie, antiquitie, and universalitie. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was an hereticke, as M. doctor there knoweth full well: I do testifie his owne conscience, said he.

Mary sir, said maister secretary, master Fecknam hath spoken well. These be great matters, unitie, antiquitie, and universalitie. Doe yee not thinke so, maister doctor? sayd hee to mee.

Heere while I strained curtesie and pretended as nothing to talke, saide one of the commissioners, peradventure maister Ridley doth agree with M. Fecknam, and then there needs not much debating of the matter.

Sir, saide I, in some things I do and shall agree with him, and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plaine, I do not agree with him at all.—Maisters, said I, ye be (as I understand) the queenes commissioners here, and if yee have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainely my faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you eyther give mee leave to speake my minde freele, or else to holde my peace.

There is none here, said M. secretary, that doth not favor you:—and then everie man shewed what favor they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I strained to have licence of them in plaine words to speake my minde, so me thought they granted mee it, but *viz* or *ægrè*. Well at the last I was content to take it for licenced, and so began to talke.

To M. Fecknams arguments of the manifold affirmation where no deniall was, I answered, where is a multitude of affirmations in Scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for *that* anie one of the evangelists spake inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as true that John sayth of Christ, I am the dore of the sheepe, as if all had said it. For it is not in Scripture as in witnes of men, where the number is credited more then one, because it is uncertaine of whose spirit he dooth speake. And where M. Fecknam spake of so manie, affirming without anie negation, &c. Sir, saide I, all they doe affirme the thing which they meant. Now if yee take their words, to leave their meaning,

then doe they affirme what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir, said I, if in talke with you, I should so utter my minde in words, that ye by the same do, and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if ye would be captious, cavill at my words, and writhe them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companion to talke with: except yee would take my words as ye did perceive that I did meane.

Mary, quoth M. secretary, we should else doe you plain injury and wrong.

M. Fecknam perceiving whereunto my talke went, why, quoth hee, what circumstances can yee shewe me that should move to thinke of anie other sense, then as the words plainly say; *Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur?* This is my bodie which shall be betrayed for you.

Sir, said I, even the next sentence that followeth; *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, Do this in my remembrance. And also by what reason, yee say the bread is turned into Christs carnall bodie; by the same I may say, that it is turned into his mysticall bodie. For as that saith of it, *Hoc est corpus quod pro vobis tradetur*; so Paule which spake by Christs spirit saith, We being many are all but one bread, and one bodie, in as much as we are partakers of one bread.

Here he calleth one bread, one loafe, sayd M. secretarie.

Yea, sayd I, one loafe, one bread, all is one with me.

But what say ye, quoth master secretary, of the universalitie, antiquitie, and unitie, that master Fecknam did speak of?

I ensure you, said I, I think them matters weightie, and to be considered well. As for unitie, the truth is, before God, I do beleve it and embrace it, so it be with veritie, and joyned to our head Christ, and such one as Paul speaketh of, saying, One faith, one God, one baptisme. And for antiquity I am also perswaded to bee true that Irenæus saith, *Quod primum verum*, That is first is true. In our religion Christs faith was first truely taught by Christ himselfe, by his apostles, and by many good men that from the beginning did succcede next unto them; and for this controversie of the sacrament, I am perswaded, that those old writers which wrot before the controversie and the usurping of the see of Rome, do all agree, if they be well understood, in this truth.

I am glad to heare, said master secretarie, that ye doe so well esteeme the doctors of the church.

Now as for universalitie, it may have two meanings: one to understand that to be universal which from the beginning in all ages hath beene allowed; another, to understand universalitie for the multitude of our age or of any other singular age.

No, no, saith master secretary, these three do alwaies agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest; and heere hee and I changed many words. And finally, to bee short, in this matter we did not agree.

There was none, quoth maister Fecknam, before Berengarius, Wickliffe, and Hus, and now in our dayes Carolostadius, and Oecolampadius. And Carolostadius sayth, Christ pointed to his owne body and not to the sacrament, and said, *Hoc est corpus meum*. And Melancthon writeth to one Micronius (Miconius⁷ said I) these or like words: *Nullam satis gravem rationem invenire possum, propter quam à fide majorum in hac materia dissentiam*. I can find no grounded reason to cause me to dissent from the beliefe of our foreelders.

Thus when he had spoken at length with manie other words mo: Sir, said I, it is certaine that other before these have written of this matter; not by the waie onely, and *obiter*, as do for the most all the old writers, but even *ex professo*, and their whole bookes intreat of it alone, as Bertram.

Bertram, said the secretary, what man was he? and who was he⁸, and how do ye know? &c. with many questions.

Sir, quoth I, I have read his booke. He proponeth the same which is now in controversie, and answereth so directly that no man may doubt but that hee affirmeth, that the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament; and he wrote unto Carolus Magnus.

Mary, quoth hee, marke, for there is a matter. He wrote, quoth he, *ad Henricum*⁹, and not *ad Carolum*, for no authour maketh any such mention of Bertramus.

⁷ *Miconius*.] Friedrich Mecum or Myconius, who had been in England in 1538, and was probably personally known to Ridley. His account of his visit has been printed; his epistles, including his correspondence with Melancthon, were printed in 1593.

⁸ *Who was he.*] See vol. ii. note, p. 668.

⁹ *Ad Henricum*.] That is, to *Henry the eighth*: meaning to *insinuate*, that this book of Bertram's, which bore too strongly against the Romish corruptions in the doctrine of the eucharist, to admit easily of any *fair* and *direct* answer, was a modern forgery of the protestants. Stephen Gardiner, with less

Yes, quoth I, Trithemius *in catalogo illustrium scriptorum*, speaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time¹: but he speaketh, quoth I, of them that were of antiquitie. Here, after much talke of Bertram, What authors have ye, quoth M. secretarie, to make of the sacrament a figure?

Sir, quoth I, ye know (I thinke) that Tertullian in plaine words speaketh thus², *Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei*, this is my bodie, that is to say, a figure of my body. And Gelasius sayth plainely³, that *substantia panis manet*, the substance of bread remaineth. And Origine⁴ sayth likewise, *Quod sanctificatur, secundum materiam ingreditur stomachum et vadit in secessum*, that which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance, passeth away in the draught. This when I had englished, M. secretary sayd to mee, you know very well as any man, &c. and here, if I would, I might have been set in a foolish paradise of his commendation of my learning, and *quod essem vir multæ lectionis*, a man of much reading. But this I would not take at his hand. He

confidence, in his book against Cranmer, endeavours to cast a like suspicion upon the credit of that writer; "one Bertram" (says he): "if the booke set forth in hys name be his." See Cranmer's *Answer to Gardiner*, p. 6, edit. 1580. It is but right, however, to remark, that other Roman catholics have not betrayed the weakness of their arguments by this impolitic hardihood; but have spoken of Bertram's book in terms much more creditable to their own character, and their cause. Mabillon, for instance, expressly states his having discovered a manuscript of it eight hundred years old. Cave's *Histor. Literar.* vol. ii. p. 28.

¹ *Of late time.*] John of Trittenheim or *Trithemius* finished his work in 1494.

² *Tertullian in plaine words.*] "Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere Pascha ut suum (indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret Deus) acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit, hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura enim non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus." Tertullianus *adversus Marcionem*, lib. v. § 40.

³ *Gelasius sayth plainely.*] "Certa sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi, divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficitur consortes naturæ, et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini: Et certè imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur." Gelasius Ep. Rom. *de duabus naturis in Christo, adversus Eutychen et Nestorium*.

⁴ *And Origine.*] Εἰ δὲ πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ σῶμα, εἰς κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφαιδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται, καὶ τὸ ἀγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου θεοῦ καὶ ἐντύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μετὰ τὸ ὑλικὸν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς ἀφαιδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται. Origenes *in Matthæum*, tom. iii. 499, ed. De la Rue, Paris, 1740.

set me not up so high, but I brought myselfe as low againe : and here was much adoe.

As for Melancthon (quoth I) whom M. Fecknam spake of, I marvell that yee will alledge him, for we are more nie an agreement heere in England, then the opinion of Melancthon to you : for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the sacrament but one materiall substance : and Melancthon as I weene, sayth there are two.

Ye say truth, quoth M. secretary : Melancthons opinion is so. But I pray you, ye have heard that the sacrament was in olde time so revered, that many were then forbidden to bee present at the ministration thereof, *catechumeni*, quoth hee, and many moe.

Truth sir, quoth I, there were some called *audientes*, some *penitentes*, some *catechumeni*, and some *energumeni*, which were commanded to depart.

Now, quoth he, and how can ye then make but a figure or a signe of the sacrament, as that booke doth which is set forth in my lord of Canturburies name¹ ; I wisse, ye can tell who made it, did not ye make it ? and here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glorie of the writing of that booke, which yet was sayde of some there, to containe most hainous heresie that ever was.

¹ *Lord of Canturburies name.*] Fox, in the margin, calls this "the booke of Catechisme;" by which must be meant, either the catechism, commonly called the Catechism of king Edward, or the *Short Instruction into Christian Religion*. But the book in question could be neither of these. The former was never published in Cranmer's name; and, as to the latter, there could be no dispute, *who* its author was; for it was avowedly a *translation*, from the Latin of Justus Jonas. But the contents too, if any one were disposed to examine the two books for that purpose, would establish the same conclusion. And a similar investigation would show, that the book intended by secretary Bourn was, either "*a Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament*," A.D. 1550, or else (which also contains the preceding), his "*Answer unto a crafty and sophisticall Cavillation*," &c., A.D. 1551, and 1580. In the process against Cranmer, preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth (MS. no. 1136) of which more will be said under the life of that prelate, Robert Ward, master of arts, deposes, that he did not think Cranmer had learning sufficient to write *the books on the eucharist*, &c. which were put in evidence against him. "Ad septimum dicit, quod credit præfatum Thomam vix adeo eruditum, ut possit ipse, ejus proprio ingenio, hujus modi libros componere; certo tamen scit ejus nomine et auctoritate eos circumferri."

Maister secretary, quoth I, that booke was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like againe; as for me I ensure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write anie such like thing. He passeth mee no lesse, then the learned master his young scholler.

Now, here every man would have his saying, which I passe over, not much materiall for to tell. But sir, quoth I, me thinks it is not charitably done, to beare the people in hand that anie man doth so lightly esteeme the sacrament, as to make of it but a figure. For that (but) maketh it a bare figure without anie more profit, which that booke doth often denie⁶, as appeareth to the reader must plainly.

Yes, quoth he, that they do.

Sir, no quoth I, of a truth: and as for me, I ensure you I make no lesse of the sacrament then thus: I say whosoever receiveth the sacrament, hee receiveth therewith either life or death.

No, quoth M. secretary, Scripture saith not so.

Sir, quoth I, although not in the same sound of words, yet it doth, in the same sense; and S. Augustine saith, in the sound of words also: for Paul sayth, the bread which we breake, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the bodie of Christ? and S. Augustine⁷, *Manduca vitam, bibe vitam*, eate life, drinke life.

Then said maister Pope, what can ye make of it when yee say, there is not the reall bodie of Christ? which I do beleeeve, and I pray God I may never beleeeve other. How can it bring (as yee say) either life or death, when Christs bodie is not there?

Syr, quoth I, when you heare Gods word truely preached, if ye doe beleeeve it and abide in it, yee shall and do receive life withall: and if yee doe not beleeeve it, it dooth bring unto you death: and yet Christs bodie is still in heaven, and not carnall in every preachers mouth.

⁶ *Doth often denie.*] See p. 4. 10. 34, &c. &c. &c.

⁷ *S. Augustine.*] "Manducant ergo qui manducant, et bibant qui bibunt; esuriant et sitiant: vitam manducant, vitam bibant. Illud manducare, refici est; sed sic reficeris, ut non deficiat unde reficeris. Illud bibere quid est, nisi vivere? *Manduca vitam, bibe vitam*: habebis vitam et integra est vita. Tunc autem hoc erit, id est, vita unicuique erit corpus et sanguis Christi; si quod in sacramento visibiliter sumitur, in ipsa veritate spiritaliter manducetur, spiritaliter bibatur." Augustini *Sermo caxxi. De verbis Evangelii Johannis 6, Nisi manducaveritis, &c., contra Pelagianos.*

I pray you tell me quoth he, how can you answer to this, *Quod pro vobis tradetur*, which shall be given for you? Was the figure of Christs bodie given for us?

No sir, quoth I, but the verie bodie it selfe, whereof the sacrament is a sacramentall figure.

How say yee then, quoth he, to *quod pro vobis tradetur*, which shall be given for you?

Forsooth, quoth I, Tertullians exposition maketh it plaine, for he sayth, *Corpus est figura corporis*, the bodie is a figure of the bodie. Now put to *quod pro vobis tradetur*, which shal be given for you, and it agreeth exceeding well.

In faith, quoth he, I would give forty pound that ye were of a good opinion. For I ensure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thanke you master Pope, for your heart and minde, and ye know, quoth I, I were a verie foole if I would in this matter dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not inforce me so to do. For I wis (as ye do perceive, I trowe) it is somewhat out of my waie, if I would esteeme worldly gaine.

What say ye, quoth he, to Cyprian? Doth he not say plainly, *Panis, quem dedit Dominus, non effigie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro*^a, the bread which the Lord did deliver,

^a *Omnipotentia verbi factus est caro.*] This passage is taken from a treatise, falsely attributed to Cyprian, entitled *De cæna Domini et prima institutione consummantis omnia sacramenti*, which is condemned as spurious by cardinal Bellarmin and by Labbe (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 128) and which is printed by the Benedictine Prudent Maran amongst the *Opuscula vulgo adscripta S. Cypriano*, in an appendix to the edition superintended by him for the congregation of St. Maur. In that edition (Paris, ex Typ. Reg. 1726), app. col. cxi., the whole passage is thus given: "Hoc sacramentum aliquando carnem et sanguinem, aliquando panem, aliquando corpus suum Christus appellat; panis dicitur propter nutrimentum vitæ, caro et sanguis propter veritatem naturæ, corpus propter unitatem substantiæ. Corpus suum, se et ecclesiam suam, cujus caput ipse est, intelligi voluit, quam carnis et sanguinis sui communione univit. Et nos quidem cum caro essemus et sanguis, corrupta et infirma corporis animæque natura, reformari non poteramus, neque ad similitudinem Dei reverti, nisi morbo inveterato imponeretur malagma conveniens, et in curatione desperatæ infirmitatis contraria removerentur contrariis, et similia similibus convenirent. Panis iste quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro: et sicut in persona Christi humanitas videbatur, et latebat divinitas; ita sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se infudit essentia, ut esset religioni circa sacramenta devotio, et ad veritatem cujus corpus et sanguis sacramenta sunt, sincerior

being changed, not according to the forme, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word is made flesh.

True syr, so he doth say, and I answer even the same which once by chance I preached at Paules crosse in a sermon, for the which I have beene as unjustly and as untruelie reported^o as any poore man hath beene. For there, I speaking of the sacrament, and inveying against them that esteemed it no better then a peece of bread, tolde even the same thing of *pœnitentes, audientes, catechumeni, energumeni*, that I spake of before; and I bade them depart as unworthie to heare the myserie; and then I said to those that be *sancti*, Cyprian the martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying, Bread is the bodie, meate, drinke, flesh, because that unto this materiall substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then tooke I to utter as the time would then suffer, that the materiall substance of bread doth remaine. M. Fecknam (which as is reported to me) did belie me openly in the same matter at Paules crosse, heard all this my talke (as red as skarlet in his face), and herein answered mee never one word¹.

You do know well, quoth M. secretary, that Origen and Tertullian were not catholicke, but erred.

Syr, quoth I, there is none of all the doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to have erred in some things. But yet I never heard that it was either layde to Origen's charge or to Tertullian, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the sacrament.

What, quoth M. Chomley², late chief justice, doth not Christ

pateret accessus, usque ad participationem spiritus: non quod usque ad substantialitatem Christi, sed usque ad societatem germanissimam ejus hæc unitas pervenisset." It will be seen that bishop Brookes, in his oration against Cranmer, makes use of the same passage.

^o *As untruelie reported.*] See above, *Life of Latimer*, vol. ii. p. 630.

¹ *Never one word.*] And yet Fecknam, after Ridley's death, repeated the same calumny again in a set oration, spoken in the House of Lords, in the year 1559. See Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 76.

² *M. Chomley.*] Sir Roger Cholmley was a natural son of sir Richard Cholmley or Cholmondeley, lieutenant of the Tower, who died in 1522. We have before heard of him in the memorable *pig* case. See *Life of Cromwell*, in vol. ii. p. 263. On the 21st March, 1552, 6 Edward VI., he was appointed chief justice, K.B., but on the 26th July, 1553, soon after the accession of Mary, he, together with Montagu, chief justice of C.P., was imprisoned in the Tower as an adherent of lady Jane Grey. He had in fact assisted to draw up the will which Edward VI. had made in her favour, and had subscribed it.

say plainly, that it is his very flesh, and his very bloud, and we must needs eate him, or wee can have no life? Syr, quoth I, if you will heare how S. Augustine expoundeth that place, you shall perceive that you are in a wrong boxe. And when I began to tell S. Augustines minde in his booke, *de Doctrina Christiana*, Yea, yea, quoth M. secretary, that is true. S. Augustine doth take it figuratively in deed.

Forty yeares agoe, quoth M. Fecknam, all were of one opinion in this matter.

Forty yeares agoe, quoth I, all held that the bishop of Rome was supreme head of the universall church.

What then? was maister Fecknam beginning to say, &c. but M. secretary tooke the tale, and sayd, that was but a positive lawe.

A positive law? quoth I, no syr, he would not have it so: for it is in his decrees, that hee challenged it by Christs owne word. For his decree³ saith, the church of Rome was advanced above all other churches in the world, not by any synodically constitutions, nor yet any counsels, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord sayd to Peter: Thou art Peter, &c. And in an other place⁴ he intreateth, *Tu es Cephas, id est, caput*, thou art Cephas, that is to say the head.

Gloucester Ridley *supposes* Cholmley to have been appointed a commissioner to examine Ridley (Life of bp. Ridley, pp. 433—444), whereas they were merely fellow-prisoners, and fellow-guests at lord Chandos's table. Cholmley was discharged from the Tower on the 6th Sept. 1553, but he did not recover his place as chief justice, that office being given to sir Thomas Bromley on the 6th Oct. in the same year. Sir Roger Cholmley lived afterwards in comparative privacy in the Old Bailey, and also at Highgate, where he established a noble grammar school, which after centuries of mismanagement is now revived and flourishing. Part of its endowment consists of his house at Ludgate (now known as the *London Coffee House*). He died in 1565. Strype (Annals 1. i. 57, Oxf. ed.) calls Sir Roger "*a turncoat and covetous man*." Strype and others have confounded him with his relative and contemporary Ranulph or Randle Cholmley: both were readers of Lincoln's Inn, both serjeants-at-law, both recorders of London, &c. But Randle Cholmley held office during Mary's reign, which Roger Cholmley did not, and throughout her reign Randle Cholmley was M.P. for London. Randle died in 1563, Roger in 1565.

³ *His decree.*] Decreti pars I. *Can. Quamvis*. 3. *dist.* 21. "*Quamvis universæ per orbem catholicæ ecclesiæ unus thalamus Christi sint; sancta tamen Romana, catholica et apostolica ecclesia nullis synodicis constitutis, ceteris ecclesiis prælata est, sed evangelica voce Domini et Salvatoris nostri primatum obtinuit, Tu es Petrus et super hanc, &c.*"

⁴ *In an other place.*] Decreti pars I. *Can. Sacrosancta* 2. *dist.* 22. "*Inter*

Tush, it was not counted an article (quoth M. secretary) of our faith.

Yes, said I, if ye call that an article of our faith, which is to be beleved under paine of damnation. For he sayth^a, Wee do absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is subject to the obedience of the bishop of Rome upon necessity of salvation.

And here when we spake of lawes and decrees, M. Roger Chomley thought himselfe much wronged, that hee could not be suffered to speake, the rest were so readie to interrupt him: and then he up and tolde a long tale what lawes were of kings of England made against the bishop of Rome, and was vehement to tell how they alwaie of the clergie did flie to him. And here because he seemed to speake of manie things beside our purpose whereof we spake before, he was answered of his owne fellowes, and I let them talke.

Finally, we departed in peace, and master secretary promised in the end, that of their talke there should come to me no harme. And after I had made my mone for lacke of my books, he said they were all once given him: but sith I know (said he) who hath them now, write me the names of such as yee would have, and I will speake for you the best I can.

A Conference^b had betwixt maister Ridley, and maister Latimer in prison, upon the objections of Antonian, meaning by that name

beatos Apostolos quædam fuit discretio potestatis; et licet omnes essent Apostoli, Petro tamen a Domino concessum est (et ipsi inter se id ipsum voluerunt) ut reliquis omnibus præesset Apostolis et Cephas, id est caput, et principium teneret Apostolatus, qui et eandem formam suis successoribus et reliquis episcopis tenendam tradiderunt."

^a For he sayth.] Extravag. Comm. lib. i. tit. viii. *Unam sanctam ecclesiam.* "Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis."

^b A Conference.] This conference is here inserted and recommended to the reader's attentive perusal, as affording a valuable and authentic summary of part of the grounds upon which the confessors in the reign of Mary were contented to be led to the stake: and secondly, because it contains the materials for a solid exposition of several of the articles of the church of England. "It passed in writing" (says Dr. Gloc. Ridley) "between these venerable fathers, as I apprehend, in January (1553-4), when they were in separate apartments, after the mass was publickly restored, which was December 21 (1553), and before Wyatt's rebellion had so crowded the Tower with state prisoners, that the three prelates were confined in one apartment together; and

some popish persecutour (as Winchester'), alluding thereby to the Story of Victor. lib. 3. de Persecut. Africæ.

M. Ridley. In writing againe^a ye have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in this rebellion broke out the 26th of January." Ridley's *Life*, p. 485. That this date is probably very nearly correct, may be inferred also from a letter of Ridley to Grindal, given below, in which he says, "I was in the Tower about the space of *two moneths close prisoner*, and after that, had granted to me without my labor the libertie of the Tower, and so continued about halfe a yeare," &c.

⁷ *Winchester.*] Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, in the reign of Edward VI., writing under the pseudonym of Marcus Antonius Constantius, had published a reply to Cranmer with this title, "*Confutatio cavillationum quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ sacramentum, ab impiis Capernaitis impeti solet, autore Marco Antonio Constantio, Theologo Lovaniensi.* Parisiis, 1552." Another edition, in queen Mary's time (with Gardiner's name), was printed at Louvain, in 1554. Of this second edition, the presentation copy to pope Paul IV., bearing the Caraffa arms, with the papal insignia, is in the British Museum. Gardiner was not allowed to have all the credit of authorship; he was said to have been assisted by a Richard Smith and Thomas Watson (afterwards bishop of Lincoln). "Even when a prisoner, he was so abundantly furnished with workmen and amanuenses, that as they of old to the building of the tabernacle, so here to the preparing of this book, a kind of papistical tabernacle, all sorts contributed something. For this book was Pandora's box to which all the lesser gods brought their presents. For every man, were his learning less or more, that had any arguments for the popish doctrine, brought them all to him, (many whereof were windy and trivial,) and he, out of the heap, made his collections as he thought good." Peter Martyr, in Strype.

At the end of the conference, Ridley affects to disclaim any particular application of the word *Antonius*: "As touching this *Antonian* whom I have here made mine adversary, lest peradventure any imagination might carry you amiss, and make you think otherwise than I meant, know you that I have alluded to one Antony, a most cruel bishop of the Arians, and a very violent persecutor of them that were Catholick, and of a right judgment. To whom Hunrick, a tyrant of the Vandals, knowing Antony's fierceness, committed his whole authority, that he should either turn the Christians, which beleevd well, unto his false religion; or else to punish and torment them at his pleasure. Which thing Antonius took in hand to do, and executed the same against two godly bishops, and most constant in the doctrine which was according to godliness. The name of the one was *Eugenius*, an aged man, the other was named *Habet Deum*."

Fox says "Bishop Ridley, lying likewise the same time in prison, having there the said book of Marcus Antonius, for lacke of pen and paper, with a leade of a windowe, in the margent of the booke, wrote annotations, as straightness of time would serve him, in refutation of the same book." See *Life of Cranmer*, post, pp. 187, 188.

^a *In writing againe.*] Ridley here refers to a former conference which he

that day. For I have received great comfort at your wordes: but yet I am not so filled withall, but that I thyrst much more now then before to drinke more of that cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I praie you good father let mee have one draught more to comforte my stomacke. For surelie except the Lord assist mee with his gracious aide, in the time of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a white livered knight. But truelie my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he should trie himself strong, and that he can make the coward in his cause to fight like a man.

Syr, now I looke dailie when Diotrephes with his warriours shall assault me: wherefore I praie you good father, for that you are an old souldiour, and an expert warriour, and God knoweth I am but a yong souldiour, and as yet of small experience in these fits, help me I pray you to buckle my harness.—And now I would have you to think that these dartes are cast at my head of some one of Diotrephes', or Antonius' soldiers.

The Objection of the Antonian.

All men marvell greatlie, why you, after the libertie which you have granted unto you, more then the rest, doe not goe to masse, which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea of the queene herselfe.

The Answer.

Because no man that laieth hand on the plough and looketh backe is fit for the kingdom of God: and also for the selfe same cause why saint Paule would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is that the truth of the gospell might remaine with us uncorrupt. (Galat. the second:) And againe, if I build againe

had carried on in writing with Latimer (and probably with Cranmer), in which he had stated "the causes that moved him to abstain from the mass." At the conclusion of his own portion of which he says, "*Write againe* I beseech you, fathers and brethren, most dearly beloved in Christ." That conference is also well worthy of a careful perusal, but is here, with regret, omitted, through want of room. The "*causes*" which are there enlarged upon, are here briefly recapitulated in the answer to the *second* objection. "They be these; the strange tongue," &c. Both the conferences, together with Ridley's treatise against transubstantiation, were first printed in the year 1556, and again in 1574, in one small volume.

the things which I destroyed, I make my selfe a trespasser. This is also another cause; least I should seeme by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am perswaded is contrarie to sound doctrine, and so should bee a stumbling stocke unto the weake. But woe be unto him by whome offence commeth: it were better for him that a milstone were hanged about his necke, and he cast into the midst of the sea.

M. Latimer. Except the Lord helpe me ye say. Truth it is. For without me, saith he, ye can doe nothing, much lesse suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloudie law⁹ now prepared against us. But it followeth, if you abide in me, and my word abide in you, aske what ye will, and it shall be done for you. What can be more comfortable? Syr, you make answer your selfe so well, that I cannot better it. Syr, I begin now to smell what you meane: by travelling thus with mee, you use mee as Bilney did once¹⁰, whence hee converted mee: pretending as though hee would be taught of me, he sought waies and meanes to teach me, and so doe you. I thanke you therefore most heartilie. For indeed you minister armour unto mee, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give my selfe to praier for my refuge.

Anton. object. 2. What is it then that offendeth you so greatlie in the masse that you will not vouchsafe once either to heare it, or see it¹? and from whence commeth this new religion upon you? have not you used in times past to say masse your selfe?

M. Ridleys answer. I confesse unto you my fault and ignorance: but know you that for these matters I have done

⁹ *The bloudie law.*] See Fox's *Acts*, p. 1461. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 275. Compare *Life of Rogers* in this collection, vol. ii. p. 324, and n.

¹⁰ *As Bilney did once.*] See above, *Life of Latimer*, vol. ii. p. 453.

¹ *Or see it.*] From this passage Dr. Gloc. Ridley argues, and with much apparent reason, that Fox was misinformed, in the story which he tells of the bishop having once been induced to be present at the mass, and that he forbore it afterwards upon the remonstrance and arguments of Bradford. Ridley's *Life*, p. 434, 5. See Fox, p. 1457. Compare also p. 1565. 1569. The account seems no way probable, for the reasons stated by Ridley's biographer: to which we must observe in addition, that Fox relates precisely the same particulars respecting Bradford and bishop Ferrar. *Acts*, &c. p. 1930. —The nonconformists have occasionally appeared to give implicit credit to this story against Ridley, and have referred to it in a temper in which, certainly, sorrow, self-distrust, and a tender compassion for human infirmity, are not the leading features. See *Pierce against Nicholls*, p. 31.

penance long agoe, both at Paules crosse, and also openlie in the pulpit at Cambridge; and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it upon ignorance. But if you be desirous to knowe, and will vouchsafe to heare what things doe offend mee in the masse, I will rehearse unto you those things which be most cleare, and seeme to repugne most manifestlie against Gods word, and they be these: the strange tongue; the want of the shewing² of the Lords death; the breaking of the Lords commandement of having a communion³; the sacrament is not communicated to all, under both kindes, according to the worde of the Lord; the signe is servilelie worshipped⁴, for the signified; Christs passion is injured, forasmuch as this masse sacrifice is affirmed to remaine for the purging of sinnes⁵:—to bee short, the manifold superstitions, and trifling fondnesse which are in the masse, and about the same.

² *The want of the shewing.*] “What shewing can be there, where no man heareth, that is to say, understandeth what is said? No man, I mean, of the common people; for whose profit the prayer of the church ought specially to serve.” Ridley in the *Former Conference* between Ridley and Latimer, in Ridley’s *Life of Ridley*, p. 445, 6.

“And furthermore: Christ ordained the sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a *representation of his death*, where his blood was separated from his flesh; which is *not represented* in one kind alone: so that the lay people receive not the whole sacrament whereby Christ’s death is represented, as he commanded.” Cranmer, in a letter to queen Mary: *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 8, 9.

³ *Of having a communion.*] “There is no *communion*, but it is made a private table; whereas indeed it ought to be a communion. For St. Paul saith, ‘The bread which we break is the partaking of the body of Christ.’ 1 Cor. x. And Christ brake, distributed, and said, ‘Take and eat.’ Matt. xxvi. But they make it a private table: for where there be many priests which will communicate, they do it not at one table or altar, but every one of them have their altars, masses, and tables.” Ridley in the *Former Conference*, in Ridley’s *Life of Ridley*, p. 446.

⁴ *Is servilelie worshipped.*] “They do *slavishly* serve the holy *sign*, (as St. Austin speaketh) instead of the *thing signified*; whilst the sacramental bread (by a solemn or common error) is adored and worshipped, for the flesh taken of the Son of God.” Ridley, as above, p. 447.

⁵ *The purging of sinnes.*] “They pluck away the honor from the only sacrifice of Christ, whiles this sacramental and mass sacrifice is believed to be propitiatory, and such a one as *purgeth the souls* both of the quick and dead: contrary to that is written in the Hebrews, ‘With *one* offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified.’” And again: “Where remission of those things” (that is, where Jesus) “is, there is no more offering for sin.” Ridley, as above, p. 448.

M. Latimer. Better a few things well pondered, then to trouble the memorie with too much. You shall prevaile more with praying, than with studying, though mixture bee best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousnes of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given: for it shall bee but in vaine. They will say, as their fathers said, when they have no more to say: we have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Bee yee stedfast and unmoveable, saith S. Paule: and againe, *persistito*, stand fast. And how oft is this repeated, *if yee abide*, &c. But wee shall be called obstinate, sturdie, ignorant, headie, and what not? so that a man had neede of much patience, having to doe with such men.

Anton. object. 3. But you know how great a crime it is to separate your self from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schisme, or division. You have beene reported to have hated⁶ the sect of the anabaptistes, and alwaies to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the heretikes called *Cathari*, that they would not communicate with the church.

M. Ridleys answer. I know that the unity of the church is to bee retained by all meanes, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the masse, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish devise, whereby both the commandement and institution of our saviour Christ for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserablie deluded. The sect of the anabaptists, and the heresie of the Novatians, ought of right to be condemned, for as much as without anie just or necessary cause they wickedlie separated themselves from the communion of the congregation; for they did not alleadge that the sacraments were undulie ministered, but turning awaie their eies from themselves, wherewith according to saint Paules rule they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers, or communicants with them, they alwaies reprooved something for the which they abstained from the communion as from an unholie thing.

M. Latimer. I remember that Calvin beginneth⁷ to confute the

⁶ *To have hated.*] See Lewis's *Brief History of Anabaptism in England*, p. 51—4. A.D. 1738. See also above, *Life of Latimer*, vol. ii. p. 629.

⁷ *Calvin beginneth.*] Calvini Opp. ed. 1667, tom. ix. p. 273.

Interim* after this sort with this saying of Hillary. "The name of peace is beautifull, and the opinion of unitie is faire; but who

* *The Interim.*] "In Germany the doctrines of Luther had been adopted by a large portion of the princes and free towns in the empire; and, in 1530, they had not only presented to the emperor the noted confession of their faith, known by the name of the Confession of Augsburg, but had bound themselves to each other in a covenant of mutual belief and mutual defence,—the famous league of Smalcald. From the first origin of the union, it was regarded by Charles with the most jealous eye, and he soon began gradually to develope those formidable projects for the subjugation of the Protestant princes, the extirpation of their alleged heresy, and the consolidation of one great spiritual and temporal dominion, which there is reason to believe he had been long secretly maturing. At length the leader of the league, John Frederic, elector of Saxony, was surprised, defeated, and taken prisoner by Charles, in the famous battle of Mulhberg, April 17, 1547. Having completely destroyed the league, the emperor entered Augsburg in triumph, assembled a diet, invested his ally Maurice, head of the Albertine branch of the house of Saxony, with the electorate and duchy forfeited by John Frederic, and proceeded to the settlement of all religious differences: and here his dictation was as despotic as at the head of his armies. A temporary formulary of the faith was drawn up, which was named *THE INTERIM*. It was declared to be binding on all parties, both Romanist and Protestant, till a general council should have fixed the articles of religion upon an immoveable foundation. In all essential points, it was agreeable to the doctrines of the Romish Church, yet such was the power of the emperor, that the majority of the Protestant princes were compelled to accept it.

"It would appear, from the terms used by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester (in a letter written to Sir William Petre from Augsburg, 3rd April, 1548), that Louis Malvenda, a Franciscan friar, and author of a work, entitled *Lac Fidei pro principe Christiano*, acted the principal part in drawing up the 'Interim.' Now De Thou and Sleidan have ascribed its composition to Pflug, the bishop of Nuremberg, Michael Helding (better known as Michael Sidonius), and John Agricola, preacher to the elector of Brandenburg, whilst Pallavicino, and Courayer, in his notes to father Paul's *History of the Council of Trent*, assert that its real author is unknown. This formulary, although published as an imperial constitution, and clothed with the authority of law, was resisted by many, and ridiculed by all. Wolfgang of Bavaria, and John, the brother of the elector of Brandenburg, refused to subscribe to its doctrines, and were ordered by the emperor to leave the diet. Bucer condemned it. Melancthon mildly dissented, and John Frederic, the deposed elector of Saxony, with his sons, not only declined having any thing to do with it, but promised, if permitted, to refute its articles. Lastly, to complete the mortification of the emperor, its provisions regarding the marriage of priests were condemned by the pope; and, although Charles determined to enforce it, the whole affair, as a measure of conciliation, proved a complete failure. I may here mention, to such as may be curious in investigating the history of the Reformation, that there is preserved in the State Paper Office, a

doubteth that to be the true and onelie peace of the church, which is Christs?" I would you had that little booke⁹, there should you see how much is to be given to unity. Saint Paule when hee requireth unity, he joyneth straight withall, *secundum Jesum Christum*, according to Jesus Christ, no further. Diotrephes¹ now of late did ever harpe upon unitie, unitie. Yea sir (quoth I) but in verity, not in poperie. Better is a diversitie, than an unity in poperie.—I had nothing againe, but scornefull jeers, with commandement to the Tower.

Anton. object. 4. But admit there be in the masse that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better: yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault: if you doe not consent thereto², whie do you trouble your selfe in vaine? do not you

manuscript copy of the proem or introduction to the Interim, transmitted by the English ambassador to the protector, which is different in many of its passages and provisions from that given by Goldastus in his Imperial Constitutions." Tytler, i. p. 85.

⁹ *That little booke.*] Of which the title is "Interim Adultero-Germanum, cui adjecta est *Vera Christianæ Pacificationis et ecclesiæ reformatæ ratio.*"

¹ *Diotrephes.*] Bishop Gardiner.

² *Not consent thereto.*] Latimer has put some of these cases (certain to be of frequent occurrence in these unhappy times) very strikingly, in a valuable letter, published by Strype, dated May 15, 1555, "out of the prison in Oxenford, called Bocardo," and addressed to "all the unfeigned lovers of God's truth."

"*I will be ashamed of him, byfore my Father and hys angels in the heavens.*— Oh, how heavy a sentence is thys to all those that know the masse to be an abhominable idoll, full of idolatrie, blasphemy, sacrilege against God, and the deare sacrifice of his Christ! As undoubtedly it is: and *that* you have well seene both by disputing of noble clerks, and also by willing sheddyng of their bloodes agaynst that heynous sacrilege. And yet for feare or favoure of men, for the losse of lyfe and goods (which is none of theirs, but lent them of God: as Davyd sayth, 'It is the Lord that maketh ryche and poore: ' and as Paule saythe, 'Yf we lyve we ar the Lords, and yf we die we ar the Lords: ' therefore, let us gyve him his owne): yea, some for advauntage and gaine, will honour with their presence this pernycious blasphemye against the deathe of our Redeemer; and so dissemble both with God and man, as their own harts and consciences do accuse them. Oh, vayne men, do you not remember that God is greater than your conscience? Yt had bene good that suche men had never knowen the trewth, and that the ghospell had never bene taught amongst them, that thus wittingly and for feare of men, who are but duste, do dissemble, or rather indede utterlye denye Christe and his sacrifice, the price of their redemption; and so bring on themselves the bloode of us, and all other that have sincerely taught the ghospel, with the

knowe both by Cyprian and Augustine that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deedes?

M. Ridleys answer. If it were anie one trifling ceremonie, or if it were some one thing of it selfe indifferent³ (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which dooth not edifie the same) yet for the continuance of the common quietnesse I could bee content⁴ to beare it. But forasmuch as thinges

adoreing and honouring of that false idol with their bodies, being the temples of God. The end of suche men is likely to be woorse than the begynnyng. . .

"And let men beware that they play not *wyllye begyle themselves*; as I feare me *they* do that go to masse: and *bycause they worshipp not*, nor *knele not downe*, as other do, *but syt still in their pewes*, therfore they think rather to do good to other than hurte. But, alas! yff suche men wold looke on their own consciences, there they shall see yf they be very dissymulers, and seking to deceave other, they deceave themselves. For by this meanes the magistrates thinke them to be of their sorte. They think that *at the elevation-time* all mens eyes ar sett on them, to marke how to do: they think that others hering of suche menes going to masse, do see or enqyre of their behaviour ther; and thus they play, *willy, beguyllyng themselves*. But yf there were in these men eyther love to God, or to their brethren, then wold they, for one or for bothe, take Gods parte, admonyshynge the people of their idolatrye. But they feare men more than God. They halte on bothe sydes. They serve two masters.—God have mercye on suche men, and anoynte their eyes with salve, that they may see that they whiche take not parte with God, are agaynst hym; and they that gather not with Christe scatter abroad."—*Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 102, 3; Records, No. 36. Compare also Philpot, in *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 168—70; and Careless, in ditto, p. 452; and Ridley, in *Strype's Ecclesiast. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 249.

³ *It selfe indifferent.*] Of the doctrine and question of *Things indifferent*, see *Christian Institutes*, Index, in v. *Indifferent things*.

⁴ *I could bee content.*] Thus we saw above, vol. ii. p. 528, that Latimer confessed he was loth to sustain death "unless it were for articles necessary of his belief." From which and the like authorities, it is clear, that our leading reformers were not actuated by any impulses of vain-glory or enthusiasm, in seeking martyrdom; but rested themselves solely on what they deemed to be a conscientious discharge of imperious duty. In further illustration of this truth, and some others not less important, I shall cite here a very interesting account of a visit of Latimer and three other friends, to James Bainham, the martyr, in Newgate, in the year 1532.

"When they were come into the dungeon, where all things seemed utterly dark, there they found Bainham sitting upon a couch of straw, with a book and a wax candle in his hand, praying and reading thereupon.

"And after salutation made, Mr. Latimer began to commune with him in this sort.—'Mr. Bainham, we hear say, that you are condemned for heresy to be burnt; and many men are in doubt, wherefore you should suffer: and I, for my part, am desirous to understand the cause of your death; assuring

done in the masse tend openlie to the overthrow of Christs institution, I judge that by no meanes either in word or deede I ought

you, that I do not allow any man should consent to his own death, unless he had a right cause to dye in. Let not vain-glory overcome you in a matter that men deserve not to dye for; for therein you shall neither please God, do good to yourself, nor your neighbour: and better it were for you to submit yourself to the ordinances of men, than so rashly to finish your life without good ground. And therefore we pray you to let us understand the articles that you are condemned for.' 'I am content,' quoth Bainham, 'to tell you altogether,—the first article that they condemne me for is this: that I reported that Thomas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, was a traitor, and was damned in hell, if he repented not: for that he was in arms against his prince, as a rebel; provoking other foreign princes to invade the realm, to the utter subversion of the same.'—Then sayd Mr. Latimer, 'Where read you this?' Quoth Mr. Bainham, 'I read it in an old history.' 'Well,' said Mr. Latimer, 'this is no cause at all worthy for a man to take his death upon; for it may be a lye, as well as a true tale; and in such a doubtful matter it were mere madness for a man to jeopard his life. But what else is layd to your charge?' 'The truth is,' said Bainham, 'I spake against purgatory, that there was no such thing, but that it picked men's purses; and against satisfactory masses; which assertions, I defended by the authority of the Scriptures.' 'Mary,' said Mr. Latimer, 'in these articles your conscience may be so stayed, that you may seem rather to dye in the defence thereof, than to recant both against your conscience and the Scriptures also. But yet beware of vain glory; for the devil will be ready now to infect you therewith, when you shall come into the multitude of the people.' And then Mr. Latimer did animate him to take his death quietly and patiently. Bainham thanked him heartily therefore. 'And I likewise,' said Bainham, 'do exhort you to stand to the defence of the truth: for you that shall be left behind, had need of comfort also, the world being so dangerous as it is.' And so he spake many comfortable words to Mr. Latimer.

"At the length Mr. Latimer demanded of him, whether he had a wife or no? With that question Bainham fell a weeping. 'What,' quoth Latimer, 'is this your constancy to God-wards? What mean you thus to weep?' 'O sir,' said Bainham to Mr. Latimer, 'you have now touched me very nigh. I have a wife, as good a woman as ever man was joined unto. And I shall leave her now, not only without substance, or any thing to live by; but also for my sake, she shall be an opprobrie unto the world, and be pointed at of every man in this sort, *Yonder goeth a heretique's wife!* And therefore she shall be disdained for my sake, which is no small grief to me.' 'Mary, sir, I perceive,' quoth Latimer, 'that you are a very weak champion, that will be overthrown with such a vanity. Where are become all those comfortable words that so late you alleged unto us, that should tarry here behind you? I mervail what you mean. Is not Almighty God able to be a husband to your wife, and a father unto your children, if you commit them to him in a strong faith? I am sorry to see you in this taking, as though God had no

to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to bee well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them, and is not meant of them which doe abhorre superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves, or upon the church instead of Gods word and the truth of the gospell.

M. Latimer. The verie marow bones of the masse are altogether detestable, and therefore by no meanes to be borne withall, so that of necessitie the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For if you take away oblation, and adoration, which doe hang upon^a consecration and transubstantiation, the most papistes of them all will not set a button by the masse, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gaine that followeth thereon. For if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainfull to them, as the masse hath beene heretofore, they would strive no more for their masse: from thence groweth the grieve.

Anton. object. 5. Consider into what dangers you cast your selfe, if you forsake the church: and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to goe to masse. For the masse is the sacrament of unitie: without the arke there is no salvation. The church is the arke and Peters ship. Ye know this saying^b well enough:

care of his, when he numbereth the hairs of a man's head. If he do not provide for them, the fault is in us that mistrust him. It is our infidelity that causeth him to do nothing for ours. Therefore, repent, Mr. Bainham, for this mistrusting of Almighty God's goodness. And be you sure, and I do most firmly believe it, that if you do commit your wife, with a strong faith, unto the governance of Almighty God, and so die therein, she, within this two years, peradventure in one year, shall be better provided for, as touching the felicity of this world, then you, with all your policy, could do for her yourself, if you were presently here.' And so, with such like words, expostulating with him for his feeble faith, he made an end. Mr. Bainham, calling his spirits to himself, most heartily thanked Mr. Latimer for his good comfort and counsele; saying plainly, that he would not for much, but that he had come thither to him; for nothing in the world so much troubled him, as the care of his wife and family. And so they departed. And the next day Bainham was burnt. Of whose death this wondrous thing is recorded, that in the midst of the flames he professed openly that he felt no pain."—*Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. 236—8.

^a Which doe hang upon.] Compare above, *Life of Latimer*, vol. ii. p. 594.

^b This saying.] "Si quis absque ecclesia inventus fuerit, alienus erit a numero filiorum: nec habebit Deum patrem qui ecclesiam noluerit habere

“he shall not have God to be his father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother.” Moreover, without the church (saith S. Augustine) be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdome of heaven.

M. Ridleys answer. The holie catholike or universall church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the citie of God, the spouse of Christ, the bodie of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth, this church I beleve according to the creede. This church I doe reverence, and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule, we goe forward unto life. And as many as walke according to this rule, I say with S. Paule, peace be upon them, and upon Israell, which pertaineth unto God. The guide of this church is the Holie Ghost. The marks⁷ whereby this church is knowne unto me in this darke world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: the sincere preaching of Gods holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charitie, and faithfull observing of ecclesiasticall discipline, according to the word of God. And that church or congregation which is garnished with these markes, is in verie deede that heavenlie Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that bee borne from above. This is the mother of us all: and by Gods grace, I will live and die the childe of this church. Foorth of this (I grant) there is no salvation: and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church onely.—In times past (sayth Chrysostome) there are many wayes to know the church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastitie, by doctrine, by ministring the sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take holde of the church, it is onely knowne by the Scriptures which is the true church. They have all things in outward shew, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours, &c. And in the end he concludeth; wherefore onely by the Scriptures doe we know which is the true church.

To that which they saie, the masse is the sacrament of unitie;

matrem: nihilque ei valebit quod credidit vel fecit tanta bona sine fine summi boni.” Augustini *de Symbolo sermo ad Catechumenos*, § 13.

⁷ *The marks.*] Compare Art. XIXth of the Church of England. The marks here mentioned by Ridley are the same which are attributed to the church in the catechism of king Edward VI. See *Enchiridion Theolog.*, vol. i. p. 44, 5.

I aunswere : The bread which we breake, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unitie of Christs mysticall body. For we being many are one bread, and one body, for somuch as wee all are partakers of one bread. But in the masse the Lords institution is not observed : for wee bee not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is used) it may seeme a sacrament of singularitie, and of a certaine speciall priviledge for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather then a sacrament of unitie, wherein our knitting together in one is represented.

M. Latimer. Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with antichrist? Therefore is it not lawfull to beare the yoke with papists. Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them, sayeth the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfai the church. Would God it were well knowne, what is the forsaking of the church. In the kinges days that dead is, who was the church of England? The king and his fautors, or, the massemongers in corners? If the king and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the church, abiding in the same proceedings? If clanculary massemongers might be of the church, and yet contrarie to the kings proceedings, why may not we as well be of the church, contrarying the queens proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate thy selfe from them that are such, saith S. Paul :—from whom? The text hath before, If any man follow other doctrine, &c. he is puffed up, and knoweth nothing, &c. Weigh the whole text, that yee may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations.—But wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many thinges? You know the old verses,

“ Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire :
Si Christum bene scis, satis est, si cætera nescis.”

That is, this is to be ignorant, to knowe many thinges without Christ : if thou knowest Christ well thou knowest enough, though thou know no more. Therefore would saint Paul know nothing, but Jesus Christ crucified, &c. As many as are papists and massemongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they knowe not Christ ; for as much as in their massing they take much away from the benefite and merite of Christ.

Anton. object. 6. That church which you have described unto

me, is invisible, but Christes church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, *dic Ecclesiam*, Tell it unto the church. For he had commanded in vaine to goe unto the church if a man cannot tell which it is.

M. Ridleyes answer. The church which I have described is visible, it hath members which may be seene; and also, I have afore declared, by what markes and tokens it may be knowne. But if either our eies are so dazled, that we cannot see, or that Sathan hath brought such darknesse into the world that it is hard to discern the true church; that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Sathans darknes. But yet in this most deep darknes, there is one most cleere candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darknesse; "Thy word is a candle unto my feete, and a light unto my steps."

Anton. object. 7. The church of Christ is a catholike or universall church, dispersed throughout the whole world: this church is the great house of God, in this are good men and evill mingled together, goates and sheep, corne and chaffe: it is the net which gathereth all kind of fishes. This church can not erre, because Christe hath promised it his spirit, which shall lead it into all truth: and that the gates of hell shall not prevaile against it: that hee will be with it unto the end of the world: whatsoever it shall loose, or binde upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the pillar and staie of the truth: this is it for the which saint Augustine saith, he beleeveth the gospell. But this universall church alloweth the masse, because the more parte of the same alloweth it. Therefore, &c.

M. Ridleyes answer. I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers maners in the Scriptures. Sometime for the whole multitude of them which professe the name of Christ, of the which they are also named Christians. But as saint Paul saith of the Jew, not everie one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c. neither yet all that be of Israell, are counted the seede; even so not every one which is a Christian outwardly, is a Christian in deede. For if any man have not the spirit of Christ, the same is none of his.

Therefore that church which is his bodie, and of which Christ is the head, standeth onely of living stones, and true Christians, not onely outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But forsomuch as this church (which is the second taking of the church) as touching the outward fellowship, is con-

tained within the great house, and hath with the same, outward societie of the sacraments and ministerie of the worde, many things are spoken of that universall church (which saint Augustine calleth the mingled church) which cannot truely be understood, but onlie of that pure part of the church. So that the rule of Ticonius⁸ concerning the mingled church, may here well take place, where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is either for the multitude of good men, which is the verie true church indeed, or for the multitude of evill men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of sathan; and is also the third taking of the church: of the which, although there be seldomer mention in the Scriptures, in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendome, this church hath borne the greatest swinge. This distinction pre-supposed of the three sortes of churches, it is an easie matter, by a figure called synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universall church, that which cannot truely be understood but onely of the one parte thereof.

But if any man will stiffely affirme, that *universall* doth so pertain unto church that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needes be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man, where that universall church was in the times of the patriarkes and prophets, of Noah, Abraham and Moses (at such time as the people would have stoned him), of Helias⁹, of Hieremie, in the times of Christ, and the dispersion

⁸ *Rule of Ticonius.*] “Tichonius quidam qui contra Donatistas invictissime scripsit, cum fuerit Donatista, et illic invenitur absurdissimi cordis, ubi eos non omni ex parte relinquere voluit fecit librum quem *Regularum* vocavit, quia in eo quasdam septem regulas exsecutus est, quibus quasi clavibus divinarum Scripturarum aperirentur occulta. Quarum primam ponit *de Domino et ejus corpore*, secundam *De Domini corpore bipartito*, tertiam *De promissis et lege*, quartam *De specie et genere*, quintam *De temporibus*, sextam *De recapitulatione*, septimam *De diabolo et ejus corpore.*” Augustinus *de Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iii. cap. 42. The work of Tichonius is to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, vol. xv. of the Cologne edition, 1622, and vol. vi. of the Lyons edition, 1677.

⁹ *Of Helias.*] Laurence Saunders, the martyr, writes as follows from his prison in the Marshalsea, to a friend, who had desired to know what had passed at a visit which Dr. Weston had made him there.

“Maister Weston came to conferre with Mr. Grimbold; and what he hath with him concluded, I know not. I pray that it may be to God’s glory!
Amen. [“Maister

of the apostles, in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius. It is worthie to be noted, that Lira¹ writeth upon Mathew²: The church (saith he) doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignitie, whether it be ecclesiasticall, or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors have beene found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the church consisteth in those persons, in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith, and of the truth. Evill men (as it is in a glose of the decrees³) are in the church in name, and not in deede. And saint Augustine⁴, *contra Cresconium grammaticum* saith: Whosoever is afraide to be deceived by the darkenesse of this question, let him aske counsell at the same church of it: which church the Scripture dooth point out without anie doubtfulness.—All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this

“Maister Weston, of his gentleness, visited me, and offered me frendship, in hys worldlye, wilye sort. I had not so much manners as to take it at his hands, saying that ‘I was well enough, and ready chearefully to abide the extremetie, to kepe thereby a good conscience.’ ‘You be a-sleep in sin,’ sayd he. ‘I would awake,’ quoth I, ‘and do not forget *Vigilate et orate*, &c.’ ‘What church was there,’ quoth he, ‘thirty yeres past?’ ‘What church was there, in Helias’ time?’ quoth I. ‘Joane of Kent,’ quoth he, ‘was of your church.’ ‘No;’ quoth I, ‘we did condemne her as an heretike.’ ‘Who was of your church,’ quoth he, ‘thirty yeare past?’ ‘Such,’ quoth I, ‘as that Romysh Antichrist had reputed and condemned as heretikes.’ ‘Wickliffe, Thorpe, Oldcastle,’ quoth he. ‘Yea,’ quoth I, ‘and many more, as storyes do tell.’ ‘The byshop of Rome,’ quoth he, ‘long time played a parte in your rayling sermons; but now, be sure, he must playe another manner of part.’ ‘More pitie,’ quoth I: ‘and yet, some comfort it is, to see how that the best-learned, the wisest and holiest of you all, have heretofore had hym to playe a parte likewyse in your sermons and writings; though now to please the world, ye turne with the wethercocke.’—‘Did you ever,’ quoth he, ‘heare me preach agaynst the byshop of Rome?’ ‘No,’ quoth I, ‘for I never heard you preach: but I trow, you have been no wiser than other.’” *Martyrs’ Letters*, p. 150.

¹ *Lira*.] See vol. ii. note at p. 515.

² *Upon Mathew*.] Comm. in ch. xvi. “Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus, ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ vel secularis, quia multi principes, et summi pontifices et alii inferiores inventi sunt apostasse a fide.”

³ *Of the decrees*.] “Nam sunt quidam in ecclesia, nomine et re, ut boni Catholici, quidam nomine nec re, ut præcisi, quidam nomine tantum—quidam re tantum.” Decreti II. Par., can. xxiii. quæst. iii. *De penit.* i. 70.

⁴ *Saint Augustine*.] “Quisquis falli metuit, hujus obscuritate quæstionis, eandem ecclesiam de illa consulat, quam sine ulla ambiguitate sancta Scriptura demonstrat.” Augustinus *contra Cresconium Donatistam*. lib. i. 39.

matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written bookes: wherein I am inforced to complaine of them unto God: for they spoyle me of all my labours, which I have taken in my studie these manie yeares. My memorie was never good, for helpe whereof I have used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that therby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be Gods will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poore learning I had (as me thought) in store, to the intent that I now destitute of that, should from thenceforth learne onelie to knowe with Paule, Christ, and him crucified?—The Lord graunt mee herein to be a good young scholler, and to learne this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, &c. make mee ever to forget that! Amen, amen.

M. Latimer. I have no more to say in this matter: for you your selfe have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of saint Augustine, “I would not beleeeve the gospel^a,” &c. was woont to trouble many men. As I remember, I have read it well qualified of Philippe Melancthon: but my memorie is altogether slipperie. This it is in effect; the church is not a judge, but a wittnesse^b. There were in his time that lightly esteemed the testimonie of the church, and the outward ministerie of preaching, and rejected the outward word it selfe, sticking onely to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drave saint Augustine into that excessive vehemencie. In the which after the bare sound of the wordes, hee might seeme to such as do not attaine unto his meaning, that hee preferred the church farre before the gospell, and that the church hath a free authority over the same: but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the anabaptists, which thinke the open ministerie to be a thing not necessarie, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies.

^a *I would not beleeeve the gospel.*] “*Evangelio non crederem nisi me Catholicæ ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas.*” *Augustinus contra epistolam Manichæi quam vocant Fundamenti*; § 6.

^b *But a wittnesse.*] “Wherefore, although the church be a *witness* and a *keeper* of holy writ, yet, as it ought not to *decree* any thing *against* the same, so *besides* the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.” Art. XX. of the Church of England; *Of the authority of the Church.*

I would not sticke to affirme that the more part of the great house, that is to say of the whole universall church, may easily erre. And againe, I would not sticke to affirme that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a masse of the Holy Ghost⁷ going before. For in the first Christ ruleth, in the latter the divell beareth the swinge⁸: and how then can any thing be good that they goe about? From this latter shall our sixe articles⁹ come forth againe into the light, they themselves being verie darkenesse. — But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better part of the catholicke church may be seene of men or no? Saint Paule saith, The Lord knoweth them that are his. What maner of speaking is this, in commendation of the Lord, if we know as well as he, who are his? Well, thus is the text: The sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seale, the Lord knoweth them that are his, and let everie man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquitie. Now how manie are there of the whole catholicke church of England, which depart from iniquitie? How many of the noble men, how many of the bishops or clergie, how

⁷ *A masse of the Holy Ghost.*] That is, according to the practice of the church at the opening of councils, convocations, &c. “Therefore, I say, it is both laudable and necessary, that all counceils be begon with prayers unto our mercifull Father, and in our prayers to open unto him our necessities, and to call uppon him for ayde to rule oure hartes whollye to seke his glory. But this must be done earnestly with harty mourning unto him, not slenderlye, not for a face and custume only, as hath bene hetherto used, to have an unholy masse of the Holy Ghost, rolled up with discant, pryksonge, and organes, whereby mens hartes be ravished cleane bothe from God, and from the cogitations of al such things as they ought to pray for.” *Complaint of Roderyck Mors unto the Parliament House of England*, signat. A 5 b. See also Strype’s *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. i. p. 50.

⁸ *Beareth the swinge.*] “Cardinall Chastillion, as I hear, is a great aider of Lutherians, and hath been a great stay in this matter, which otherwise had been before now concluded, to the destruction of any man that had almost spoken of God’s word. Nevertheless, the Protestants here fear that it cannot come much to a better end, where such a number of bishops and cardinals bear the swing.” Sir William Pickering to the lords of the council, from Melun, 4th Sept. 1551, in Tytler, i. 420.

“When the time drew nigh that the king’s majestie (who was newly married to that good and virtuous lady, Katherine Parr) should make his progress abroad, the aforesaid Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had so compassed his matters, that no man bare so great a swinge about the king as he did.” Fox, new edit. vol. v. p. 486.

⁹ *Our sixe articles.*] See above, *Life of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 260, and note.

many of the rich men, or marchants, how many of the queenes counsellors, yea, how many of the whole realme? In how small roome then, I pray you, is the true church within the realme of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceite of mine owne well grounded (as they say) when I began, but now it is fallen by the way.

Anton. object. 8. Generall counceils represent the universall church, and have this promise of Christ. Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. If Christ bee present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in generall counceils masse hath bin approved and used. Therefore, &c.

M. Ridleys answer. Of the universall church which is mingled of good and bad, thus I thinke¹: whensoever they which be chiefe in it, which rule and governe the same, and to whom the rest of the whole mysticall body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walke after the guiding and rule of his word, and goe before the flock towards everlasting life, then undoubtedlie counceils gathered together of such guides and pastours of the Christian flocke doe indeed represent the universall church, and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his spirit into all truth. But that any such counsell hath at any time allowed the masse, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions, *that* I utterlie denie, and affirme it to bee impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darknesse, betweene Christ and Beliall, so surelie superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship, and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, that is, in spirit and trueth, can never agree together. But ye will say, where so great a companie is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I aunswere: if there be one hundred good, and two hundred badde (forsomuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices) what can the lesse number of voices availe? It is a knowne thing, and a common proverbe: Oftentimes the greater part overcommeth the better.

M. Latimer. As touching generall counceils, at this present

¹ *Thus I thinke.*] Compare Art. XXI. of the Church of England; *Of the authority of General Councils.*

I have no more to say, than you have sayd. Only I referre you to your owne experience, to thinke of our countrey parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have seene and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth the sixe articles: for then the king would so have it, being secured of certaine. Afterward the more part did repell the same, our good Josias² willing to have it so. The same articles now againe (alas) another great, but worse part hath restored. O what an uncertaintie is this! But after this sort most commonly are mans proceedings: God be mercifull unto us, who shall deliver us from such tormentes of mind? Therefore is death the best physitian, but unto the faithfull, whom she together at once delivereth from all griefes. You must thinke this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted.

Anton. object. 9. If the matter should go thus, that in generall counsels men should not stand to the more number of the whole multitude (I meane of them which ought to give voices) then should no certaine rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weightie matters might be determined: but it is not to be beleaved, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessarie a helpe and safegard.

M. Ridleyes answer. Christ, who is³ the most loving spouse of his espouse the church, who also gave himselfe for it, that he might sanctifie it unto himselfe, did give unto it abundantly all thinges which are necessarie to salvation, but yet so, that the church should declare it selfe obedient unto him in all thinges, and keep it selfe within the boundes of his commaundements, and further not to seeke any thing which hee teacheth not, as necessarie unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christs religion, Christ himselfe hath left unto the church not onely Moses and the prophets, whome hee willeth his church in all doubts to goe unto, and aske counsell at, but also the gospels, and the rest of the body of the Newe Testament: in the which whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessarie to be knowne unto salvation, is revealed and opened.

So that now we have no need to say, Who shall clime up into

² *Good Josias.*] Edward VI.

³ *Christ, who is.*] Compare Art. VI. and XX. of the Church of England: *Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation;* and *Of the authority of the Church.*

heaven, or who shall goe downe into the deapth, to tell us what is needfull to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is aboundantie declared unto us in his word written, so that heereafter if wee walke earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the trueth, it is not to be doubted, but thorow the certain benefit of Christs spirit, which he hath promised unto his, wee may finde it, and obtaine everlasting life. Should men aske counsell of the dead for the living, saith Esay? Let them go rather to the lawe and to the testimonie, &c. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth, unto the Scriptures, saying: Search the Scriptures. I remember a like thing well spoken of Hierom: Ignorance of the Scriptures, is the mother and cause of all errours. And in another place, as I remember in the same author: The knowledge of the Scriptures is the food of everlasting life. But now me thinketh I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to shew, either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy Scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it, that I am now about, that Christ would have the church his spouse in all doubtles to aske counsell at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the olde and the new. Neither doe wee reade that Christ in any place hath laide so great a burthen upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to goe to the universall church. What soever things are written saith Paule, are written for our learning. And it is true that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherdes and teachers, to the edifying of the saintes, till wee come all to the unitie of faith, &c. But that all men should meete together out of all partes of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither finde it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God.

H. Latimer. There is diversity betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politike and civill matters. For in the first wee must stand only to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they bee well understood. And they offer themselves to bee well understood onely to them, which have good willes, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men lesse apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But in the other, that is in civill or politike matters, oftentimes

the magistrates doe tolerate a lesse evill, for avoiding of a greater: as they which have this saying oft in their mouthes: "better an inconvenience than a mischief." And it is the propertie of a wise man, saith one, to dissemble many thinges; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule. In which sayinges they bewray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not. Wherefore forasmuch as mans lawes, if it be but in this respect onely, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are inforced of necessitie to suffer many thinges out of square, and are compelled sometime to winke at the worst things: seeing they knowe not how to maintaine the common peace and quiet otherwise, they doe ordaine that the more part⁴ shall take place. You knowe what these kindes of speeches meane, "I speake after the maner of men;" "yee walke after the maner of men;" "all men are lyars." And that of saint Augustine: "if ye live after mans reason, yee doe not live after the will of God."

Anto. object. 10. If yee say that counceles have sometime erred, or may erre, how then should we beleve the catholike church? for that counceles are gathered by the authoritie of the catholike church.

M. Ridleyes answer. From *may be* to *be indeed*, is no good argument: but from *being* to *may be*, no man doubteth, but it is a most sure argument. But now that counceles have sometime erred⁴, it is manifest.—How many counceles were there in the east parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene councill? and all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slaunderous name (as they thought) Homoousians. Was not Athanasius, Chrysostome, Cyrill, Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretikes, and that by wicked counceles? How many thinges are there in the canons and constitutions of the counceles, which the papists themselves do much mislike?—But here peradventure one man will say unto me: We will grant you this in provinciall counceles, or counceles of some one nation, that they may sometimes erre, forsomuch as they doe not represent the universall

⁴ *The more part.*] See *Christian Institutes*, Index, under *Majority of votes*, &c., *nature and incidents of*.

⁵ *Have sometime erred.*] See Art. XXI. of the Church of England: *Of the authority of General Councils*.

church: but it is not to be beleaved, that the generall and full counsels have erred at any time.—Heere if I had my bookes of the counsels, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those bookes, I could bring something which shuld serve for this purpose. But now seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of saint Austen, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter in steed of many. Who knoweth not (sayth he)* that the holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawfull to doubt of it; and that the letters of bishops may be reprooved by other mens wordes, and by counsels, and that the counsels themselves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authoritie of the generall and full counselles: and that the former generall counsels are amended by the latter, when as by some experience of thinges, either that which was shut up, is opened, or that which was hid is known.—Thus much out of Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian, upon matter confessed. Heer with us when as papistrie raigned, I pray you how doth that booke which was called the Bishops Booke, made in the time of king Henrie the eight, whereof the bishop of Winchester⁷ is thought to be either the first father or chiefe gatherer: how doth it (I say) sharply

* *Sayth he.*] De baptismo contra Donatistas, lib. ii. § 4.

⁷ *The bishop of Winchester.*] I own this statement surprises me; and yet it may well seem presumptuous to call in question the authority of Ridley on a point like the present. The "Bishop's Book" unquestionably is that whose proper title is, "The Institution of a Christian Man, &c." (A.D. 1537.) Now of this, I confess, I have long been much more inclined to attribute the main authorship to Cranmer, and others of his party, especially, perhaps, to Fox, bishop of Hereford, than to Gardiner; while again, Gardiner no doubt did exert a great and mischievous influence on the preparation and contents of that other book, often styled "the King's Book," that is, "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man, set furth by the Kynges Majesty of Englande, &c." (A.D. 1543), curious and valuable as that work still, undeniably, is.—I venture to conjecture therefore, that Ridley here inadvertently wrote the "Bishop's Booke" instead of the "*King's Book*:" a conjecture, which probably may be considered well-grounded, when I mention, that in the latter, there is "a sharp reproof" of the Florentine Council, (see p. 285 of a useful volume, *the Formularies of Faith put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII.* published at Oxford, A.D. 1825. and superintended by bishop Lloyd, then Regius Professor of Divinity in that university;) while I do not find any such "reproof" in the other work, the Institution; or indeed any mention of the council at all. Of this book, some account may be found in the present collection, in a note to the *Life of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 261.

reproove the Florentine councell, in which was decreede the supremacie of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those daies our learned ancient fathers, and bishoppes of England, did not sticke to affirme, that a generall councell might erre.—But me think I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying: these which you have called councels, are not worthy to be called councels, but rather assemblies, and conventicles of heretikes,—I pray you sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slaunderous a name?—Because (sayth he) they decreed things hereticall, contrarie to true godlinesse, and sound doctrine, and against the faith of Christian religion.—The cause is waightie, for the which they ought of right so to bee called. But if it be so that all councels ought to be despised, which decree anie thing contrarie to sound doctrine, and the true worde, which is according to godlinesse; for so much as the masse, such as we had here of late, is openly against the word of God, forsooth it must followe of necessitie, that all such councels, as have approved such masses, ought of right to bee fled and despised as conventicles, and assemblies of men that stray from the truth.

Another man alledgeth unto me the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, without which, neither can the councels (saith he) be lawfully gathered, neither being gathered determin any thing concerning religion. But this objection is onely grounded upon the ambitious and shamelesse mainetainance of the Romish tyrannie, and usurped dominion over the clergie, which tyrannie wee English men long agoe, by the consent of the whole realme, have expulsed, and abjured. And how rightlie we have done it, a little booke^a, sette forth *de utraque potestate* (that is of both the powers) doth clearely shewe. I grant that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to it selfe and to usurpe such a privileged of olde time. But the councell of Carthage, in the yeare of our Lord 457, did openly withstand it, and also the counsel at Milevis, in the which S. Augustine was present, did prohibite any appellations to be made to bishops beyond the sea.

^a *A little booke.*] Intitled *De differentia regie potestatis et ecclesiasticæ, ac quæ sit ipsa veritas ac virtus utriusque*. A.D. 1534, attributed commonly to Fox, soon after made bishop of Hereford. In the reign of Edward VI. it was translated into English by Henry Lord Stafford, and published with a dedication to the Duke of Somerset.

Anto. object. 11. Saint Augustine saith, the good men are not to be forsaken for the evill, but the evill are to be borne withal for the good. Ye will not say (I trowe) that in our congregations all bee evill.

M. Ridleyes answer. I speake nothing of the goodnesse or evilnesse of your congregations : but I fight in Christs quarrell against the masse, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition⁹ of the wall that made the strife, shall bee broken downe.—Now to the place of saint Austen, for bearing with the evill for the goodes sake, there ought to bee added other wordes, which the same writer hath expressedly in other places, that is ; if those evill men doe cast abroad no seedes of false doctrine, nor lead other to destruction by their example.

Anto. object. 12. It is perillous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perillous is it to commit any act, unto the which, the examples of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are contrary ? But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the church by reason of the masse, the examples of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are clean contrarie. Therefore, &c. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I proove thus. In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people was miserably given to superstition, the priestes despised the law of God : and yet notwithstanding, wee neither read that the prophets made any schismes or divisions, and Christ himselfe haunted the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jewes. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth houre of praier : Paule after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not

⁹ *And then the partition.*] It is not unusual for our Reformers to speak of the regret with which they find themselves separated from their Romanizing brethren. Thus, Bilney, as we saw above in his *Life*, “Against whom, good people, we must preach and teach unto you. For we cannot come to them : it is great pitie.” And archbishop Parker, after the settlement in favour of the Protestants under queen Elizabeth, speaks with regret of the mutual provocations to bitterness, and that the Romish writers, by the temper in which they write, almost constrain things “to be put abroad in syght, whiche otherwyse myght have been kept in scilence.” *Defence of Priests’ Marriages*, p. 336.

I do not remember to have noticed the expression of similar feelings of concern from the other side.

refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can shew, that either the prophetes, or Christ and his apostles did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacraments of Moses law.

M. Ridleyes answer. I grant the former part of your argument; and to the second part I say, that although it containe many true thinges, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ and the apostles, and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his apostles, yet notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficientlie proved. For ye ought to have prooved, that either the prophets, either Christ or his apostles did in the temple communicate with the people in anie kinde of worshipping which is forbidden by the lawe of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can no where be shewed. And as for the church I am not angry with it, and I never refused to goe to it, and to pray with the people, to heare the worde of God, and to do all other thinges whatsoever may agree with the word of God. Saint Augustine speaking of the ceremonies of the Jewes (I suppose in the epistle *ad Januarium*) although he grant they greevously oppressed that people, both for the number, and bondage of the same, yet hee calleth them burdens of the lawe, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to Gods worde, might after a sort be borne withall. But now, seeing they are contrarie to those thinges, which are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of anie Christian or no, let him judge which is spirituall, which feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life, more than this short and transitorie life. To that which was saide that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrarie is most evident in the historie of Toby. Of whom it is saide, that when all other went to the golden calves, which Hieroboam the king of Israell had made, he himselfe alone fledde all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem, unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israell. Did not the man of God threaten greevous plagues both unto the priestes of Bethell and to the altar which Hieroboam hadde there made after his owne fantasie? Which plagues king Josias the true minister of God did execute at the time appointed. And where doe wee reade that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry? When as the people went a

whoring with their hill altars, for what cause I pray you did the prophetes rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their owne mindes, and not after Gods word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore the false prophetes ceased not to maligne the true prophetes of God: therefore they beate them, they banished them, &c. How else I pray you can you understand *that* saint Paule alleadgeth, when hee saith, what concord hath Christ with Beliall? either what part hath the beleever with the infidell? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? for yee are the temple of the living God, as God himselfe hath sayde; I will dwell among them, and will bee their God, and they shall bee my people: wherefore, come out from among them, and separate your selves from them (sayeth the Lord) and touch none uncleane thing: so will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sonnes and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

Judith, that holie woman, would not suffer her selfe to be defiled with the meates of the wicked. All the saints of God which truly feared God, when they have beene provoked to doe any thing which they knew to be contrary to Gods lawes, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the lawes of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, yea and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. If we doe praise (sayth S. Augustine) the Machabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the lawes of their countrey; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptisme, for the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ? &c. But the supper of the Lord, such a one (I meane) as Christ commandeth us to celebrate, the masse utterlie abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully.

H. Latimer. Who am I that I should adde any thing to this which you have so well spoken? Nay, I rather thanke you, that you have vouchsafed to minister so plentifull armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving that hee cannot bee left destitute of helpe, which rightly trusteth in the helpe of God. I only learne to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be an helper unto me in time of need.

Anto. object. 13. Seeing you are so obstinately set against the masse, that you will affirme, (because it is done in a tongue

not understood of the people, and for other causes, I cannot tell what, therefore) it is not the true sacrament ordained of Christ; I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholickely of baptisme also. Is our baptisme which we doe use in a tongue unknowne to the people, the true baptisme of Christ or no? If it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the masse. If it be not the baptisme of Christ, tell me how you were baptised? Or whether will yee (as the anabaptists doe) that all which were baptised in Latin, should bee baptised againe in the English tongue?

M. Ridleyes answer. Although I would wish baptisme to be given in the vulgar tongue for the peoples sake which are present, that they may the better understand¹ their owne profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet notwithstanding there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptisme, and in the Lords supper. Baptisme is given to children, who by reason of their age are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lords supper is, and ought to be given to them that are waxen. Moreover, in

¹ *The better understand.*] Thus in a *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, presented to king Henry VIII. in the last year of his reign, the suppliants complain against the clergy: "They baptize our children in the Latin tongue, bidding us say *volo*, and *credo*, when we know not what it is they demand of us. By this means it is brought to pass, that we know not what we promise in our baptism; but superstitiously we think, that the holiness of the words, which sound so strangely in our ears, and of the water that is so oft crossed, is the doing of all the matter. Yea, we think that if our children be well plunged in the font, they shall be healthfull in all their limbs ever after. But if they suffer by any misadventure, or have any hurt in any of their members, incontinently we lay the fault, thinking that member was not well christened." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. i. p. 402.

"Aske the people what they understand by their baptisme, and thou shalt see that they beleve how that the very plunging into the water saveth them: by the promises, they know not what is signified thereby. Baptism is called *volowing* in many places of England, because the priest sayth '*Volo*, say ye.' The childe was well *volowed* (they say); yea and our vicar is as fayre a *volower* as ever a priest within this twenty miles.

"Beholde howe narrowly the people looke on the ceremony. If ought be left out, or if the childe be not altogether dipt in the water, or if, because the childe is sicke, the priest dare not plunge him into the water, but pours water on his head, how tremble they! How quake they! How say ye, Sir John (say they), is this childe christened enough? Hath it his full Christendome?" Tindal's *Obedience of a Christian Man*. Works, p. 153.

baptisme which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latine tongue, all the substantiall points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptisme to be a perfect and true baptisme: and that it is not onely not needfull, but also not lawfull for any man so christened, to be christened againe. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechisme of the Christian faith, when they shall come to yeares of discretion: which catechisme whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously imbrace and willinglie learne, in my judgement he playeth not the part of a Christian man.—But in the popish masse are wanting certaine substantials, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministration of the Lords supper: of the which there is sufficient declaration made before.

H. Latimer. Where you say (I would wish) surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have saide it is of necessitie that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the childe it selfe is sufficientlie baptised in the Latine tongue.

Anto. object. 14. Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffely, I will not say obstinately bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of meanes can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which in like cases was wont to be the onlie remedie against stiffnecked and stubborne persons, that is, you must be hammered by the lawes, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that, which a rebell to the lawes ought to suffer. Doe you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the lawes of the realme, hee bewrayeth himselfe to be an enemy to his country? Doe you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition, and civill warre? It is better that you should beare your owne sinne, than that through the example of your breach of the common lawes the common quiet should bee disturbed. How can you say, you will be the queenes true subject, when as you doe openlie professe that you will not keepe her lawes?

M. Ridleyes answer. O heavenly Father, the father of all wisdom, understanding and true strength, I beseech thee for thy onlie son our saviour Christes sake, looke mercifully upon mee wretched creature, and send thine holy Spirit into my breast, that not onely I may understand according to thy wisdom, how

this pestilent and deadlie dart is to be borne off, and with what answere it is to be beaten backe, but also when I must joyne to fight the field for the glorie of thy name, that then I being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the ende of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Now to the objection.—I grant it to be reasonable, that hee which by words and gentlenes can not be made to yeeld to that is right and good, should be brided by the streit correction of the lawes: that is to say, he that will not be subject to Gods word, must be punished by the lawes. It is true that is commonlie said: Hee that will not obey the gospell, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the lawe. But these thinges ought to take place against *him*, which refuseth to doe that is right and just, according to true godlinesse; not against *him*, which cannot quietlie beare superstitions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glorie of the name of God. To that which ye saie, a transgressour of the common lawes bewraieith himselfe to be an enemy of his countrey, surely a man ought to looke unto the nature of the lawes, what manner of lawes they be which are broken. For a faithful Christian ought not to thinke alike of all manner of lawes. But that saying ought onely truely to be understood of such lawes as be not contrarie to Gods word. Otherwise, whosoever love their countrey in truth (that is to say in God) they will alwaies judge (if at anie time the lawes of God and man be the one contrarie to the other) that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that thinke otherwise, and pretend a love to their countrey, forsomuch as they make their countrey to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the onlie stay of that countrey, surely I doe thinke that such are to be judged most deadly enemies, and traytors to their countrey. For they that fight against God, which is the safetie of their countrey, what do they else but go about to bring upon their countrey a present ruine and destruction? But they that doe so are worthy to be judged enemies to their countrey, and betrayers of the realme. Therefore, &c.

But this is the readiest way (yee saie) to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the common wealth: therefore are these thinges to be repressed in time, by force of lawes. Behold,

Sathan doth not cease to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in a readines to hurle against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them (if he can) in danger of the higher powers. For so hath he by his ministers alwaies charged the prophets of God. Achabe saide unto Elias, art thou hee that troubleth Israell? The false prophets also complained to their princes of Jeremie, that his words were seditious and not to be suffered. Did not the Scribes and Pharisies falselie accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? Did they not at the last cry, if thou let this man go, you are not Cesars friend? The oratour Tertullus, how doth hee accuse Paule before Felix the high deputie? We have found this man, sayeth he, a pestilent fellow and a stirrer of sedition unto all the Jewes in the whole world, &c. But I pray you were these men, as they were called, seditious persons? Christ, Paul, and the prophets? God forbid. But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore I pray you, but because they reprooved before the people their guiles, superstition and deceits? And when the other could not beare it, and would gladlie have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the common wealth, that being by this meanes made hatefull to the people and princes, they might the more easilie bee snatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how farre they were from all seditions, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation doth well declare.

For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithfull subject to his prince, which professeth openlie that he will not observe the lawes which the princes hath made: here I would wish that I might have an indifferent judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgement in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer therefore, a man ought to obey his prince, but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For hee that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God, doth not a dutie to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince and an helper unto him to work his owne destruction. He is also unjust which giveth not to the prince, that which is the princes, and to God that is Gods. Here commeth to my remembrance, that notable saying of Valentinianus the emperour for choosing the bishop of Millaine. Set him² (saith he) in the bishoppes seate, to whom if wee (as man)

² Set him.] S. Ambrose.

doe offend at anie time, wee may submitte our selves. Policarpus the most constant martyr, when he stooode before the chiefe ruler, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to sweare by the fortune of Cesar, &c. hee answered with milde spirite: Wee are taught saith he, to give honour unto princes, and those powers which be of God; but such honour as is not contrarie to Gods religion³.

³ *To Gods religion.*] The plea alleged in this last objection, with some others to which the Protestants were exposed, whether from the suggestions of their own minds, the persuasions of friends, or the alternate threats and temptations of their Romish adversaries, is considered in an interesting letter of the martyr, John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester; from which I shall here produce some short extracts.

"It is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England, the faithless departing both of men and women from the true knowledge and use of Christes syncere religion, which so plentifully they have bene taught and do know, their own consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof. If that earth be cursed of God, which eftsoons receiving moysture and pleasaunt dewes from heaven, doth not bryng forth fruit accordyngly, how much more grevous judgement shall such persons receive, who having received from the Father of heaven the perfitte knowledge of hys worde by the mynistry thereof, do not shew forth Gods worshippe after the same? . . .

"Some fondely thynke that the *presence of the bodye* is not materiall, so that the *hearte* doe not consente to their wycked doyngs. But such persons little consider what S. Paule writeth to the Corinthians, commandyng them to glorify God as well in body as in soule. (1 Cor. vi.) Moreover we can do no greater injurie to the true church of Christe, than to seeme to have forsaken her, or to disallowe her by cleaving to her adversarye; wheareby it appeareth to others whiche be weake, that we allow the same, and so, contrary to the word do give a great offence to the church of God, and doe outwardly alaunder (as much as men may) the truth of Christ. . . .

"Many will say for their vain excuse, 'God is *merciful*, and his *mercy* is over all.'—But the Scripture teacheth us, that cursed is he that synneth upon hope of forgiveness. Truth it is that the mercy of God is above all his workes; and yet, but upon such as feare him; for so is it written in the psalme; the mercy of God is on them that feare hym, and on such as put theyr trust in him. . . .

"Another sort of persons do make them a cloke for the rayn under the pretence of *obedience to the magistrates*, whom we oughte to obey, although they be wycked:—But such muste learn of Christe to give to Cesar that is Cesars, and to God that is due to God, (Luke xx.) and wyth S. Peter (c. ii.) to obey the hygher powers, in *the Lord*, albeit they be evil, if they commaund nothing contrary to Gods worde; otherwise, we oughte not to obey theyr commaundements, although we should suffer death therefore: as we have the apostles for our example herein to follow, who answered the magistrates as we ought to doe in this case, not obeying their wicked pre-

Hitherunto ye see good father, how I have in words onelie made as it were a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons, to fight against the adversarie of Christ, and to muse with my selfe how the dartes of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what sort I may smite him againe with the sworde of the Spirit. I learne also hereby to be in ure with armour, and to assaie how I canne goe armed. In Tyndall where I was borne, not farre from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrie men to watch night and day in their harnesse, such as they

ceptes, saying, Judge you whether it bee more ryghteous that we shoulde obeye men rather than God. (Acts iv.) . . .

"Some other there be that for an extreme refuge in their evill doyngs do run to Gods *prædestination and election*, saying, that if I be elected of God to salvation, I shall be saved whatsoever I do.—But such be great tempters of God; and abominable blasphemers of Gods holy election, and caste themselves downe from the pynacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preserve them by his aungels by prædestination. Such verily may reckon themselves to be none of Gods elect children, that wil doe evil that good may ensue, whose damnation is just, as S. Paule saith. (Rom. iii.) . . .

"Manye affirme theyr *conscience* will beare them well enough, to doe all that they doe; and to goe to the idolatrous church to service, whose conscience is very large to satisfie man more than God. And although theyr conscience can beare them so to do, yet I am sure that a *good conscience* will not; whiche cannot be good unlesse it bee directed after the knowledge of Gods word. And therefore if oure conscience bee ledde of herselfe, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not so to bee excused." *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 216, &c. edit. 1564.

Robert Glover again, a layman, a gentleman of Gloucestershire, whom we shall again have occasion to quote, (see below, p. 61) thus describes to his wife the workings of his mind.

"If I woulde have given place to *worldlye reasons*, these myghte have moved me. Fyrste, the foregoing of you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children, being yet tender of age and younge, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the *more neede* of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gyftes to helpe them withall; *possessions* above the common sorte of men: *because* I was never called to be a preacher or minister; and (because of my sicknesse), *fear of death* in imprisonment before I shoulde come to my answer, and so my death to bee unprofitable.—But these, and such like, I thanke my heavenly Father, (which of hys infinite mercy inspyred me with hys Holye Ghoste, for hys Sonnes sake, my only savioure and redeemer) prevayled not in me: but when I had by the wonderful permission of God fallen into their handes, at the fyrst sight of the sheriffe, nature a little abashed; yet, or ever I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, feare departed." *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 531, 2. edit. 1564.

hadde, that is in their jacks, and their speares in their hands (you call them Northern gads) specially when they had anie privie warning of the comming of the Scottes. And so doing, although at everie such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such meanes like prettie men they defended their countrey. And those that so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrell, and their offspring and progenie all the countrey loved them the better for their fathers sake. And in the quarrell of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his owne divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortalitie, yea, in the quarrell of faith, and Christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall wee not watch? shall wee not goe alwaies armed? ever looking when our adversarie (which like a roring lyon seeketh whom he may devoure) shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppresse us unawares, which undoubtedly he will doe, if he finde us sleeping. Let us awake therefore. For if the good man of the house knew at what houre the theefe would come, he would surely watch and not suffer his house to bee broken uppe. Let us awake therefore I say: let us not suffer our house to be broken up. Resist the divell, saith saint James, and he will flee from you. Let us therefore resist him manfully, and taking the crosse upon our shoulders, let us follow our captaine Christ, who by his owne blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attaine, the fountaine of the everlasting joys. Let us follow I say, whither hee calleth and allureth us, that after these afflictions which last but for a moment, whereby hee tryeth our faith as golde by the fire, wee may everlastingly raigne and triumph with him in the glorie of the Father, and that through the same our lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost bee all honor and glorie now and for ever, Amen, amen.

Good father, forsomuch as I have determined with my selfe, to powre forth these my cogitations into your bosome, here me thinketh I see you sodainlie lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your propheticall countenance, and speaking unto me, with these or like wordes, Trust not, my sonne (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name; for in so dooing I shall thinke my selfe both

honoured, and loved of you,) trust not, I say, my sonne to these word weapons: for the kingdome of God is not in words but in power. And remember alwayes the wordes of the Lord, "doe not imagine aforehand, what and how you will speake. For it shall be given you, even in that same houre what ye shall speake; for it is not ye that speake, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." I pray you therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I knowe, and am surely perswaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or thinke aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit when the time is.—I beseech you therfore father, pray for me, that such a complet harneis of the Spirit, such boldnesse of mind may bee given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, "I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shal save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse, &c. but the Lords delight is in them that feare him and put their trust in his mercie." I beseech you pray, pray, that I may enter this fight onelie in the name of God, and that when all is past, I being not overcome, through his gracious aide, may remaine and stande fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtaine the victorie, shall bee given the lively manna to eate, and a triumphant crowne for evermore.

Now, father, I pray you helpe me to buckle on this geare a little better. For yee knowe the deepenes of Sathan, being a knowne souldior, and you have collared with him or now: blessed be God, that hath ever ayded you so well. I suppose he may wel hold you at the bay: but truely he will not bee so willing (I thinke) to joine with you, as with us yonglings.

Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babling unto you, and now and then as it shall seeme unto you best, let your pen run on my booke: spare not to blot my paper. I give you good leave.

M. Latimer. Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto mee, but also to write it out⁴. For it is not

⁴ *To write it out.*] Upon an occasion of alarm, and after some writings of Ridley's, among which was this conference, had fallen into the hands of his enemies, in a letter to Cranmer, he gives this advice, "Bicause in the book of N. R. and H. L. it is saide in the ende, that H. L. hath caused his servant to write it, I would Austine" (Bernher) "should have word, if any further

onellie no bare armour, but also well buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thanke you even from the bottome of my hart for it, and my prayer shall you not lacke, trusting that you doe the like for me. For indeede *there* is the helpe, &c.—Many thinges make confusion in memorie. And if I were as well learned as saint Paule, I would not bestow much amongst them : further than to gall them, and spurgall too, when and where as occasion were given and matter came to minde : for the lawe shall be their shoot anchor, stay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedie, namely, now when they have the maister bowl in their hand and rule the roste, but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelty they will put unto us, than to incurre Gods high indignation. Wherefore, good my lord, be of good cheere in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithfull, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, &c. Be at a point what ye will stand unto : sticke unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of it self mortall. Neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them, when the houre appointed is come. To use many wordes with them it shall bee but in vaine, now that they have a bloudie and deadly lawe prepared for them. But it is verie requisite that ye give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietlie heare you : else yee knowe, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keepe silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophisticall sophismes and fallacies. You know that false thinges may have more appearance of truth, than thinges that bee most true : therefore Paule giveth us a watchword ; “ Let no manne deceive you with likeliness of speech.” Neither is it requisite that with the contentious yee should followe strife of wordes, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vaine bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Feare of death doth most perswade a great number. Be well ware of that argument : for that perswaded Shaxton ⁶ (as many men thought) after that hee had once made a good profession, openly before the judgement

serch be, to kepe him out of the way.” Coverdale’s *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 57. A.D. 1564.

⁶ *Perswaded Shaxton.*] See Strype’s *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 353. Also vol. i. p. 352.

seate. The flesh is weake, but the willingnesse of the spirite shall refresh the weaknesse of the flesh.

The number of the criers under the aultar must needes bee fulfilled: if we be segregated thereunto, happy be we⁶. That is the greatest promotion, that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians, to whom it is given, not onely to beleeve, but also to suffer, &c. But who is able to doe these things? Surely all our habilitie, all our sufficiencie is of God. Hee requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite, in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire.

When that number is fulfilled which I weene shall be shortly, then have at the papists; when they shal say peace, all things are safe; when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament to the redresse of all things that be amisse. But hee shall not come as the papists faine him, to hide himselfe and to plaie bo peepe, as it were, under a piece of bread: but hee shall come gloriouslie, to the terror and feare of all papists; but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort your selves one another with these words.

Lo, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and plaid the foole egregiously: but so I thought better than not to doe your request at this time. Pardon me and pray for me: pray for me I say, pray for me I say. For I am sometime so fearfull, that I would creepe into a mouse hole: sometime God doth visite me againe with his comfort. So he commeth and goeth, to teach me to feele and to knowe mine infirmitie, to the intent to give thanks

⁶ *Happy be we.*] Robert Glover, the same whom we have mentioned above, p. 57. note, who suffered at Coventry, Sept. 14, 1555, thus writes, in a letter to his wife.

"After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there a whyle, *I wept for joy and gladness*, musing much of the great mercies of God, and as it were saying to myself, after this sort; O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestowe thus thy great mercie, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for thy gospel's sake? And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthynesse, and on the other side, the greatnesse of Gods mercy to be called to so high a *promotion*, I was as it were amazed and overcome for a whyle *with joye and gladnesse* concluding thus with myself in my heart. O Lord, that shewest power in weaknesse, wysdome in foolishnesse, mercy in sinfulness, who shall *set* thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so ever thought I myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of affliction for the same." *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 408, 9.

to him that is worthie, least I should rob him of his dutie, as many doe, and almost all the world. Fare ye well.

What credence is to be given to papists it may appeare by their racking, writhing, wrinching, and monstrously injuring of Gods holy Scripture, as appeareth in the popes lawe. But I dwell here now in a schoole of obliuiousnesse. Fare you well once againe, and be you stedfast and unmoveable in the Lorde. Paule loved Timothie marvellous well, notwithstanding hee saith unto him, Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospell: and againe, Harden thy selfe to suffer afflictions. Bee faithfull unto the death, and I will give thee a crowne of life⁷ saith the Lord.

A letter sent from bishop Ridley, and his prison fellowes, unto maister Bradford and his prison-fellowes, in the Kinges Bench in Southwarke, an. 1555.

Well beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all with one heart wish to you, with all those that love God in deed and truth, grace, and health, and especially to our dearely beloved companions which are in Christs cause, and the cause both of their brethren and of their owne salvation, to put their necke willingly under the yoke of Christes crosse. How joyfull it was to us to heare the report of doctor Taylor, and of his godly confession, &c. I insure you, it is hard for me to expresse.

Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly strength and stomache in the time of aduersitie. As for the rumours that have or doe go abroad, either of our relenting or massing⁸, we trust that they which know God and their duetie towards their brethren in Christ, will not bee too light of credence. For it is not the slanderers evill tongue, but a mans evill deed that can with God defile a man: and therefore with Gods grace, ye shall never have cause to doe otherwise than ye say ye doe, that is not to doubt, but that we will, by Gods grace, continue, &c. Like rumor as yee have heard of our comming to London, hath been here spread of the comming of certain learned men,

⁷ *A crowne of life.*] "Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the *crowne* of everlasting glory. These bloodye executioners doe not persecute Christes martyrs, but crowne them with everlastyng felicity." Philpot, in *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 218. edit. 1564.

⁸ *Relenting or massing.*] Compare above p. 28, note (1).

prisoners, hither from London: but as yet we knowe no certaintie whether of these rumours is, or shall be more true. Know you that we have you in our dayly remembrance, and wish you and all the rest of our aforesaide companions well in Christ.

It should do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time doe stand in Christes cause and in the defence of the truth thereof. Somewhat we have heard of maister Hoopers matter: but of the rest never a deale. We long to heare of father Crome, doctor Sandes, M. Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, &c. We are in good health, thankes be to GOD, and yet the maner of our intreating doth change as sowre ale doth in summer. It is reported to us of our keepers, that the universitie beareth us heavily. A cole chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floore; and no more harme was done, the bayliffes servants sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as master bailiffes told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same hee was set in Bocardo. Upon these things (as is reported) there is risen a rumor in the towne and countrey about, that wee should have broken the prison with such violence, as if maister bayliffes had not plaied the pretie men, we should have made a scape. We had out of our prison a wall that wee might have walked upon, and our servants had libertie to goe abroad in the towne or fieldes, but now both they and we are restrained of both.

My lord of Worcester⁹ passed by through Oxford, but he did not visite us. The same day began our restraint to bee more, and the Booke of the Communion was taken from us by the bayliffes, at the maiors¹ commandement, as the bayliffes did report to us. No man is licensed to come unto us: afore they might, that would, see us upon the wall, but that is so grudged at, and so evill reported, that we are now restrained. Sir, blessed be God, with all our evill reports, grudges, and restraints, we are merie in God, and all our cure and care is and shall bee (by Gods grace) to please and serve him, of whom we looke and hope, after these temporall and momentarie miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetuall felicitie with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter and Paule, and all the heavenly company of the angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there was never learned

⁹ *My lord of Worcester.*] Richard Pate.

¹ *The maiors.*] — Irish. See pp. 10. 82.

man, nor any scholler, or other that visited us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a colledge of *Quondams*. For as ye know, we be no fewer than three, and I dare say every one well contented with his portion, which I doe reckon to be our heavenly Fathers fatherly good and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. Wee shall by Gods grace, one day meet together, and be merie. The daie assuredly approacheth apace: the Lord grant that it may shortly come. For before that day come, I feare me the world will waxe worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrowne and troden under foote; righteousness and trueth then shall have the victorie and beare the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partakers, and all that loveth truelie the truth!

We all pray you, as ye can, to cause all our commendations to be made to all such as ye know did visite us and you, when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefites. Mistresse Wilkenson and mistresse Warcup have not forgotten us, but ever since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that else we did lacke (for God be blessed, he ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us) but that is a great comfort, and an occasion for us to blesse God, when wee see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withall.

Yours in Christ, NICH. RIDLEY.

A Letter of M. Ridley, sent to a Cosin of his.

Gods Holy Spirit be with you now and ever, Amen.

When I cal to remembrance (beloved cosin) the state of those that for feare of trouble, either for losse of goods, will doe in the sight of the world those things which they know and are assured are contrarie to the wil of God, I can doe no lesse but lament their case, being assured the end thereof will be so pittiful (without speedy repentance) that I tremble and feare to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burden, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of presumption, but onely lamenting the state of those, who I thought now in this dangerous time should have given both you and me comfortable instructions. But alas, in steed thereof we have instructions to followe (I lament me to

rehearse it) superstitious idolatry. Yea, and that worst of all is, they wil seeke to proove it by the Scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turne their harts, Amen. Commend me, &c.

Yours, NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

To Maister Bradford.

Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea and all the holy brotherhood that now with you in divers prisons suffereth, and beareth patiently Christes crosse for the maintenance of his gospell, grace, mercy and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Sir, considering the state of this chivalrie and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christs banner, and his crosse, against our ghostly enemy the divell, and the old serpent Satan, me thinke I perceive two thinges to be his most perillous and most dangerous engines which he hath to impugne Christes veritie, his gospell and his faith: and the same two also to be the most massive postes, and most mightie pillers, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth his satanical synagogue. These two, sir, are, in my judgment, the one his false doctrine and idolatricall use of the Lords supper, and the other, the wicked and abhominable usurpation of the primacie of the see of Rome. By these two² Sathan seemeth to mee principally to maintaine and uphold

² *By these two.*] Such testimonies as this are of great value towards our obtaining a correct knowledge, and a solid judgment of the state and history of these times; by putting us in possession, from the very best authority, of those which were indeed the principal points of controversy at the period of the Reformation, a period which many are much too apt to speak, and think of, with minds *prepossessed* by more modern controversies. It is not unlikely that bishop Ridley offered this remark to Bradford's consideration, by way of moderating his zeal respecting some disputes on free-will and predestination, which had arisen among the Protestant prisoners, in consequence of Cole, Harry Hart, and a few other obscure individuals having imbibed and propagated Pelagianizing notions. Ridley could not sympathize with Bradford's warmth on this subject (not because he did not think Bradford's sentiments upon the whole right and true, and Cole's &c. wrong and false;) but, from thinking that Bradford over-rated the *importance* of the controversy, and the *influence* of his adversaries; by which coldness, it is plain, that Bradford was a little piqued.

With regard to his estimate, however, what were the most important points then in controversy, it is certain that Ridley was not singular in his judgment. "But what awayleth it" (says Cranmer) "to take away beades,

his kingdome: by these two he driveth downe mightily (alas) I feare me, the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poysonfull rotten postes he hath so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unitie in Christs church, of the catholike faith and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect of God. Wherefore John said not without great cause: If any know not satans subtleties and the profundities thereof, I will wish him no other burden to be laden withall. (Apoc. 2.)

Sir, because these be his principall and maine postes whereupon standeth all his falshood, craft, and trecherie, therefore according to the poore power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillerie to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can doe, and of my shot I knowe they passe not. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to doe the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten postes. The Lord grant me good successe, to the glorie of his name, and the furtherance of Christes gospell. I have now already (I thanke God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scriblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked surmise and say what they list; know you for a certaintie, by Gods grace, without al doubt, that in Christs gospels cause against and upon the fore-

pardons, pilgrimages, and such other like popery, so long as two chiefe rootes remayne unpulled up, whereof, so long as they remayne, will spring agayne all former impediments of the Lord's harvest, and corruption of his flocke. The rest is but branches and leaves, the cutting away whereof is but like topping and lopping of a tree, or cutting downe of weedes, leaving the body standing and the rootes in the ground; but the very body of the tree, or rather the rootes of the weedes is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation of the real presence of Christes flesh and bloud in the sacrament of the aultar (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christe made by the priest, for the salvation of the quicke and the dead." *Preface to Defence of the Catholic Doctrine, &c.* Again, Philpot, in his examinations, says, "There be *two things* principallie, by the which the clergie at this day doth deceive the whole realme; that is, the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ, and the name of the Catholike church, the which both they do usurp, having indeede none of them both." *Fox's Acts*, p. 1640. Without adducing any more, we will close our authorities with bishop Jewel. "Two principal things there be that seeme to beare up the whole brunt of the religion that hath been in the world of late time; the one is the masse, and things thereunto belonging; the other is the authority of the pope." *Sermons*, p. 174. edit. 1609. fol.

said God's enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Fare well deare brother, and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretickes (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer shall certifie you of our state. Farewell in the Lord. From Bocardo.
Yours in Christ, NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

Another Letter of maister Ridley, unto maister Bradford and other his prison-fellowes, an. 1555.

Dearlie beloved, I wish you grace, mercie and peace.

According to your mind; I have runne over all your papers³, and what have I done (which is but small) therein may appeare. In two places I have put in two loose leaves. I had much adoe to read what was written in your great leaves, and I weene some where I have altered some wordes, because I could not read perfectly that which was written.—Sir, what shall best be done with these thinges, now ye must consider: for if they come in sight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their father: and as for any safegard that your custodie can be unto them, I am sure you looke not for it. For as you have beene partner of the worke, so I am sure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drinke of the same cup. Blessed be God that hath given you libertie in the meane season, that you may use your penne to his glorie, and the comfort (as I hear say) of many. I blesse God dayly in you, and all your whole companie, to whome I beseech you commend me heartilie. Now I love my country-man in deed and in trueth, I meane doctor Taylour, not for my earthlie countreyes sake, but for our heavenlie Fathers sake, and for Christes sake, whome I heard saie, hee did so stoutly in time of perill confesse; and yet also for our countreys sake and for all our mothers sake, but I meane of the kingdome of heaven, and of heavenly Jerusalem: and because of the spirite, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in your companie such blessed fruites of boldnesse in the Lordes cause, of patience and constancie. The Lord which hath begun this work in you

³ *Your papers.*] “This was a treatise of the Lord’s Supper, with other things which M. Bradford sent him to peruse, and to judge thereof.” Fox’s Margin. The Treatise on the Lord’s Supper was printed, with a Preface, by Tho. Sampson, A.D. 1581. 12mo.

all, performe and perfect this his owne deed, untill his owne day come, Amen.

And yet I perceive ye have not beene baited⁴; and the cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them doe no more to his, than is his blessed will and pleasure to suffer them to doe for his owne glorie, and to the profite of them which bee truely his. For the Father which doth guide them that be Christes to Christ, is more mightie than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Fathers hands: except I say, it please our Father, it please our maister Christ to suffer them, they shall not stir one haire of your heads.

My brother P. the bearer heereof, and maister Hoopers letters would that we would say what we thinke good concerning your mind, that is, not for to answere except yee might have somewhat indifferent judges. Wee are (as ye knowe) separated, and one of us cannot in anie thing consult with another, and much streight watching of the bailiffes is about us, that there be no privie conference amongst us. And yet as wee hear, the schollers beareth us more heavily than the townsmen. A wonderfull thing, among so manie, never yet scholler offered to anie of us (so farre as I know) any maner of favour, either for or in Christs cause.

Now as concerning your demaund of our counsell, for my part I doe not mislike that which I perceive yee are minded to doe. For I looke for none other, but if yee answere afore the same commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or Paule. And yet further I think, that occasion afterward may be given you, and the consideration of the profite of your auditorie may perchance move you to doe otherwise.

Finallie, determinately to say what shall be best, I am not able: but I trust he, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to doe that which shall be most for his glorie, the profite of his flocke, and your owne salvation. This letter must be common to you and maister Hooper, in whome and in his prison

⁴ *Not beene baited.*] This refers to a projected design of carrying Bradford, Hooper, Ferrar, Taylor, &c. down to Cambridge to hold a public disputation there, after the manner of that with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford. Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 521. See also a letter from Hooper to Ferrar, Taylor, Bradford, and Philpot, in *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 101—3. It is the letter, probably, which is here mentioned by Ridley. The date is May 6, 1554.

fellow good father Crome I blesse God, even from the bottome of my heart: for I doubt not but they both doe to our maister, Christ, true, acceptable, and honourable service, and profitable to his flocke: the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and constancie, and all maner of true godlinesse. But what shall I neede to say to you, let this be common among your brethren, among whom (I dare say) it is with you as it is with us, to whome all thinges heere are common, meat, money, and whatsoever one of us hath, that can or may doe another good. Although I said the bailiffes and our hostesse streitly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of anie thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us in steed of our servants, faithfull fellowes, which will be content to heare and see, and to doe for us whatsoever they can. It is Gods worke surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghost be with you all, Amen, amen.

As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received^a of late, both meat, money, and shirtes, not onelie from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whose sake they doe it: to him therefore bee all honour, glorie, and due thanks.

And yet I praie you doe so much as to shewe them that wee have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed) have plenty of all such thinges. This I desire you to doe: for I know they be of M. Hoopers and your familiar acquaintance. Maister Latimer was crased^b: but I heare now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth againe.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

^a *We have received.*] It is a consolation to find that all were not like the learned men at Oxford. In two others of his letters to Bradford, Ridley says, "I am sure you have heard of our *new apparel*, and I doubt not but London will have their talke of it." And, "Do you not know that we have *victum et amictum e penario regio?*" *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 68, 9. edit. 1564.

^b *Latimer was crased.*] I know no other foundation besides this word (*crased*) for Dr. Gloucester Ridley's speaking, in his *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 531, of a "*disorder in his brain*, which the hard usage in his old age had brought upon Latimer." I apprehend that his indisposition was only some aggravation, in consequence of his confinement, of the wounds which he had received by the fall of a tree, from which he had been "sore bruised;" and in consequence of which he complained to the commissioners

Another Letter of maister Ridley unto maister Bradford.

Oh deare brother, seeing the time is now come wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father for Christ our saviours sake, to call upon you, and to bidde you to come, happy are you that ever you were borne, thus to be found awake at the Lords calling. Well good servant and faithful, because thou hast bin trusty in small matters, he shall set thee over great things and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.

O deare brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your owne native countrey?—The wisdom and policie of the world may meane what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of Gods gracious goodnesse shall be plentifully powred abroad amongst his, our deere brethren in that country, by this your martyrdome. Where the martyrs for Christes sake shed their blood, and lost their lives; oh what wondrous thinges hath Christ afterward wrought to his glorie, and confirmation of their doctrine! If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holie man doth by Christ sanctifie the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shal be that place, wherein thou shalt suffer and shalt be with thy ashes in Christs cause sprinkled over it withall. All thy countrey may rejoyce of thee, that ever it brought forth such a one, which would render his life againe in His cause, of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy journey, by Gods grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christs sake, to set thee safely home: and then, good brother, speake you, and pray for the

at Oxford; "I beseech your lordships to set a better order heere at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a *verie evill backe*, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harme." See vol. ii. p. 660.

That the word *crased* is not confined solely to *intellectual* derangements might, if it were necessary, be established by authorities such as the following. "Her body daily" (says bishop Fisher, speaking of his pious patroness the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, in a sermon preached on occasion of her death) "sholde have waxen more unweldy, her syghte sholde have be derked, and her herynge sholde have dulled more and more, her legges sholde have fayled her by and by, and all the other partys of her body waxe more *crased* every daye," p. 29. edit. 1708; or, this, "Mr. Dean of Worcester" (afterwards the famous bishop Hall) "is very *crazy* and sickly of late, and keeps his chamber, neither hath he been in the synod some of these last sessions." *Hales' Remains*, p. 430.

remnant that are to suffer for Christes sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clerely.

Wee doe looke now everie day when wee shall be called on : blessed be God. I weene I am the weakest manie waies of our companie : and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenlie Father by Christ, that since I heard of our deere brother Rogers' departing, and stout confession of Christ and his trueth, even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) so rejoiced of it, that since that time (I say) I never felt any lumpish heavinesse in my heart, as I graunt I have felt⁷ sometimes before. O good brother, blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knewe thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your brother in Christ, NICHOLAS RIDLEY.
Brother farewell.

To Augustine Bernher.

Brother Augustine, I blesse God with all my heart in his manifold mercifull gifts, given unto our deare brethren in Christ, specially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased him to set forth first, no doubt out of his gracious goodnes and fatherly favor towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as Hooper, Sanders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the forefront of the battell against his adversaries, and hath indued them all (so far as I can heare) to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause, and for his gospels sake to lose their life. And evermore and without end blessed bee even the same our heavenly father for our deare and entirely brother Bradford, whom now the Lord (I perceive)

⁷ *I graunt I have felt.*] This is perfectly in the course of nature. We saw above that even Latimer confesses, "I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse hole;" and it would be easy to accumulate other examples of a like description. But it is more to our purpose to remark, that the subjects of these temporary depressions and desertions seem to have understood for what end, in mercy, they were sent to them; namely, that they should understand and feel Where alone their real strength was to be found. Accordingly they seem, in the hour of their extremest need, never to have been forsaken. I do not know that there is a single instance on record, in either sex, where, at the final hour, any thing was visible of pusillanimous dejection, or terror. They appear to have approached the stake, and suffered themselves to be bound to it, in all cases, in a spirit of calmness and resignation, often of thanksgiving, and always with hopes full of immortality.

callesh for: for I weene he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I doe not doubt but that he (for those giftes of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously) hath holpen those which are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keepe the high waie, *et sic currere uti tandem acciperent præmium*. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I blesse God in our deare brother, and of this time protomartyr Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to bee a prebendary preacher of London. And now because Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him) I trust to God, it shall please him of his goodnesse to strengthen mee to make up the trinitie out of Pauls Church, to suffer for Christ, whom God the father hath anointed, the holy Spirit doth beare witnes unto, Paul and all the apostles preached.—Thus fare you well, I had no paper: I was constrained thus to write.

A Letter of bishop Ridley answering to a certaine Letter of one maister West, sometime his chaplaine.

I wish you grace in God, and love of the trueth, without the which truely stablished in mens heartes by the mightie hand of almightie God, it is no more possible to stand by the trueth in Christ in time of trouble, then it is for the waxe to abide the heate of the fire.—Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed bee God) perswaded that this world is but transitorie, and (as St. John saith) the world passeth away and the lust thereof. I am perswaded Christes wordes to be true, Whosoever shall confesse me before men, him will I confesse also before my father which is in heaven: and I beleve that no earthly creature shal be saved, whome the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his father deny. This the Lord graunt, that it may be so graffed, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present nor to come, high nor low, life nor death be able to remoove me thence. It is a goodly wish, that you wish mee deeply to consider thinges pertaining unto Gods glory: but if you had wished also, that neither feare of death, nor hope of worldly prosperitie should let me to maintaine Gods worde and his trueth, which is his glory and

true honour, it would have liked mee well. You desire me for Gods sake to remember my selfe. In deed sir, now it is time so to doe, for so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no lesse danger, then of the losse both of body and soule: and I trowe, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. Hee that will not feare him that threatneth to cast both body and soule into everlasting fire, whom will he feare? With this feare, O Lord, fasten thou together our fraile flesh, that we never swarve from thy lawes.—You say, you have made much sute for mee. Sir, God graunt that you have not in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of Gods worde and his trueth.

You have knowne me long in deed: in the which time it hath chaunced me, as you say, to mislike some things. It is true, I grant: for sodaine changes without substantiall and necessarie cause, and the headdy setting forth of extreamities, I did never love. Confession unto the minister^a which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and informe the weake, wounded, and ignorant conscience, in deede I ever thought might doe much good to Christes

^a *Confession unto the minister.*] Ridley's moderation in religious controversies was truly admirable, like that of the church, of which he was so illustrious an ornament, and in the settlement of which at this important time he bore so large a share. He was "always desirous" (as he expressed himself) "to set forth the mere truth, and unity."—*Strype's Eccles. Memor.*, vol. ii. p. 25. And to enforce, that "charity woulde, we shoulde, if it be possible, and so far as we maie, with the safegard of good conscience, and maintenance of the trueth, agree with all menne."—*Treatise on the Lord's Supper*, signat. F 6. edit. 1574.

His words to Bradford, in reference to the predestinarian controversy, cannot be too often inculcated, and deserve to be written in letters of gold. "SIR, IN THOSE MATTERS I AM SO FEARFUL, THAT I DARE NOT SPEAK FARTHER, YEA ALMOST NONE OTHERWISE, THAN THE VERY TEXTE DOTHE, AS IT WERE, LEAD ME BY THE HAND."—*Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 64. 5. A.D. 1564. It is greatly to be lamented, that the notes which he had drawn up on this subject, and which are mentioned in the same letter, were not printed, and cannot probably now be found.

On the subject of *private confession*, the curious reader may, perhaps, find it worth his while (if he have occasion) to consult the following references. *Communion Book* of 1547 (*Sparrow's Canons*, &c. p. 18, 19. edit. 1675); *Second Book of Homilies*, p. 457—9. edit. 1802; *Bradford's Sermon on Repentance*, signat. C 1; *Letters of the Martyrs* (Bradford's), p. 416—18; *Sampson's Letter*, signat. B 1. edit. 1554; see also the next note.

congregation, and so I assure you, I thinke even at this day^o. My doctrine and my preaching you say, you have heard often, and after your judgement have thought it godly, saving onely for the sacrament, which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deale better then of the rest (as you say) yet in the margent you write (warily, and in *this* world wisely), “and yet me thought al sounding not well.”—Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whome I fancied for plainnesse and faithfulnessse, as much, I assure you, as for your learning: and have you kept this so close in your heart from mee unto this day? Sir, I consider moe things then one, and will not say all that I thinke. But what neede you to care what I thinke, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give mee good lessons, to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vaine glory. Truly sir, I herein like your counsell very well, and by Gods grace I intend to follow it unto my lives end.

To write unto those whome you name, I cannot see what it will availe me. For this I would have you knowe, that I esteeme nothing availeable for me, which also will not further the glorie of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeale and desire of my deliverance out of this captivitie and worldly miserie, if I should not beare you a good heart in God againe, me thinke I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord’s will be fulfilled how soone soever it shall come! I know the Lordes wordes must bee verified on mee, that I shall appeare before the incorrupte judge, and be countable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my shootanker of eternall salvation, yet am I perswaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to cleere his conscience, hee cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his

^o *At this day.*] “But to speak of right and true confession, I would to God it were kept in England; for it is a good thing. And those which find themselves grieved in conscience might go to a learned man, and there fetch of hym comfort of the worde of God, and so come to a quiet conscience. . . . Surely it grieveth me much that such confessions are not kept in England.”—Latimer’s *Sermons*, fol. 314. b.

mercy. Conscience therefore mooveth me, considering you were one of my family and one of my houshold (of whom then I think I had a special cure, and of all them which were within my house, which indeed ought to have beene an example of godlinesse to all the rest of my cure, not onely of good life, but also in promoting of Gods word to the uttermost of their power, but alas, now when the triall doth separate the chaffe from the corne, how small a deale it is, God knoweth, which the winde doth not blow away), this conscience (I say) doth moove mee to feare, least the lightnesse of my family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have beene done. But blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottome of my heart, before my departing hence !

This conscience doth moove me also now to require both you and my friend doctor Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting forth and preaching of Gods word and his truth. These promises although you shall not neede to feare to bee charged with them of mee hereafter before the world, yet looke for none other (I exhorte you as my friendes) but to be charged with them at Gods hand. This conscience and the love that I beare unto you, biddeth mee now say unto you both in Gods name, fear God, and love not the world : for God is able to cast both body and soule into hell fire. When his wrath shall sodainly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. And the saying of S. John is true, all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world, and the world passeth away, and the lust thereof, but hee that doth the will of God abideth for ever. If this gift of grace, (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternall salvation) were truly and unfainedlie graffed and firmly stablished in mens hearts, they would not be so light, so sodainly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the trueth, as is now (alas) seene so manifestly of so manie in these daies.—But heere peradventure you would knowe of mee what is the trueth. Sir, Gods word is the trueth, as saint John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth varie and change as the moone, yet Gods word is stable and abideth one for evermore : and of Christ it is truly sayde, Christ yesterday and to day, the same is also for ever.

When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in Gods word, agreed this to be a trueth¹ in Gods word written, that the common prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I ensure you, I never found man (so farre as I doe remember) neither olde nor new, gospeller nor papist, of what judgement soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrarie opinion. If then it were a truth of Gods word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? if it cannot, why then do so manie men shrinke from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once of us all? For what is it, I pray you, else, to confesse or denie Christ in this world, but to maintaine the truth taught in Gods word, or for any worldlie respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an ensample: other things bee in like case, which now particularlie I need not to rehearse. For he that will forsake wittingly, either for feare or gaine of the worlde, anie one open truth of Gods word, if he be constrained, he will assuredlie forsake God and all his truth, rather then he will endanger himselfe to lose or to leave that he loveth better indeed, then he doth God and the truth of his word.

I like verie well your plaine speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or dy, and I thinke that you meane of the bodilie death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I knowe I must die, whether I agree or no. But what follie were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I coulde never escape this death which is so common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternall damnation? Lord grant that I may utterlie abhor and detest this damnable agreement so long as I live! And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I thinke verilie, wishing mee to live,

¹ *This to be a trueth.*] Compare archbishop Cranmer to queen Mary. "But when a good number of the best learned men reputed with this realme, some favouring the *old*, some the *new* learning, as they term it (where indeed that which they call the olde is the newe, and that which they call the new is indeed the old); but when a great number of such learned men of both sortes, were gathered together at Winsor, for the reformation of the service of the church; it was agreed by both without controversy, not one saying contrary, that the service of the church ought to be in the mother tongue; and that St. Paule, in the 14th chapter to Corinthians, was so to be understood." See Letter subjoined to Cranmer's *Answer to Gardiner*, edit. 1580. p. 422; or, *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 7.

and not to die, therefore bearing you in my heart no lesse love of God, then you doe me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord (and that I say to you I say to all my friends and lovers in God) that if you doe not confesse and maintaine to your power and knowledge that which is groundd upon Gods word, but will either for feare or gaine of the world, shrinke, and play the apostate, in deede you shall die the death: you know what I meane. And I beseech you all my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say, for this may be the last time peradventure that ever I shall write unto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford, the viii.
day of Aprill. 1555.

M. Grindall, now² archbishop of Canturburie, beeing in the time of exile in the citie of Frankford, wrote to doctor Ridley then prisoner, a certaine epistle³ wherein first he lamenteth his captivitie, exhorting him withall to be constant. Secondlie, he certifieth him of the state of the English exiles, being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular providence of God in stirring up the favour of the magistrates and rulers there towards them. Thirddie, he writeth to know his minde and will concerning the printing of his book against transubstantiation, and of certaine other treatises, and his disputations. Whereunto bishop Ridley answereth againe in order, as followeth.

The answers of Doctour Ridley to the Letter abovesaide.

Blessed bee God our heavenlie father which enclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be hee againe which hath heard our request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands: and over all this I blesse him thorough our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearely beloved brethren and councitmen in those partes beyond the sea.

Deerely beloved brother Grindall, I say to you and all the rest of your brethren in Christ with you, rejoyce in the Lord, and as

² Now.] Jan. 1570—July 1586.

³ A certaine epistle.] That letter, bearing date, Frankford, May 6th, 1555, is preserved in Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 49: and is printed also by Strype, in his *Life of Archbishop Grindal*, p. 11—13.

ye love me and the other my reverend fathers and conceptives (which undoubtedly are *gloria Christi*) lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father for his endlesse mercies and unspeakable benefites, even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For knowe yee, that as the weight of his crosse hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth not cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen us: and I trust, yea by his grace I doubt nothing, but hee will so doe for Christ our maisters sake, even to the end.—To heare that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favor and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens, at Tigury⁴, Frankford, and other where, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all heere that do in deed love Christ and his true word. I ensure you it warmed my heart, to heare you by chance to name some, as Scorie, and Coxe, &c. Oh that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheek, of Turner, of Leaver⁵, of Sampson, of Chambers;—but I trust in God they be all well. And sir, seeing you say, that there be in those partes with you of students and ministers so good a number⁶, now therefore care yee not for us⁷ otherwise then to wish that Gods glorie maie bee set

⁴ *Tigury*.] Zurich; *Lat.* Tigurinum.

⁵ *Leaver*.] Thomas Lever, master of Sherborne Hospital, see pp. 101. 402.

⁶ *So good a number*.] “I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundred students, and ministers, on this side the seas.”—Grindal’s *Letter*, p. 50.

⁷ *Care yee not for us*.] The several subdivisions and classes into which their own respective circumstances and tempers, or rather, we ought to say, the providence of Almighty God had distributed and cast the lot and condition of the entire great band of sufferers and confessors at this sorrowful season, are well described and defined in a few words, by Augustine Bernher, in his dedication to Latimer’s sermons.

“The faythful Lord in all these turmoylynges preserved his servauntes; giving unto a number of them such a princely spirite, that they were able to deride and laugh to scorne the threatnynges of the tyrantes; to despise the terribleness of prisons and tormentes; and in the end most joyfully to overcome and conquer death, to the prayse of God, and their owne endless comfort.—Unto *other some*, the self-same most gracious God gave such a valiant spirite, that they were able by his grace to forsake the pleasures and commodities of this world, and beyng armed with patience, were content to travel into far and unknown countreys, with their families and houtholdes, having small worldly provision or none at all, but trusting to His providence, who never forsaketh them that trust in Him.—Besides this, the same God preserved a great number even in the midst of their enemies, not onely from bodyly dangers, but also from beyng infected with that poysoned doctrine,

forth by us. For whensoever God shall call us home (as we looke daily for none other, but when it shall please God to say, "come") you, blessed be God, are enowe through his aide, to light and set up againe the lantern of his word in England.

As concerning the copies ye say ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did and could finde the way to come to you. My disputation, except yee have that which I gathered my selfe after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithall the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

As for the treatise in English, *contra transubstantiationem*, vix possum adduci ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in latinum transferatur. Cæterum, quicquid sit, nullo modo velim * ut quicquam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis dominus constituerit fieri, vobis prius certò constiterit: and thus much unto your letters. Now although I suppose yee know a good part of our state here, (for wee are forth comming, even as when ye departed, &c.) You shall understand that I was in the Tower about the space of two moneths close prisoner, and after that had granted to me without my labor the libertie of the Tower, and so continued about halfe a yeare, and then because I refused to allow the masse with my presence, I was shut up in close prison againe.

The last lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult⁹ stirred up in Kent, there was so many prisoners in the Tower, that my lord of Canturbury, M. Latimer, maister Bradford, and I were put altogether in one prison, where wee remained till al-

that then in all open pulpites, with shamelesse brags and ostentation was set abroad.—I will not speake of that wonderfull worke of God, who caused his word to be preached, and his sacramentes to be administered, even in the midst of the enemies, in spite of the devil and all his ministers.—These things the Lord wrought most graciously for his people."

* *Nullo modo velim.*] Ridley's solicitude on this subject is illustrated greatly to the credit of his wisdom and piety, by a short passage in a letter written by him to bishop Hooper. "I see me thinkes many perils whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishyng of your workes, especially under the title of your own name. For I feare greatly least by this occasion, both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and al things taken away from the reste of the prisoners, whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to doe good to many."—*Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 49.

⁹ *The tumult.*] Wyat's rebellion. See above, p. 25, note (*).

most the next Easter, and then we three, Canturburie, Latimer and I, were sodainely sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the Whitsontide following was our disputations at Oxford, after the which was all taken from us, as pen and inke¹, &c. Our owne servants were taken from us before, and every

¹ *As pen and inke*] Among the privations which our protestant forefathers had to endure in prison, that was one of the most severe, by which they were, in great degree, precluded from communicating with their families, and with one another, and from recording the fruits of their solitary contemplations, for the further confirmation of their own minds, and for the encouragement, warning, or edification of the church. Occasionally however, perhaps in part from the commiseration of their keepers, the order of prohibition failed of its complete success.

"Let somebodye buye for me a *pensill* of lead to write withal" (says Laurence Saunders, in a letter to his wife), "for I shall hardly have *pen and inke* here, sith all libertye of writing is taken away from us."—*Martyrs' Letters*, p. 195. edit. 1564: and in the next letter, to the same person: "I speake now because I doubt whether I maye have wherewith to write hereafter. The keeper sayeth he must needes see that *we write not at all*." P. 196.

"Howsoever you doe, beware thys letter come not abroade but into father Traves hys handes: for if it should be knowen that I have *penne and inke* in the pryson, then wold it be worse with me. . . . My *name* I wryte not for causes: you know it well enough. Lyke the letter never the worse."—*Letters of John Bradford*, *ibid.* p. 293. This, as well as what follows, is to his mother. "Now therefore wyll I make an ende, praying you, good mother, to looke for no moe letters: for if it were knowen that I have *penne and inke*, and did write, then should I wante all the foresayd commodities I have spoken of concernyng my body, aud be cast into some dungeon in fetters of iron, which thing I know would greve you. And therefore, for God's sake, see that these be burned, when thys little prayer in it is copyed out by my brother Roger."—*Ibid.* p. 453.

And, to mention no more, John Frith, writing in the Tower, thus concludes his second tract against Rastell. "And yet, the truth to say, we play not on even hand: for I am in a manner, as a man bound to a post, and cannot so well bestow me in my play, as if I were at liberty; for I may not have such books as are necessary for me, neither yet pen, ink, nor paper, but only secretly. So that I am in a continual fear both of the lieutenant, and of my keepers, lest they should espy any such thing by me: and therefore it is little marvel, though the work be imperfect: for whensoever I hear the keys ring at the doors, straight all must be conveyed out of the way; and then, if any notable thing had been in my mind, it is clean lost.—And therefore, I beseech thee, good reader, count this as a thing born out of season, which for many reasons cannot have its perfect form and shape; and pardon me my rudeness and imperfection."—*Works of William Tindall and John Frith*, vol. iii. p. 242. edit. 1831. 8vo.

one had put to him a strange man², and we each one appointed to be kept in several places, as we are unto this day.

Blessed be God, wee three at the writing heereof are in good health, and (in God) of good cheere. Wee have looked long ago to have been dispatched, for we were all three on one day, within a day or two of our disputations, of doctor Weston, being the head commissioner, condemned for heretickes, and since that time we remaine as we were of him lefte. The Lordes will be fulfilled in us, as I doe not doubt but by his grace it shall be, to his glorie and our endlesse salvation, thorough Jesus Christ our Lord.

Likewise the Lord hitherto hath preserved above all our expectation our deare brother, and in Christes cause a strong champion, John Bradford. Hee is likewise condemned, and is alreadie delivered to the secular power, and writs (as we have heard say) given out for his execution, and called in againe.

Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whome he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderfull raging of the world. Many (as we heare say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christes trueth, and nothing yeelding to the adversarie, yea not for the feare or paines of death.

The names of them which I knowe, and have now suffered, are these, Farrar, the bishop of S. Davids, Hooper the bishop of Worcester, Rogers *tuus olim comprehendarius*, D. Taylor of Hadley, M. Sanders, and one Tomkins a weaver; and now this last day M. Cardmaker, with another, were burnt in Smithfield at London; and many other in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the booke of life, whome yet I doe not knowe.

West, your old companion and sometime mine officer (alas) hath relented (as I have heard) but the Lord hath shortened his dayes, for anon after hee died and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heele and cast into the Marshalsey, but now is at libertie againe, but I feare me he escaped not without some becking and bowing (alas) of his knee unto Baal³.

² *A strange man.*] Yet all these, ere long, through God's mercy, became friendly disposed towards them. "Although I said the bailiffes and our hostesse streitly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us, instead of our servants, faithful fellows, which will be content to hear and see, and do for us whatsoever they can." See above, p. 69.

³ *Unto Baal.*] See above, p. 39, note (²).

My deere friend Thomas Ridley of the Bulhead in Cheape, which was to me the most faithfull friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shippside that hath married my sister, hath beene almost halfe a yeare in prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certaine thinges I weene, from me : but now thanks be to God, he is at libertie again, but so that the bishop hath taken from him his parke⁴.

Of all us three concaptives at Oxford, I am kept most strait, and with least libertie, Vel quia viro, in cujus ædibus ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo sit præfectus civitatis) mulier vetula⁵, morosa, et superstitiosissima quæ etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arcissime et cautissime custodire; vir autem ipse Irischius nomine, mitis satis est omnibus, uxori vero plus quam obsequentissimus. Licet uxorem (uti nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidiana consuetudine, quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil posse intelligere, quam grave malum et intolerabile jugum sit cum mala muliere in conjugio collocari. Recte ergo sapiens dixit, uxor bona donum Dei : et iterum, mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc inquam causa est, vel quia à magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, ut ita fieri, ipsis mandatum : idque illi si quando de mea nimia servitute apud eos conqueror, sedulo sæpe rursus mihi inculcant.

At Cambridge (as I heare say) Omnes studiorum et statutorum reformationes nuper factæ, nunc sunt denuo deformatæ et deletæ, et omnia sunt in pristinum chaos et in antiquum papismum reducta : omnes collegiorum præfecti qui synceritati evangelii favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti sunt, et alii papisticæ factionis in eorum loca surrogati, quod et de sociis collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum esse audio. Nec mirum, nam et istud passim factum est in universo regno Angliæ, in omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, decanis, prebendariis, sacerdotibus ecclesiarum, et in toto clero : and to tell you much naughtie matter in few wordes : Papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.

The Lord be mercifull, and for Christs sake pardon us our olde unkindenes, and unthankfulnesse : for when he powred upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favour (alas) wee did not serve him nor render unto him thanks according to the same. We pastors many of us were too cold, and bare too much (alas)

⁴ *His parke.*] See p. 7, note (*).

⁵ *Mulier vetula.*] See p. 119.

with the wicked world; our magistrates did abuse to their owne worldlie gaine⁶, both Gods gospell and the ministers of the same.

⁶ *Their owne worldlie gaine.*] There is much evidence remaining (partly in letters hitherto unpublished), by which it appears how deeply Ridley deplored, in common with the other principal reformers, and how vigorously, on occasion, he resisted the sacrilegious and profligate havoc which was made of the scanty remains, spared by Henry, of the church property, by the ministers and courtiers, under his innocent successor, to the indelible disgrace of the Protestant reformation. I give, as a specimen, an extract from a letter to Sir John Cheke, the king's preceptor.

"I have gotten the grant to be with me of three preachers, men of good learning, and as I am persuaded of excellent virtue, which are able, both with life and learning, to set forth God's word in London, and in the whole diocese of the same, where is most need of all parts in England. For from thence goeth example, as you know, into all the rest of the king's majesty's whole realm. The men's names be these; Mr. Grindal, Mr. Bradford. The third is as poor as either of the other twain.

"Now there is fallen a prebend in Paul's, called Cantrells^{*}, by the death of one Layton. This prebend is an honest man's living of thirty-four pounds and better, in the king's books. But, alas! sir, I am letted, by the means, I fear me, of such as do not fear God. . . . Certain of the council have written unto me to stay the collation. . . . Letters have been procured unto me, subscribed with certain of the councillors' hands, that the king's majesty hath determined it unto the furniture of *his highness' stables*.

"Alas! sir, this is a heavy hearing.—When papistry was taught, when the bishop gave his benefices unto ideots, unlearned, ungodly, for kindred, for pleasure, for service and other worldly respects, all was then well allowed. Now when a poor living is to be given unto an excellent clerk, a man known and tried to have both discretion and also virtue, and such an one, as, before God, I do not know a man yet unplaced and unprovided for, more meet to set forth God's word, in all England:—when, I say, a poor living, which is founded for a preacher, is to be given unto such a man, that then an *ungodly person* shall procure in this sort letters to stop and let the same." (This person, alas! was no other than the William Thomas, whom we have so often quoted, "one of the clerks of the council, who wanted to have the said prebend alienated unto him and his heirs for ever.") "Alas! Mr. Cheke, this seemeth unto me a right heavy hearing.—Is this the fruit of the gospel?—Speak, Mr. Cheke, speak for God's sake, in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may do good withal.—And if you will not speak, then I beseech you let these my letters speak unto Mr. Gates, to Mr. Worthe, to Mr. Cecil, whom all I do take for men that do fear God. . . .

"The causes of conscience, which do move me to speak and write thus,

^{*} Or Cantlows, comprising the district called *Camden Town*, in the parish of St. Pancras. The perpetual lease belongs to the Marquis Camden, to whose ancestor it descended from the Jeffreys family. By an act of parliament passed in 1813, the prebendary receives one third of the improved rents.

The people in many places was wayward and unkinde. Thus of everie side and of everie sorte wee have provoked Gods anger and wrath to fall upon us: but blessed might he be that hath not suffered his to continue in those waies which so wholie have displeased his secret majestie, but hath awaked them by the fatherlie correction of his own sonnes crosse, unto his glorie and our endlesse salvation, thorough Jesus Christ our Lord.

My dailie praier is (as God doth know) and by Gods grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you my deere brethren that are fled out of your owne country, because you will rather forsake all worldlie things then the truth of Gods word. It is even the same that I use to make to God, for all those churches abroad through the worlde, which have forsaken the kingdome of antichrist, and professed openlie the purity of the gospell of Jesus Christ: that is, that God our eternall Father for our saviour Christs sake, will dailie increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenlie Spirit, to the true setting forth of his glory and of his gospell, and make you to agree brotherlie in the truth of the same, that there arise no root of bitternes⁷ among you that may

are not only those which I declared once in the case of this prebend before the king's majesty's council, which I now let pass; but also now the man Mr. Grindal, unto whom I would give this prebend, doth move me very much. *For, he is a man, &c.*"—Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. Records, No. 25.

⁷ *No root of bitternes.*] There is reason to conjecture that these words were suggested to Ridley by the sorrow which he had felt at the intelligence of the lamentable divisions which had already broken out abroad, and especially at Francfort, among the exiles, respecting the usage or discontinuance of the English Liturgy. Knox, Goodman, and others, supported by the countenance of Calvin, quarrelled with the English reformation, as not sufficiently *purified* from popery; and, urged on by the heat of controversy, declared themselves against the common prayer book, with a degree of vehemence and zeal almost incredible: and this at the very time, when the original compilers of that book were shedding their blood in its cause. Dr. Covell, in his *Answer to the Apology of Mr. John Burges*, A.D. 1606, has printed an extract of a letter from Ridley to Grindall, written about this time, and upon this subject, which I shall here insert. It is much to be regretted that the letter has never (as far as I know) been given entire. "Alas! that our brother Knox could not beare with our booke of common prayer, in matters, against which, although (I grant) a man, as he is, of wit and learning, may finde to" (Q. or P) "make apparent reasons, but I suppose he cannot be able soundly to disprove by Gods word, the reason he maketh against the Litany, and the fault, *per sanguinem et sudorem*, he findeth in the same. I doe marveile how he can or dare avouch them before the learned men that be

infecte that good seede which God hath sowne in your hearts alreadye, and finallye that your life maie be so pure and so honest, according to the rule of Gods word, and according to that vocation, whereunto we are called by the gospell of Christ our saviour, that the honestie and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honestie and vertues sake, and so both in brotherlie unitie of your true doctrine, and also in the godlie vertue of your honest life, to glorifie our father which is in heaven.

Ex nostratibus magni aliquot magistratus, cancellarius Wintoniensis⁸, comes Arundell, et dominus Pachetas jam legatione funguntur, una cum cardinale Polo, in partibus transmarinis, ad componendam (ut aiunt) pacem inter imperatorem, regem nostrum, et Francorum regem. Post illorum magistratuum nostrorum reditum, et partum reginæ⁹, quem jam quotidie expectamus, et jam aliquandiu expectavimus, quemque Deus pro sui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare, nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam

with you. As for private baptisme, it is not prescribed in the booke: but where solemne baptisme for lacke of time, and danger of death cannot be had, what would he in that case should be done? Peradventure he will say, it is better then to let them die without baptisme. For this his *better*, what word hath he in the Scripture? And if he have none, why will he not rather follow that, that the sentences of the old ancient writers doe more allow? *from whom to dissent, without warrant of God's word, I cannot thinke it any godly wisdom.* And as for purification of women, I ween the word purification is changed, and it is called thanksgiving. Surely maister Knox, in my mind, is a man of much good learning, and of an earnest zeale: the Lord grant him to use them to his glorie!" P. 69. These unhappy disputes abroad, being the well-spring, as it were, of a fresh and most important controversy, a controversy which was revived at the accession of Elizabeth, and which subsists even to this day, a knowledge of their history is very material to the theological student. An interesting account of this particular topic of the history, though very partial to the Puritans, was published in the year 1575, intituled, *A brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Francfort in Germany, Ann. Dom. 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies.* This scarce tract was reprinted in the second vol. of the *Phenix*, A.D. 1708, and a separate edition has been printed in London, in 1846.

⁸ *Wintoniensis.*] Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, lord-chancellor, Henry Fitz Alan, earl of Arundel, and William lord Paget, were sent to Calais, 18 May, 1555.

⁹ *Partum reginæ.*] On Tuesday, the 28th of November, 1554, the council had written a formal letter to Bonner, bishop of London, announcing the pregnancy of queen Mary, and desiring that thanks should be given, and *Te Deum* sung in all the churches of the diocese. Ridley wrote at the end of May, or beginning of June, 1555.

nostræ confessionis de hoste nostro antiquo triumphales in domino coronas expectamus.

Omnium vestrum precibus me humillime ex toto corde commendo: in primis, tuis, o charissime in Christo frater, et dilectissime Grindalle, et charissimorum fratrum et unice mihi in domino dilectorum, Checi, Coxi, Turneri, Leveri, Sampsonis, Chamberi et omnium fratrum nostrorum et conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt, et diligunt dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reverendissimos patres et concaptivos meos in domino Thomam Cranmerum, jam vere magni pastoris et archipresulis nomine dignissimum, et veteranum illum Christi et nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum apostolum Hugonem Latimerum. Condona mihi, frater, harum prolixitatem, non enim posthac credo, charissime frater, meis literis jam amplius aliquando turbaberis. Oxonii. N. R.

A treatise or letter written by doctour Ridley, instead of his last Farewell, to all his true and faithfull friends in God, with a sharpe admonition withall unto the papists.

“ At the name of Jesus let every knee bow, both of thinges in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confesse that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glorie of God the Father, Amen.

“ As a man minding to take a farre journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure; so likewise now I looking daily, when I should be called to depart hence from you (O all ye my dearelie beloved brethren and sisters in our saviour Christ that dwell here in this worlde) having a like minde towards you all (and blessed be God for such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thanke his heavenlie goodnes :) to bid you all, my deare brethren and sisters (I say in Christ) that dwell upon the earth, after such maner as I can, farewell.

“ Farewel my deare brother George Shipside, whom I have ever found faithfull, trustie, and loving in all states and conditions, and now in the time of my crosse, over al other to me most friendly and stedfast, and that which liked me best, over all other things in Gods cause ever harty.

“ Farewell my dear sister Alice his wife. I am glad to heare of thee, that thou doest take Christes crosse which is laide now

(blessed be God) both on thy backe and mine, in good part. Thank thou God that hath given thee a godly and loving husband : see thou honour him, and obey him, according to Gods lawe. Honour thy mother in lawe his mother, and love all those that pertaine unto him, being readie to doe them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him an heart to love and feare God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shal also make him friendly and beneficiall unto thy children, even as if they had beene gotten of his owne bodie.

“ Farewell my welbeloved brother John Ridley of the Waltoun, and you my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth ; whom besides the naturall league of amitie, your tender love, which you were said ever to beare towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth binde me to love. My minde was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have acquitted it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whome I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

“ Farewell my belooved sister of Unthank, with all your children, nephewes, and neeces. Since the departing of my brother Hugh, my minde was to have bene unto them instead of their father, but the Lord God must and will be their father, if they would love him and feare him, and live in the trade of his law.

“ Farewell my welbeloved and worshipfull cosins, master Rich. Ridley of Willimountswike, and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindnes shewed both to me, and also to al your owne kinsfolke and mine. Good cosine, as God hath set you in our stocke, and kinred (not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodnesse) to be as it were the belweather to order and conduct the rest, and hath also indued you with his manifold giftes of grace, both heavenlie and worldlie, above others ; so I pray you good cosin (as my trust and hope is in you) continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honestie, righteousnes, and all true godlinesse, and to the uttermost of your power withstand falshood, untruth, unrighteousnes, and al ungodlinesse, which is forbidden and condemned by the word and lawes of God.

“ Farwell my young cosin Rafe Whitfield. Oh your time was verie short with me. My mind was to have don you good, and

yet you caught in that little time a losse ; but I trust it shall be recompenced, as it shall please almighty God.

“ Farewell all my whole kindred and countrimen, farewell in Christ altogether. The Lord which is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that according to my harts desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with mee abundance of Christes blessed gospell, according to the dutie of that office and ministerie, whereunto amongst you I was chosen, named and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerelesse prince king Edward, and so also denounced openlie in his court, by his privie councill.

“ I warne you all my welbeloved kinsfolke and countrimen, that ye be not amazed or astonied at the kind of my departure and dissolution : for I insure you, I thinke it the most honor that ever I was called unto in all my life, and therefore I thank my Lord God heartilie for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercie unto this high honour, to suffer death willinglie for his sake, and in his cause : unto the which honour hee hath called the holie prophets and dearelie beloved apostles, and his blessed chosen martyrs. For knowe yee that I doubt no more but that the causes wherefore I am put to death, are Gods causes, and the cause of the truth, then I doubt that the gospell which John wrote, is the gospell of Christ, or that Paules epistles are the verie word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and stand in Gods cause, and in Christs quarrell even unto death, I ensure thee (O man) it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given onelie to the true elects and dearie beloved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdome of heaven. For the holie apostle and also martyr in Christes cause, saint Peter saith, If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ, that is, in Christs cause, and for his truthes sake, then are ye happie and blessed, for the glorie of the spirit of God resteth upon you. If for rebukes sake suffered in Christs name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holie apostle, blessed and happie ; how much more happie and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also ? Wherefore, all ye that bee my true lovers and friends, rejoyce, and rejoyce with me again, and render with me heartie thanks to God our heavenlie Father, that for his Sonnes sake my saviour and redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call mee, being else without his gracious goodnes, in my selfe but a

sinful and a vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithfull apostles, and of his holie elect and chosen martyrs, that is, to die and to spend this temporall life in the defence and maintenance of his eternall and everlasting truth.

“ Yee know that be my cuntrymen dwelling upon the borders, where (*alasse*) the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the theeves hand, if it chance a man to be slaine of a theefe (as it often chanceth there) which went out with his neighbour to helpe him to rescue his goods againe, that the more cruellie he be slain, and the more stedfastlie he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the face of the theefe, the more favour and friendship shall all his posteritie have for the slaine mans sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memorie of his fact, and his posterity doth indure: even so yee that be my kinsfolke and country men know yee (howsoever the blinde, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shal raile upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did, of the death of Christ our saviour, of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs :) know ye, I say, that both before God and all them that be godlie, and that truelie know, and follow the lawes of God, ye have, and shall have by Gods grace ever cause to rejoyce, and to thanke God highlie, and to thinke good of it, and in God to rejoyce of me your flesh and bloud, whome God of his gracious goodnes, hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed companie of his holie martyrs in heaven: and I doubt not in the infinite goodnes of my Lord God, nor in the faithfull fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands, in my cause, yee shall rather finde the more favour and grace: for the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving againe in a thousand generations: the Lord is so full of mercie to them (I say) and theirs which do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can shew more love then to give his life for his friend.

“ Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolke and countrymen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death, is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more neere, Gods cause, and in more waightie matters, but in the generall kinde all one. For both is Gods cause, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the common wealth, and both for the weale also of the Christian brother; although yet there is in these two no small difference both concerning the enemies, the goods stolne, and the maner of the fight. For know ye all, that like as there

when the poore true man is robbed by the theefe of his owne goods truelie gotten (whereupon he and his household should live) hee is greatlie wronged, and the theefe in stealing and robbing with violence the poore mans goods doth offend God, doth transgresse his lawe, and is injurious both to the poore man, and to the common-wealth: so I say, know yee that even here in the cause of my death it is with the church of England, I meane the congregation or the true chosen children of God in this realme of England, which I acknowledge not onelie to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spirituall brethen and sisters in Christ, yea members of one bodie, wherein by Gods grace I am and have beene grafted in Christ. This church of England had of late of the infinite goodnesse, and abundant grace of almightie God, great substance, great riches of heavenlie treasure, great plentie of Gods true and sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christs holie sacraments, the whole profession of Christs religion, truelie and plainelie set forth in baptisme, the plain declaration and understanding of the same taught in the holie catechisme, to have beene learned of all true Christians.

“The church had also a true and sincere forme and maner of the Lords supper, wherein according to Jesus Christs own ordinance and holie institution, Christs commandements were executed and done. For upon the breade and wine set uppon the Lords table, thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lords death was had, the bread in the remembrance of Christs bodie torne upon the crosse, was broken, and the cup in the remembrance of Christs bloud shed, was distributed, and both were communicated unto all that were present and would receive them; and also they were exhorted of the minister so to doe.

“All was done openlie in the vulgar tongue, so that everie thing might be most easilie heard and plainelie understood of all the people, to Gods high glorie and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and publike praiers ordained to be saide and heard in the common congregation, not onelie framed and fashioned to the true vein of holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and S. Pauls doctrine, for the peoples edification, in their vulgar tongue.

“It had also holie and wholesom homilies, in commendation of the principall vertues, which are commended in Scripture, and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capitall

vices that useth (alas) to raigne in this realme of England.—This church hadde in matters of controversie, articles so penned and framed after the holie Scripture and grounded upon the true understanding of Gods word, that in short time if they had beene universallie received, they shoulde have been able to have set in Christs church much concord and unitie in Christs true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church, alas, was almost overgone.

“But alas, of late¹ into this spirituall possession of the

¹ *But alas, of late.*] The different condition of the contrary under the two reigns of Edward and Mary, in matters of religion, Ridley has again very strikingly contrasted in his piece entitled, *A Lamentation for the change of religion in England*. The treatise is of considerable length. It opens as follows :

“Alas, what miserie is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day!—Where *of late* the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in everie towne, in everie church, in everie village, yea and almost in everie honest mans house: alas, now it is exiled and banished out of the whole realme!

“*Of late*, who was not taken for a lover of Gods words, for a reader, for a readie hearer, and for a learner of the same? And *now*, alas! who dare beare anie open countenance toward it, but such as are content in Christs cause, and for his words sake, to stand to the danger and losse of all that they have?

“*Of late* there was to be found of everie age, of everie degree and kinde of people, those that gave their diligence to learne, as they could, out of Gods word, the *articles of the Christian faith*, the *commandements* of God, and the *Lords praier*. The babes and young children were taught these things of their parents, of their masters, and weekely of their curates in every church: and the aged folke, which had beene brought up in blindness and in ignorance of those thinges, which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing their children and servants repeating the same:—but *now* alas! and alas agayne! the false prophets of antichrist which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpittes to the people of God, that the catechisme is to be counted heresie; whereby their old blindness is brought home againe: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth is abashed, and ashamed even of that which they have learned, though it be Gods word, and dare not more meddle.

“*Of late* in everie congregation throughout all Englande was made prayer and petition unto God, ‘to be delivered from the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities;’ ‘from all false doctrine and heresie:’ and *now* alas! Satan hath persuaded England by his falshoode and craft, to revoke her olde godly prayer, to recant the same, and to provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her owne head.

“*Of late*, by strait lawes and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonaltie, and full agreement and counsell of the prelates and clergie,

heavenlie treasure of these godlie ritches, are entred in theeves that have robbed and spoiled all this heavenlie treasure awaie. I

was banished hence the beast of Babylon ; with lawes, I say, and with othes and all meanes that then could be devised for so godly a purpose : *but now*, alas ! all these lawes are trodden under foote : the nobles, the commonaltie, the prelates and clergy are quite changed, and all those othes though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter never so good, do no more hold than a bond of rushes, or of a barley strawe ; and publicke perjurie no more feareth them, than a shadow upon the wall.

"*Of late* it was agreed in England of all handes, according to Paules doctrine, and Christes commaundement, that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the publicke congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could understand, that all might be edified thereby : whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacraments, or any other thing belonging to publicke ministerie of Gods holy and wholesome word : but alas ! all is *now* turned upside down, Paules doctrine is put apart, Christes commandement is not regarded : for nothing is hearde commonly in the church, but in a straunge tongue, that the people doeth nothing understand.

"*Of late*, all men and women were taught after Christes doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, that they might pray with the heart, that which they should speake with their tongue. *Now*, alas ! the unlearned people is brought into that blindness againe, to think that they pray, when they speak with their tongue they cannot tell what ; whereof their heart is nothing mindful at all, for that it canne understand never a whit thereof.

"*Of late*, the Lordes supper was duly ministered and taught to be made common to all that were true Christians, with thanksgiving, and setting forthe of the Lordes death and passion, until his returning againe, to judge both quicke and dead. But *now* alas ! the Lordes table is quite overthrowne, and that which ought to be common to all godlie, is made private to a few ungodly ; without any kinde of thanksgiving, or any setting forth of the Lordes death at all, that the people is able to understand.

"*Of late*, all that were endued with the light and grace of understanding of Gods holy mysteries, did blesse God, which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past being seduced by Sathans subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament ; that the creature was the Creator ; and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense, (alas ! such was the horrible blindness) was the Lorde himselfe which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man. But *now* alas ! England is returned agayne like a dog to her own vomitte, and is in worse case than ever shee was. For it had been better never to have knowne the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and knowne. And now, not onely that light is turned into darknesse, and Gods grace is received in vaine, but also lawes of death are made by high court of Parliament, masterfully to maintaine by sword, fire, and all kinde of violence, that ruinous idolatrie, wherein that adoration is given to the lifelesse and dumbe creature,

may well complaine on these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, (Psal. 72,) O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen

which is only due unto the everlasting God. Yea, they say they can and do make of bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation.—O wicked men, and Satans owne broode!

“Of late, was the Lords cuppe at his table distributed, according to his owne commandement by his expresse words in his gospel, as well to the laitie as to the clergie: which order Christes church observed so many hundred yeares after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers do testifie, without contradiction of any one of them that can be shewed, unto this day. But *now,* alas! not only the Lords commandement is broken, his cup is denied to his servants, to whom he commanded it should be distributed; but also with the same is set up a newe blasphemous kinde of sacrifice, to satisfie and pay the price of sinnes, both of the dead and of the quicke, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviours death and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting availeable sacrifice satisfactorie for all the electes of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be borne in the ende of the world.

“Of late, the commandement of God, Thou shalt not make to thyselfe any graven image, &c. was graven almost everie where in churches, and was learned of everie bodie both young and olde: whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry, as the wise man saith, were taken out of the churches, and straightly forbidden that none should any where, either bow downe to them or worship them. But *now,* alas! Gods holy word is blotted and rased out of churches, and stockes and stones are set up in the place thereof. God commanded his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in everie place: and, on the other side, hee forbade images and idoles, so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bowe downe to or worshippe them. But *now,* alas! that which God commanded is not passed upon, and that which he forbiddeth is maisterfully maintained by falshood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

“Of late, all ministers that were admitted to the publicke office and ministry of Gods holy word, in their admission made a solemne profession before the congregation that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine necessary to attaine eternall salvation, but that which is Gods own holy word, or may be thereof grounded without any doubt: whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain, yea wicked traditions of men, as waxe before the fire. But *now* at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope to returne again, in as great strength as ever they have beene . . . an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses: as popish pardons, pilgrimages, purgatorie Romish masses, *placebo* and *dirige*, with trentalls and *scala cæli*; dispensations and immunities from all godlie discipline, lawes, and good order. Now shall come in the flattering friers and the false pardoners, and play their olde pranks and knaverie as they were wont to do. Now you shall have (but of the see of Rome onelie, and that for money) canonizing of such saints as have stood stout in the popes cause; shrining

nations are come into thy heritage : they have defiled thy holie temple, and made Jerusalem a heape of stones : that is, they have broken and beaten downe to the ground thy holie citie. This heathenish generation, these theeves of Samaria, these Sabei and Chaldei, these robbers have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England, of all the aforesaide holie treasure of God : they have carried it away, and overthrowne it, and insteade of Gods holie word, the true and right administration of Christes holie sacraments, as of baptisme and others, they mix their ministerie with mens foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodlie traditions withall.

Instead of the Lords holie table, they give the people with much solemne disguising a thing which they call their masse, but indeed, and in truth, it is a verie masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a craftie juggling, whereby these false theeves and juglers have bewitched the mindes of the simple people, that they have brought them from the true worship of God, unto pernicious idolatry, and make them to beleve that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath anie life in it selfe, but in substance is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lords table, is the sacrament of Christs bodie and bloud : and for this holie use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to represent unto us his blessed bodie torne upon the crosse for us, and his bloud there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and bloud ; which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning when he saith, Do this in remembrance of me. And againe, saint Paule likewise doth set out the same more plainlie, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, As often as ye shal eat of this bread and drinke of this cup, ye shal set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lords death until his comming again. And here againe these theeves have robbed also the people of the Lords cup, contrarie to the plaine words of Christ, written in his gospell.

“Now for the common publike praiers which were in the vulgar tongue, these theeves have brought in againe a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word. Wherein what doe they else, but rob the people of their divine service,

of reliques ; and from anie kinde of wickednesse, if you will pay well for it, cleare absolution à *pœna et culpa*, with thousands of yeeres.” Fox’s *Acts*, &c. p. 1614. edit. 1610.

wherein they ought to pray together with the minister²? and to pray in a strange tongue, what is it, but (as S. Paule calleth it)

² *Together with the minister.*] So we shall find below, in *his Life*, that Cranmer urges upon the queen's commissioners, "When *the priest giveth thanks*, God would that *the people should do so too*; and God will have them to *confess all together* :—the pope will not."

And what now could be said on the other side, against the weight of observations and arguments such as these? What shall we find is alleged by Christopherson, for instance, one of the most respectable and learned, as we have before remarked, of that party? The priest, he pleads, "saith common prayer for all the whole multitude." In fairness we must take the entire passage. "When the people come to church, and heare the priestes, who say common prayer for the whole multitude, albeit they understande them not, yet yf they be occupied in godlye prayer themselves, it is sufficient for them. And lette them not so greatly passe for understandynge what the priestes saye, but travayle themselves in fervent praying, and so shall they hyghly please God. Yea and experience hath playnlye taught us, that it is much better for them not to understande the common service of the church, than to understande it; because that when they heare other prayinge with a lowde voyce in the language that they understand, they are letted from prayer themselves, and so come they to such a slackness and negligence in prayinge, that they at lengthe (as we have well seene of late dayes) in a manner pray not at all." This is as much as applies to the particular point in the argument, which is immediately before us. But we will give the whole strength of his vindication on so important a subdivision of the general controversy. Thus therefore, he proceeds. "And let them fyrst thynke thys (for it is undoubtedly true,) that the divine service here in Englande hath ever bene in Latyn since the fyrst tyme that the fayth was among us receaved, save only this six or seven yeares laste passed. And then (let them thynke), how godly the people all that while were disposed; how many vertuous and holy men and women have bene within this realme, and how God dyd in all thinges prosper us." *Exhortation against Rebellion*, signat. X 6. A.D. 1554.

And what now must be our reflexions on reading such a passage as this? What can we say, but, alas! how difficult, how almost impossible is it, for Popery to reform itself! Do we not know, did we not see above, on the authority of dean Nowell (see Index, under *Nowell*), and could Christopherson himself therefore possibly be ignorant, that even of these very priests, who were to pray "for all the whole multitude," very many did not understand, and could not even read the prayers they uttered? "They roll out their Latin by heart," says Latimer, in his *Former Conference with Ridley*, "but in so doing they make the poor people of Christ altogether ignorant."—Was ignorance therefore in them also the mother of devotion? Was it "much better for them too (the priests) not to understand the common service of the church, than to understand it?" Much better to have an implicit faith that the prayers put into their mouth by the church must be good, and could not fail to be effectual for her sake, and in virtue of the mere work wrought; the simple, unmixed, unmedicated, effort of lip-service, the bare

barbarousnesse, childishnesse, unprofitable follie, yea and plaine madnesse ?

“For the godlie articles of unitie in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what doe these theeves place in the steed of them, but the popes lawes and decrees, lying legends, fained fables, and myracles to delude and abuse the simplicitie of the rude people ? thus this robbery and theft is not onlie committed, nay, this sacriledge and wicked spoile of heavenlie things, but

opus operatum ? Yes indeed ! Why may we not take up Christopherson’s argument, if it be good in the case of the people, and carry it a little further, and apply it in that of the priests also ? Why should not they too severally have each an *under-current* of his own prayers, and *this* be “sufficient” for *them* too as well as *that* for the people ; or even “much better than understanding” the Latin which they rolled out, and the “loud voices” which they uttered ?—Thus shall we not indeed have introduced into the church a rare “concert of heart and voice ;” with one thing severally in their mouth, but all with another, and that often, alas ! how different a thing, in their hearts ?—

No ! Popery had of old, even in the church of England, so tied herself up, hand and foot, with the indissoluble bonds of statutes and canons, now in great measure, by one hasty and impatient effort, revived and restored, that she could not arise to shake off her thralldom and slavery : she could not reform herself ; she could not be relieved even in so universally confessed and palpable a point as that of the service in an unknown tongue : but that too again must be asserted and vindicated, by arguments such as we have seen : and if another Colet shall arise, even to translate merely the Lord’s Prayer into his native tongue, he will be in danger, (after so much light dispensed in mercy ; but of which the world was not worthy, he will be in danger) of incurring all the tremendous penalties of heresy.

I say nothing of Christopherson’s daring assertions at the close of the extract : unless it be, for the gross falsehood of the first, to refer, in one word, for instance to Archbishop Ussher’s *Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et sacris vernaculis*, 1690, 4to ; and to leave the frivolousness and fallacy of the other two, to the slightest possible reflexion on the part of my reader.

The melancholy results of such a species of policy, even on the clergy alone, are thus stated by William Tindal ; in the Preface to his *Obedience of a Christian Man* :

“But alas ! the curates themselves, for the most part, wot no more what the new or the olde Testament meaneth, than do the Turkes : neither know they of any more than that which they read at masse, mattins, and evensong, which yet they understande not ! neyther care they but even to mumble up so much every day, as the pye and popinjay speake they wot not what. If they will not let the lay man have the woorde of God in hys mother tongue, yet let the priests have it, which, for a great parte of them, do understande no Latine at all ; but sing, and say, and patter all day with the lips only, that which the hart understandeth not.” *Works*, p. 102.

also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed the abhominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Senacherib, of the shamelesse faced king, and of the Babylonicall beast. Unto this robberie, this theft and sacriledge, for that I cannot consent, nor (God willing) never shall so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemie against God, high treason unto Christ our heavenly king, lord, master, and our only savior and redeemer, it is plaine contrarie to Gods word, and to Christes gospell, it is the subversion of all true godlines, and against the everlasting salvation of mine owne soule, and of all my brethren and sisters, whom Christ my savior hath so dearly bought, with no lesse price, then with the effusion and sheading forth of his most precious bloud: therefore, all yee my true lovers in God, my kinsfolke and countreyemen, for this cause (I say) know ye that I am put to death; which by Gods grace I shal willingly take, with hartly thanks to God therefore, in certaine hope without any doubting, to receive at Gods hand againe of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

“ And thus much dear lovers and friends in God, my countreyemen and kinsfolke, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures and commodities) yee might be abashed or thinke any evill: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoyce (if ye love me indeed) for that it hath pleased God to cal me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester, or in the sea of London, or ever should have had in that sea of Durham, whereunto I was last of al elected and named: yea I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause (whereof I nothing doubt) then is any earthly or temporal promotion or honor that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be Gods, to be Christs quarrell, and of his gospell, to bee the common weale of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, who is he (I say) that knoweth this assuredly by Gods word, and the testimonie of his own conscience (as I thorough the infinite goodnesse of God, not of my selfe, but by his grace acknowledge my selfe to do) who is he (I say) that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God indeed and in truth, loveth and believeth his master Christ and his blessed gospel, loveth his brotherhood the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life, who is he

(I say againe) that would not or cannot finde in his hart in this cause to be content to die³? the Lord forbid that any such should

³ *Be content to die.*] "When I was a child," says Fuller, in his *Holy and Profane State*, p. 279, 80, "I was possessed with a reverend esteem of them as most holy and pious men, *who died martyrs* in the days of queen Mary, for the profession of the truth: which opinion having, from my parents, taken quiet possession of my soul, they must be very forcible reasons which eject it.

"Since that time, they have been much cried down in the mouths of many, who making a coroner's inquest upon their death, have found them little better than *felones de se*, dying in their own blood, for a *mere formality, de modo*, of the manner of the presence, and of the sacrifice in the sacrament, who might easily, with one small distinction, have knocked off their fetters, and saved their lives. By such the coronet of martyrdom is plucked off from their memories: and others, more moderate, equally part their death betwixt their enemies' cruelty, and their own over-forwardness. . . .

"Thus the prices of martyrs' ashes rise and fall in Smith-field market. However, their real worth floats not with the people's fancies, no more than a rock in the sea rises and falls with the tide. S. Paul is still S. Paul, though the Lycaonians *now* would sacrifice to him, and *presently after* would sacrifice him."

Thus Fuller puts this point with his characteristic clearness and vivacity. Objections of the same nature have never been entirely banished from society and literature; and since we occasionally see or hear them hinted at, or propounded in our own day, with more or less distinctness and confidence, according to the quarter from which they arise, and that for which they are intended, it cannot be improper in a work like the present to add a remark or two in illustration of the grounds on which our martyrs were "*content*" "to give their bodies to be burned:" they who

" . . . constrained to wield the sword
Of disputation, shrunk not, though assailed
With hostile din, and combating in sight
Of angry umpires partial and unjust;
And did, thereafter, bathe their hands in fire,
So to declare the conscience satisfied:
Nor for their bodies would accept release;
But, blessing God, and praising Him, bequeathed,
With their last breath, from out the smouldering flame,
The faith which they by diligence had earned,
And through illuminating grace received,
For their dear countrymen, and all mankind.
O high example, constancy divine!"

(*Excursion*, book vi)

The first main ground of argument on which they rested, was that many doctrines and practices of the church of Rome, adopted and enforced by the church of England, as necessary articles of faith and of obedience, were either

be that shuld forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort through

unwarranted by the word of God, or were actually contrary to it. Such were the service in an unknown tongue, the celibacy of the clergy, communion in one kind only, the sacrifice of the mass for the remission of sins, the ubiquity and the worship of Christ's bodily presence in the Eucharist, and some others. When these matters, *unscriptural* or *antiscritural*, were demanded at their hands, though with unceasing threats and relentless importunity, how *could* they teach or practise them? How could they do otherwise than reason, instruct, petition, and supplicate against them? And if the consequence of so doing must be death, well (since they will not and cannot resist the supreme power), they are still bound to *obey God rather than man*; and must therefore be content to give their bodies to be burned, as an offering and sacrifice in *His* cause, who, one day, sooner or later, will arise (and the sooner for this their testimony) in behalf of His own insulted rights and cause.

It was under this department of the controversy, that our confessors often came forward to defend themselves against the suspicion or imputation of wilful obstinacy, and a perverse contention about trifles. No! had the things required been of that description; matters in their own nature indifferent, and enforced upon them only as such; and where undeniable reason and Scripture did not interpose; then, under such circumstances, their sense of the duty of submission to the civil or the ecclesiastical magistrate, was sufficient for their satisfaction, and they would obey. And hence we find they did not scruple to disclaim all participation and sympathy with those, who, in such cases, for the mere indulgence of their own private judgment, or under the influence of enthusiasm, insubordination, affected singularity, or ambition, would rush upon death, where the finger of God did not itself distinctly point the way. Thus we saw above (vol. ii. p. 528), that, in his own case, Latimer was "loath to sustain the cruel sentence of death, *unless it were for articles necessary of his belief*." And Strype has preserved an interesting memorial of a visit which he made to John Bainham, in prison, in the year 1532, where with great freedom he counsels B.; "Let not vain-glory overcome you in a matter, that men deserve not to die for: for therein you shall neither please God, do good to yourself, nor your neighbour. And better it were for you to *submit yourself to the ordinances of men*, than so rashly to finish your life without good ground; and therefore we pray you to let us understand the articles that you are condemned for."—See this extract in full, above p. 34, note. And, to mention no more, Ridley, in the like spirit, declares, "The cause why I do dissent from the Romish religion is not any study of vainglory or of singularity, but of conscience, of my bounden duty towards God, and towards Christ's church and the salvation of mine own soul."

But they had also another ground of action not less imperative, and perhaps to ordinary capacities more readily intelligible and more easy of application than the preceding. This related to the whole category of *things indifferent*: that is, of matters neither forbidden nor prescribed by God's word. Many that were confessedly of this kind were purposely taken up by

Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection by his Holy Spirit in my hart, to stand against the face

the church of Rome (in which she was followed by the church of England,) and elevated, by virtue of the pretended authority of the church, into necessary articles of faith and obedience, the impugnors of which therefore they denounced as *hereticks*, and, *as such*, guilty of all the dread penalties of heresy, a death by temporal fires here, and in eternal fire hereafter.

What therefore were the circumstances of our fathers, under this second department of their trials? They were required to believe, whether they could or no, and to profess their belief, and to live and act day by day according to that belief, where the things required, and that as of necessity to salvation, were not exacted as being in themselves either reasonable or scriptural, but only as grounded on the despotic and infallible decrees and authority of the church: and which authority, therefore, in so doing, they must further submit to accept, without, or contrary to, the warrant both of scripture and reason, not only as despotic and infallible in any particular case, but as a power, on the same grounds, illimitable, and capable of extension indefinitely to all cases, and with no bounds but those of its own supreme and arbitrary will.

Here then, at least, we may well ask, how was obedience and submission possible: and how then could any thing but flight, or the dungeon, or the stake, possibly ensue? There might perhaps, under the former head, have been some room for question, whether, and how far, this or that particular article required, was, or was not, expressly contrary to God's word; but when *now* both this criterion and that of reason were purposely slighted, and even perhaps studiously depreciated and disparaged, and all was rested solely on that special pretended church-authority, itself being usually nothing more than the usurped dominion and supremacy of the bishop of Rome—how was it possible to admit into the life such obedience, and into the mouth such a confession, and into the heart such a thralldom, degradation, and slavery as this; and, in the lack of these, “who was he that *would not*, or *could not*, find in his heart in this cause to be content to die?”

What imagination can paint the countless and miserable conflicts and agonies of mind which must have been undergone in secret, during the prevalence of such a dominion and despotism as we have described! “I knew a certain master of arts in Oxford,” says John Frith (*Works*, p. 150), “which confessed upon his death-bed, that he had wept, lying in his bed, an hundred nights, within one year's space, because he *could not* believe it;” viz. the carnal presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist. But, in further illustration of this second division of argument, I must content myself with saying, that I do not remember any where to have seen the grounds of our martyrs' justification, under this second head, more clearly and pertinently laid down, than in a few sentences by this same John Frith, in his own case; who, thus armed and animated, suffered by fire about the 31st year of his age, July 4, 1533.

Thus, in the account which he gives of “the articles for which he died,” “They examined me,” he says, “but of two: First, whether I thought there

of the enemy in his cause, and to chuse rather the losse of all my worldly substance, yea, and of my life too, then to deny his

were no purgatory to purge the soul after this present life? And I said that I thought there was none; for man is made but of two parts, the body and the soul. And *the body* is purged by the cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every child which he receiveth; as affliction, worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c., and death finisheth sin: and *the soul* is purged by the word of God, which we receive through faith, unto the health and salvation both of body and soul.

"Now and if I did know any *third* part whereof we are made, I would also gladly grant the third purgatory: but seeing I know none such, I must deny the pope's purgatory. Nevertheless, I count neither part a *necessary article of our faith, necessarily to be believed under pain of damnation*, whether there be such a purgatory or not."—*Works of Tindal, Frith, and Barnes*, p. 170.

The second article upon which he was tested was, "Whether he thought that Christ's very natural body, both flesh and blood, is really contained under the sacrament, and there actually present?" to which his reply was, "No," said I, "I do not so think. Notwithstanding, I would not that any should count that I make my saying, which is the negative, any article of the faith: for, even as I say, that *you ought not* to make any necessary article of the faith of your part, which is the affirmative, so I say again, that we make no necessary article of the faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, as God shall open his heart, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love, and to bear each other's infirmities."—*Ibid.* p. 170.

After these statements the part follows which is more particularly pertinent to our present purpose.

"I think," says he, "*many men wonder* how I can die in this article, seeing that it is no necessary article of our faith; for I grant that neither part is an article necessary to be believed under pain of damnation.

"*The cause of my death is this; because* I cannot in conscience abjure and swear that our prelates' opinion of the sacrament, (that is, that the substance of bread and wine is verily *changed* into the flesh and blood of our saviour, Jesus Christ) is an undoubted article of the faith, necessary to be believed, under pain of damnation.

"Now, though this opinion were indeed true (which thing they can neither prove true by Scripture nor doctors), yet could I not in conscience grant that it should be an article of the faith necessary to be believed, &c.: for there are *many verities*, which yet may be no *such* articles of our faith. It is true that I lay in irons when I wrote this: howbeit, I would not have you to receive this truth for an article of our faith; for you may think the contrary without all jeopardy of damnation. . . .

"I will not bind the congregation of Christ by my example, to any necessary article beside our Creed, and especially none such as cannot be proved true by Scripture. And I say that the church, as they call it, cannot compel us to receive any such articles to be of necessity under pain of damnation. . . .

known truth; that he will comfort me, aide me, and strengthen me evermore even unto the end and to the yeelding up of my spirit and soule into his holy hands, whereof I most hartly beseech his most holy sacred majesty of his infinite goodnes and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

"Now that I have taken my leave of my countrey men and kinsfolke, and the Lord doth lend me life, and giveth me leasure, I will bid my other good friends in God of other places also farewell.—And whom first or before other, then the universitie of Cambridge, whereat I have dwelt longer, found more faithfull and hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my naturall parents only excepted) then ever I did even in mine owne native countrey wherein I was borne?

"Farewell therefore Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse. If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea if I should not for thy benefites at the least love thee againe, truly I were to bee counted too ungrate and unkinde. What benefites hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestowe upon thy best beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy schoole degrees; of the common offices, the chaplaineshippe of the university, the office of the proctorshippe, and of a common reader; and of thy

"I dare not be so presumptuous in entering into God's judgment, as to make the prelates' in this point a necessary article of our faith; for then I should damnably condemn all the Germans and Almaines with infinite woe, which indeed do not believe nor think that the substance of bread and wine is *changed* into the substance of Christ's natural body. And surely I cannot be so foolish-hardy as to condemn such an infinite number, for our prelates' pleasures."—*Ibid.* p. 172.

After all this, can we say more, to characterize the deplorable condition of things into which England had been subdued for centuries, and in which it was still lying, than by reminding our readers, that even Cranmer himself was brought in to be an instrument towards the condemnation of such a young man as this to the stake? Or how shall we be sufficiently thankful, in calling to mind that God in his mercy was now preparing speedily, by the instrumentality of this same Cranmer and others, to break in pieces these chains, never again, we trust and pray, to be inflicted on the people of England?

The church of Rome, at the æra of the Reformation, instead of availing herself of the providential occasion and call for asserting her own liberty, did alas! do little more, than, in its very crisis, rivet afresh her chains,—(*O Lord! how long?*)—by solemn and formal re-enactments in the decrees of the Council of Trent. See the Editor's *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 248.

private commodities and emoluments in colledges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First to be scholler, then to be fellow, then after my departure from thee, thou calledst me againe to a mastership of a right worshipful colledge.—I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindnes, and I pray God that his lawes and the sincere gospell of Christ, may ever bee truely taught and faithfully learned in thee.

“Farewell Pembroke Hall, of late mine owne colledge, my cure and my charge: what case thou art in now God knoweth, I knowe not well. Thou wast ever named sithens I knew thee, which is now thirty years agoe, to be studious, well learned, and a great setter forth of Christes gospell, and of Gods true word: so I found thee, and blessed be God so I left thee indeede. Wo is me for thee mine owne deare colledge, if ever thou suffer thy selfe by any meanes to be brought from that trade. In thy orcharde⁴ (thy wals, butts and trees, if they could speake, would

⁴ *In thy orcharde.*] We are here reminded of, and may compare with the above, the account of some similar particulars respecting our historian, John Fox, then student at Magdalen college, Oxford, as they are detailed in the *Life* purporting to be written by his son, prefixed to some of the later editions of the *Acts and Monuments*. With regard, however, to the authorship of this life, and the truth of many of the statements in it, see Dr. Maitland's Notes “On the Memoir of Fox ascribed to his son,” 8vo. 1841.

“By report of some who were fellow students with him, he used over and above his dayes exercise, to bestow whole nights at his study, or not till it were very late to betake himself to rest. Near to the college was a grove, wherein for the pleasantness of the place, the students took delight to walk, and spend some idle hours for their recreation. This place, and the dead time of the night, had master Fox chosen, with the horror of solitude and darkness, to confirm his mind; which, as a fresh water soldier, trembled at the guilt of a new imagination.

“How many nights he watched in these solitary walks; what combats, and wrestlings he suffered with himself; how many heavy sighs, and sobs, and tears he poured forth with his prayers to Almighty God; I had rather might be spared from this discourse, than touched with opinion of ostentation: but therefore of necessity was it to be remembered, because from hence sprang the first opinion of his alienated affections. For no sooner was the fame spread of his nightly retirements, but that the more understanding sort out of their own wisdom, and others according as they stood inclined towards him, were apt to interpret all to the worst sense. At length those with whom he was intimate being drawn into suspicion of him, there were some employed, who under pretence to admonish him, might observe his walks, and pry with more curiosity into his words and actions: and there wanted not others, who comparing his customs formerly used with the present course he

beare me witnes) I learned without booke almost all Paules epistles, yea, and I weene all the canonicall epistles, save only the Apocalyps: of which studie, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carie with me unto heaven: for the profite thereof I thinke I have felt in all my life time ever after. And I ween of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeale and love toward that part of Gods word, which is a key and true commentary to all holy Scripture, may ever abide in that colledge, so long as the world shal endure.

“From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canturbury Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to bee vicar of Herne^a in East Kent. Wherefore farewell Herne, thou worshipfull and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to minister Gods word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oft times the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christs gospell: Oh that the fruit had answered to the seed! And yet I must acknowledge mee to be thy debter for the doctrine of the Lords supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but I blesse God in all that godly vertue and zeale of Gods word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifestly both in the hart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my lady Phines^b: the Lord grant that his word tooke like effect there in many other moe.

“Farewell thou cathedrall church of Canturbury, the metro-

now took, did with more bitterness aggravate the fact. Why should he not come to church so often as in former times he had accustomed? why should he shun the company of his equals, and refuse to recreate himself after his wonted manner, unless he had felt in his mind some sudden alteration? nor if that alteration were for the better would he conceal it.

“Being thus reported of, surrounded by treacheries, and by every one accused; when the matter came to more severe scanning, and that he could neither hide his resolution longer, nor, being a man of plain dealing, thought fit to excuse himself by forging a lie; by the judgment of the college, he was convicted, condemned as an heretick, and removed the house.”

^a *Vicar of Herne.*] He was collated, April 30th, A.D. 1538. Cranmer's *Register*, fol. 364.

^b *My lady Phines.*] Meaning Fridswide, daughter of Sir John Norton, of Northwood, in Milton by Gravesend, wife of William Fineux, Esq. of Herne, son of Sir John Fineux, Knt., lord chief justice, K.B.

politike sea, whereof once I was a member. To speak things pleasant unto thee, I dare not for danger of conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God ; and to say what lyeth in my hart, were now too much, and I feare were able to doe thee now but little good. Nevertheles, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity sake I wish thee to be washed clean of al worldlines and ungodlines, that thou maist be found of God after thy name Christs church in deed and in truth.

“Farewell Rochester, sometime my cathedrall sea, in whom (to say the truth) I did finde much gentlenesse and obedience, and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to Gods glorie and thine own profite in God. Oh that thou hadst and mightst have continued and gone forward in the trade of Gods law, wherin I did leave thee : then thy charge and burden should not have beene so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be (alas) in the latter day.

“To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say, then I have sayd before to the cathedrall church of Canturbury, and so God give thee of his grace, that thou maist learne in deed and in truth to please him after his owne lawes ; and thus fare you well.

“Oh London, London, to whom now may I speake in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speake to the prebendaries of Paules? Alas, all that loved Gods word, and were the true setters forth thereof, are now (as I heare say) some burnt and slaine, some exiled and banished, and some holden in harde prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christs gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I knowe they could never brooke me well, nor I could never delight in them.

“Shall I speake to the sea thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully, by the space of three yeares? But what may I say to it, being (as I heare say I am) deposed and expulsed by judgement as an unjust usurper of that rounge. O judgement, judgement! Can this be just judgement to condemne the chiefe minister of Gods worde, the pastour and bishop of the diocesse, and never bring him into judgement, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor never suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or of man? Wel, as for the

cause and whole matter of my deposition, and the spoile of my goods which thou possessest yet, I referre it unto God which is a just judge: and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personall wrong, be not laide to thy charge in the latter day;—this onely can I pray for.

“O thou now wicked and bloudy sea, why doest thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Why hast thou overthrowen the Lords table? Why doest thou dayly delude thy people, masking in thy masses in steede of the Lords holy supper, which ought to bee common aswell (saith Chrysostome, yea the Lord himself) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou denie to the people of Christ, contrary to his expresse commandement in the gospell, his holy cuppe? Why hablest thou to the people the common praier in a strange tongue, wherein saint Paule commandeth in the Lords name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, harken thou wicked limme of antichrist, thou bloudy wolfe, why slayest thou downe, and makest havocke of the prophets of God? Why murtherest thou so cruelly Christs poore seely sheepe which will not heare thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and will follow none other but their owne pastour Christ his voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord wil not require the blood of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the worke of thy hands, and whom thou saiest thou hast power to make, *that* thy deaf and dumbe god (I say) will not in deede, nor cannot (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy maker⁷) make thee to escape the

⁷ *To call him thy maker.*] “The people beleve that they see the body of Christ, nay rather Christ himself, betweene the handes of the priests: for so is the common oath they sweare, *By him whom I saw this day betweene the priest's hands.*” Walter Brute in Fox's *Acts*, p. 456. In the year 1520, John Southwike was compelled to abjure, it being objected against him, that when “one Rivelay, coming from the church of the Gray Friars, in London, had said to his wife, asking where he had beene, that he had heard masse, and had *seen his Lord God* in forme of bread and wine over the priest's head, the foresaid John Southwike there present answered againe and said, ‘Nay, William, thou sawest not thy Lord God: thou sawest but bread, wine, and the chalice.’ And when the said William answered againe in the same wordes, as before, saying, ‘I trust verily, that I saw my Lord God in forme of bread and wine, and this I doubt not:’ the other replying again answered and said, as before, ‘Nay, I tell thee, thou sawest but onely a figure or sa-

revenging hand of the high and almighty God. But be thou assured that the living Lord our saviour and redeemer, which sitteth on the right hand of his Father in glorie, he seeth all thy wicked waies and cruelty done to his deare members, and he will not forget his holy ones, and his handes shalt thou never escape. Insteede of my farewell to thee now I say fie upon thee, fie upon thee, and all thy false prophets?

“ Yet thou O London, I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopall sea, now being joyned in league with the seat of Sathan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God; yet I doe not doubt but in that great city there be many privie mourners which do dayly mourne for that mischiefe, the which never did nor shall consent to that wickednes, but doe detest and abhorre it as the wayes of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will passe by, and bid them farewell with their fellowes hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require.—Among the worshipfull of the city, and specially which were in office of maioralty, yea and in other citizens also (whom to name now it shall not be necessarie), in the time of my ministerie, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hills yeer unto Sir George Barnes^a yeer and a great part thereof, I doe acknowledge that I found no small humanitie and gentlenes, as me thought: but (to say the truth) *that* I doe esteeme above all other for true Christian kindness which is shewed in Gods cause and done for his sake. Wherefore O Dobs, Dobs^b, alderman

crament of him, the which is in substance, bread and wine.’ ” Fox’s *Acts*, &c. p. 745. Cranmer, in his *Catholic Doctrine*, has given a lively description of the customs of the people, in reference to this very material part of the devotion of that day. “ What neade the people to runne from their seates to the altuar, and from altuar to altuar, and from *sakering* (as they called it) to *sakering*, peeping, tooting, and gasing at that thing which the priest held up in his handes, if they thought not to honour that thing which they saw? what moved the priests to lift up the sacrament so hye over theyr heades? or the people to cry to the priest, ‘ Hold up, hold up:’ and one man to say to another, ‘ Stoup down before:’ or to say, ‘ This day have I *seene my Maker*.’ And, ‘ I cannot be quiet, except I see my Maker once a day.’ What was the cause of all these, and that as well the priest, as the people, so devoutly did knocke and kneele at every sight of the sacrament, but that they worshipped that visible thing, which they saw with theyr eyes, and tooke it for very God?” &c. Cranmer’s *Answer to Gardiner*, p. 238, 9. edit. 2nd.

^a *Barnes*.] Sir R. Hill was lord mayor in 1549, Sir G. Barnes in 1552.

^b *O Dobs, Dobs*.] Thomas Lever, in a sermon preached before king Edward, in the year 1550, enlarges upon the distresses of the poor, and in con-

and knight, thou in thy yeere diddest winne my heart for evermore, for that honourable acte, that most blessed worke of God, of the erection and setting up of Christs holy hospitalles and truly religious houses, which by thee, and through thee were begunne. For thou like a man of God, when the matter was mooved for the reliefe of Christes poore seely members to bee holpen from extreame miserie, hunger and famine, thy heart, I say, was mooved with pity, and as Christes high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren the aldermen of the citie, before whom thou brakest the matter for the poore: thou diddest pleade their cause, yea, and not onely in thine owne person thou diddest set forth Christes cause, but to further the matter thou broughtest me into the councell chamber of the citie before the aldermen alone, whom thou haddest assembled there together to heare me speake what I could say as an advocate by office and duety in the poore mens cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common councell, and so to the whole bodie of the citie: by whome with an uniforme consent, it was committed to be drawne, ordered, and devised by a certaine number of the most wittie citizens and politike, endued also with godlinesse, and with readie hearts to set forward such a noble acte, as could be chosen in all the whole citie: and they like true and faithfull ministers both to their citie and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousandes of seely poore members of Christ, which else for extreame hunger and miserie should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen and brought up, and shall have cause to blesse the aldermen of that time, the common councell and the whole body of the city, but specially thee O Dobbes, and those chosen men, by whom this honourable worke of God was begun and wrought, and that so long throughout all ages, as that godly worke shall endure: which I pray Almighty God may bee ever unto the worldes ende. Amen.

“And thou O Sir George Barnes, the truth is to be confessed

clusion, alluding to bishop Ridley, says, “These seelie soules have been neglected throughout all Englande, and especially in London and Westminster, but now I truste, that a good overseer (a godlie bishop, I meane) will see that they in these two cities, shall have their neede relieved, and their fautes corrected, to the good ensample of all other townes and cities.” Signat. G 3. edit. 1572. Sir Richard Dobbes was lord mayor in 1551.

to Gods glory, and to the good example of other, thou wast in thy yeere not onely a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessour was well begunne; but also diddest labour so to have perfited the worke, that it should have beene an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godlinesse unto all Christendome. Thine endeavour was to have set uppe an house of occupations, both that all kind of poverty being able to worke, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their owne reliefe and to the profite and commoditie of the common wealth of the citie, and also to have retired thither the poore babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitalles aforessaide had beene cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to passe, thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour, both of thee and of thy brethren, of that godly king Edward, that Christian and peerelesse princes hand, his princely place of Bridewell¹, and what other

¹ *Place of Bridewell.*] See Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. ii. p. 425. But we have a much more interesting account of this transaction, (in which we shall further see that the bishop himself bore no mean part,) in Sir John Hayward's *Life of Edward VI.* p. 407, &c. edit. 1636; or p. 169—71. edit. 1630.

"It happened during his sickness, that Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, preached before him, and in his sermon much commended works of charity, which, as they were a duty for all men to perform, so most especially for men in especial dignity and place; as well in regard of their large abilities, as that they were much obliged to give examples of goodness to others. The same day, after dinner, the king sent for him privately into the gallery at White-Hall; chused him to sit in a chair by him; would not permit him to remain uncovered; and then, after courteous thanks, he reported all the principal points of the bishop's sermon. And further added, I took myself to be especially touched by your speech, as well in regard of the abilities which God hath given me, as in regard of the example which from me he will require. For, as in the kingdom, I am next under God, so must I most nearly approach to him in goodness and in mercy. For, as *our* miseries stand most in need of help from him, so are *we* the greatest debtors; debtors to all that are miserable; and shall be the greatest accountants of our dispensation therein. And therefore, my lord, as you have given me, (I thank you) this general exhortation, so direct me, I intreat you, by what particular actions I may this way best discharge my duty.

"The bishop, partly astonished, and partly over-joyed with these speeches, was struck into a sad silence for a time. At last, tears and words breaking forth together, he declared to the king, that as he little expected such a question, so was he not furnished with a present answer. For this matter had a great mixture of a civil government, wherein he conceived that the citizens of

things to the performance of the same, and under what condition, it is not unknown. That this thine endeavor hath not had like successe, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amende when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

“Farewell now all yee citizens, that be of God, of what state

London had best experience, as over-burthened with multitudes of poor, not only of their own, but from all parts of the realm besides: and therefore, as they best knew both the quality of such people, and the inconveniences which they occasion, so could they best advise what remedies were fittest. Wherefore, if the king were pleased to afford his letters to that effect, he would confer with them, and in very short time return with answer. The king forthwith caused his letters to be written, and would not suffer the bishop to depart until he had firmed them with his hand and signet; and enjoined the bishop to be the messenger, imposing great charge for expedition. The bishop hasted with his letters to the lord mayor, who presently assembled certain aldermen, and four and twenty commissioners, by whose advice the poor were cast into three companies and sorts. Some were poor by *impotency of nature*; as young fatherless children; old decrepit persons; idiots, cripples, and such like. Others were poor by *faculty*; as wounded soldiers, diseased and sick persons, and the like. The third sort were the poor by *idleness or unthriftiness*; as riotous spenders, vagabonds, loiterers, lewd strumpets, and their companions. That the first of these were to be educated and maintained; the second to be cured and relieved; and the third to be chastised and reduced to good order.

“When this was presented to the king, he gave to the city for education and maintenance of the first sort of poor the Grey-Friars Church near Newgate Market, with all the revenues thereto belonging. For cure and relief of the second sort, he gave St. Bartholomews near Smith-field. For correction of the third, he appointed his house at Bridewell, *the ancient mansion of many English kings*.—For increase of maintenance of these places, together with the new re-edified Hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark, the king gave seven hundred and fifty marks yearly out of the rents of the Hospital of St. John Baptist, or the Savoy, with all the bedding and furniture at that time belonging to that place. And when the charter of this gift was presented unto him, with a blank space for lands to be afterwards received in mortmain, to a yearly value, without further licence; the king presently with his own hand filled up the void space with these words—*Four thousand marks by year*. This done with reverent gesture and speech, he thanked God for prolonging his life to finish that business. And so he was the first founder of those three pious works, which by many additions are now grown to be the most absolute and famous of that kind in Europe.”

“I like,” says Fuller in his *Holy State*, (b. iv. c. 11. p. 282) “that emblem of charity, which one hath expressed” (Francis Quarles, *Enchirid.*, p. 1) “in a naked child, giving honey to a bee without wings; only I would have one thing added, namely, his holding a whip in the other hand, to drive away the drones; so that king Edward’s bounty was herein perfect and complete.”

and condition so ever yee be. Undoubtedly in London yee have heard Gods word truely preached. My hearts desire and dayly prayer shal be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God, I am countable, that yee never swarve, neither for losse of life nor worldly goods, from Gods holy word, and yeeld unto antichrist: whereupon must needs follow the extreame displeasure of God, and the losse both of your bodies and soules into perpetuall damnation for evermore.

“Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the space of king Edwards raigne, which was for the time of mine office in the seas of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the parliament: therefore (seeing my God hath given me leisure and the remembrance thereof) I will bid my lordes of the temporaltie farewell. They shall have no just cause (by Gods grace) to take it that I intende to say, in ill part. As for the spirituall prelacie that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeate againe a great part of that I have saide before now already to the sea of London.—To you therefore my lordes of the temporaltie will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked dayly when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge, before the time of the dissolution of my body and soule should be expired, and therefore knowe yee, that I had before mine eyes onely the feare of God, and Christian charitie towards you, which mooved mee to write: for of you hereafter I looke not in this world, either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talke shall doe you never so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me, nor if I displease you ye cannot hurt me or harme me, for I shal be out of your reach. Now therefore if you feare God, and can be content to hear the talke of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God and to do you good; harken what I say.—I say unto you, as S. Paule saith to the Galatians, I wonder my lords what hath bewitched you, that yee so sodainely are fallen from Christ unto antichrist, from Christes gospel unto mans traditions, from the Lord that bought you, unto the bishop now of Rome. I warne you of your perill: be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters unto your owne death. For if yee thinke thus; “We are laie men; this

is a matter of religion, we follow as wee are taught and led ; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amisse, the fault is in them, they shall beare the blame¹." My lords this is true (I grant you) that both the false teacher, and the corrupt governour, shall be punished for the death of their subject, whome they had falsely taught and corruptly led, yea and his bloude shall be required at their hands : but yet nevertheles shall that subject die the death himself also ; that is, he shall also be damned for his owne sinne : for if the blind lead the blinde, Christ sayeth, not the leader onely, but he saith, both shall fall into the ditch. Shall the synagogue, and the senate of the Jewes (trowe yee) which forsooke Christ and consented to his death therefore be excused, because Annas and Cayphas, with the scribes and pharises and their cleargie did teach them amisse ? yea and also Pilate their governour and the emperours lieutenant by his tyranny, did without cause put him to death ? For sooth no my lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilates washing of his handes, neither of both shall excuse either that synagogue and seigniory, or Pilate : but at the Lords hand, for the effusion of that innocent bloud, on the latter day all shall drinke of the deadly whippe. Ye are witty and understand what I meane : therefore I will passe over this, and returne to tell you how yee are fallen from Christ to his adversarie the bishop of Rome.

"At least, my lords, ye may peradventure thinke, thus barely to call the bishop of Rome Christes adversary, or (to speake in plaine tearmes) to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine

¹ *Shall beare the blame.*] These self-deceiving pretences were not unfrequent, being partly the suggestions to the laity of their own minds, and partly, no doubt, from the clergy, as one of their most prevailing arguments.

Tindal protests against them, thus :

"Is it excuse good enough to say, God will not let so great a multitude erre ? I will follow *the most* part, and beleve as *my fathers* dyd, and as *the preachers* teach, and will not busie myself. Choose them ; the fault is theirs, and not ours. God shall not lay it to our charge, if we erre."—*Works*, p. 245. Exposition upon the viith chap. of S. Matthew. Compare Latimer's *Sermons*, fol. 244. b.

Latimer also adverts shortly to a somewhat different pretext. "There be some men in England which say, 'No,' say they, 'I will heare none of them all, till they agree amongst themselves.' Such fellows truly shall never come to the gospel : for there shall be contentions as long as the devil is alive : he cannot suffer God's word to be spread abroad. Therefore he doth, and will, till the worlds end, do what he can to let the word of God."—*Sermons*, fol. 149. Fourth Sermon on the Lord's Prayer.

anguish, and that I do but rage, and as a desperate man do not care what I say, or upon whom I doe raile: therefore, that your lordshippes may perceive my minde, and thereby understand that I speake the words of the truth and sobriety (as S. Paule said unto Festus), be it knowne unto your lordships all, that as concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place. For I ensure your lordshippes (the living Lord beareth me witnesse, before whome I speake) I doe thinke many a good holy man, many martyrs and saintes of God have sitte and taught in that place Christs gospell truely, which therefore justly may be called *apostolici*, that is, true disciples of the apostles; and also that church and congregation of Christians to be a right apostolicke church, yea and that certain hundredth years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ, by the true apostolicall doctrine taught by the mouthes of the apostles themselves. If yee will know how long that was and how many hundredth yeares, to be curious in pointing the precise number of the yeares I will not be too bold, but thus I say: so long, and so many hundredth yeares as that sea did truely teach and preach that gospel, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those lawes and rules which that sea received of the apostles, (and as Tertullian saith) the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God; so long (I say) that sea might well have beene called Peter and Pauls chaire and sea, or rather Christs chaire, and the bishoppe thereof *apostolicus*, or a true disciple and successour of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

“But since the time that that sea hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospell, hath set uppe another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange lawes, canons and rules than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas) of too, too long a time: since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that sea hath thus beene changed, in truth it ought of dutie and of right to have the names changed both of the sea, and of the sitter therein. For understand my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that sea and bishoppe thereof were called apostolicke; but for the true trade of Christs religion which was taught and maintained in that sea at the first,

and of those godly men. And therefore as truely and justly as that sea then, for that true trade of religion, and consanguinitie of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christes apostles, was called apostolicke; so, as truely and as justly, for the contrarietie of religion, and diversitie of doctrine from Christ and his apostles, that sea and the bishoppe thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed antichristian.

"I know, my lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before endued with the spirite of grace and the light of Gods word, so many (I say) would at these my wordes lordlike stampe and spurne, and spitte thereat. But sober your selves with patience and be still, and knowe yee that in my writing of this, my minde was none other, but in God (as the living God doth beare mee witnes) both to do you profite and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shal come to your knowledge, I trust by Gods grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is, (as S. John saith) the greatest of all: and then I shall not neede (I trowe) to feare what any lord, no nor what king or prince can doe unto me.

"My lords, if in times past yee have beene contented to heare me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have saide (when as els if yee had perceived just occasion, yee might then have suspected me in my talke, though it had beene reasonable, either of desire of worldly gaine, or feare of displeasure) how hath then your lordshippes more cause to hearken to my word and to heare me patientlie, seeing now yee cannot justly thinke of mee, (being in this case appointed to die, and looking dayly when I shall be called to come before the eternall judge,) otherwise, but that I only studie to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which I am perswaded assuredly by Gods word shall and doth please him, and profite all them to whom God shall give grace to heare and beleve what I doe say? And I doe say even that I have said heretofore both of the sea of Rome and of the bishoppe thereof, I meane after this their present state at this day; wherein if yee will not beleve the ministers of God, and true preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you *in verbo domini*, except yee doe repent betime, it shall turne to your confusion, and to your smart on the latter day.

Forget not what I say my lords, for Gods sake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be countable of this my talk and of my speaking thus, to the eternall judge (who will judge nothing amisse) so shall you be countable of your duetie in hearing, and you shal be charged, if yee wil not hearken to Gods word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas my lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew againe to be perswaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your lordships had bin perswaded indeed sufficiently, or that yee could ever have agreed so uniformly with one consent to the abolishment of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policie wherein the prince must be obeyed, how is it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy saith now, and so saith the popes lawes indeed) standeth the unitie of the catholicke church, and a matter of necessitie of our salvation³? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry the 8. and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and daunger before God then as it is now, and be now (as it is said by the popes lawes, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of Yorke) indeed a matter of necessitie to salvation: how then chanced it that yee were all (O my lords) so light, and that ye so little passed upon the catholicke faith and the unitie thereof (without the which no man can be saved,) as for your princes pleasures, which were but mortall men, to forsake the unitie of your catholicke faith, that is, to forsake Christ and his gospell? And furthermore, if it were both then and now is so necessarie to salvation, how chanced it also that yee, all the whole body⁴ of the

³ *Necessitie of our salvation.*] Compare above, p. 25.

⁴ *The whole body.*] The whole of this dishonourable contrast, and instant headlong fall of a great people, at least in the persons of its *representatives*, is clearly and strikingly described by Sir John Cheke, in the Preface to the *Defensio veræ et Catholicæ Doctrinæ*, before mentioned.

"Quam enim plausibili successu sancta et vere apostolica religio sub Edvardo sexto Angliæ rege, nunquam satis laudato, annis superioribus floruit, tam nunc omnia ibi, propter summam gentis nostræ ingratitude, cum nimia securitate animi conjunctam, deformata sunt, ut superioris illius ecclesiæ vestigium vix ullum amplius ibi appareat. Etenim cum illustrissimi regis Henrici octavi, qui Edvardi sexti pater erat, temporibus, omnes totius regni proceres, archiepiscopi, episcopi, reliquique ordinis ecclesiastici viri,

parliament agreeing with you, did not onely abolish and expell the bishoppe of Rome, but also did abjure him in your owne per-

ad hæc duces quoque omnes, comites, barones, equites, et tam legum municipalium quam juris ecclesiastici, ut vocant, administri, et iudices; deinde civitatum quoque, urbium, pagorum, et municipiorum omnium rectores, præfecti, omneque genus magistratus, denique cujuscunque conditionis, status, aut ordinis viri, qui modo decimum sextum ætatis suæ annum excesserant, juramento verbis conceptis præstito, sancte fidem dedissent, se quidem nunquam consensuros, ut vel ipse Romanus Pontifex, vel ullus alius civili potestate præditus homo, supra regiam in regno Angliæ potestatem evectus, supremum regni caput agnosceretur. Prodierunt tum quidem in medium nonnulli primi nominis apud Anglos viri, qui libris publice editis, et habitis super ea re frequentibus concionibus, pro confirmatione ejusdem juramenti, et idoli illius Romani ejectione, fortiter laborantes dimicarent: in quorum numero facile primos fuisse accipio (ut plerosque alios taceam melioris notæ atque nominis homines), Stephanum illum Gardinerum Wintoniensem episcopum, Cuthbertum Tonstallum Dunelmensem, et Edmundum Bonerum Londinensem episcopos, qui tamen postea, mutatis cum rege animis, ex Paulo facti sunt Pauli.

“ Ab hoc publico totius regni decreto, consensu omnium inito, cum in suscepta religione animi popularium magis atque magis confirmarentur, et patri optimo rebus humanis exemplo Edvardus filius, optimæ et indolis et spei juvenis, qui religionis causam præ multis aliis non tenebat modo, sed ardebat etiam, succederet, factum est ut omnia altaria Baalitica, omnis superstitiosus cultus, omnes adulterini ritus, et idola summo omnium quoque ordinum consensu abrogata tollerentur, cænæ quoque Dominicæ usus, ad præscriptum ipsius Christi, et primitivæ Ecclesiæ formam revocatus (habita tamen super ea re in Parlamento quod vocant publico, et multa et libera disputatione) restitueretur. Verum enimvero, cum jam annos Bonerum aliquot sub ejusdem Edvardi regis auspiciis bono loco stetisset reformatæ religionis causa, evenit, proh dolor! ut e medio sublato, atque in beatorum numerum ex generatione hac prava et adultera recepto pientissimo rege, (quemadmodum et in Israelitico regno, extincto pio Josia rege, olim factitatum legimus,) totius ecclesiæ simul et regni facies mutaretur in pejus. Ibi enim statim non sine magno grassantium in bonos omnes impetu, et regni antea bene constituti turbatione, Baalitica quæ diximus altaria, omnis adulterinus cultus, omnia idola, et superstitiosi, qui jam exoleverant, ritus et cærimonix, in pristinam abominationem restituebantur, non sine magno piorum omnium dolore. Quid? quod ibi tum translato ad alium successorem Angliæ imperio, omnes omnium ordinum homines, posthabita prorsus juramenti in contrarium præstiti religione, de nunquam amplius admittenda Papisticæ religionis impietate, Antichristo Romano nomen dare non sine perjurii crimine nihil quicquam erubuerunt.—Adeo verum est quod ille ait, ‘ Mobile nam vulgus mentem cum principe mutat.’ ”

But what then had the Romanists to allege in arrest of judgment against charges of so solemn a character? Two expedients they had, such as they

sons, and did decree in your actes great othes to be taken of both the spiritualitie and temporaltie, whosoever should enter into any

were. The first was that universal specific for remedy of all sins, a pope's pardon : and the second was a denial of the fact. They were not perjured, because the oath they had taken against the Pope, and to the king, was not a lawful oath ; they dared to say, even that they knew this at the time ; and that they had been constrained to take it in their own persons, and to impose it on others, through violence and intimidation. We are indebted to Strype for a MS. document, in which both these pleas are handled by an able unknown writer, in the terms which they well deserved. Of this " bold and notable paper," Strype, in his text, has given the following abstract :

" This writing shewed, how the whole popish clergy, according to their own confession, lay perjured for twenty years : and that they compelled all the people, many against their consciences, to profess the same ; and also compelled all that in twenty years past had been admitted priests to perjure themselves in like manner : inasmuch as they were required to swear never to receive the bishop of Rome, nor no other power, to be head over the people of England under God, but only the king and his successors : and so were all the young men required to do every law-day in their respective hundreds.

" Now, if this oath were unlawful, saith this writer, as the clergy now say, then might all the nobles of the realm, of that opinion, have great cause of displeasure against all the bishops that so led them, and knew otherwise : and so might all magistrates and gentlemen, against the clergy, who were the cause of their perjury. And that perjury they caused all the rest of the subjects and common people to commit : insomuch that *all* ranks of people had reason to be angry at this wickedness of the clergy.—But to help and heal this, they had authority from the pope to pardon this national perjury, by the sacrament of penance, by ministering it to the people, and to themselves also : and God must needs forgive all them that submitted to it : and without this they must needs be damned.

" But the writer wondered that no one priest, during the last twenty years, had enjoined his people penance for their perjury ; but suffered them to die in that black curse and excommunication that they knew was upon the people, as they now say they did. So that, he concludes, this clergy was none of Christ's clergy, but the pope's, who sat in God's seat, even in the consciences of the people.

" He proceeded to blame two sorts of people, that in effect made up the whole nation. *One*, that received the pope's pardon with penance for their perjury that thought they were perjured, and made amends, and were forgiven : *the other*, that knew they were not perjured, and yet received pardon, and did penance : *this latter sort*, in his judgment, were *worse* than the former ; doing contrary to their knowledge and conscience.—He concludes with his prayer for a *third* sort that knew they were not perjured, but lawfully swore the oath to the king, and were contented rather to die by the pope's sword, than to slander the truth." *Ecclesiastical Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 247, 8, and *Records*, No. xliv. The title of the Paper is, " All sorts of people of England have just cause of displeasure against the bishops and priests of the same."

weighty and chargeable office in the common wealth? But on the other side, if the lawe and decree⁵ which maketh the supremacy of the sea, and bishop of Rome over the universall church of Christ, be a thing of necessity required unto salvation, be an antichristian law, (as it is indeed) and such instructions as are given to the diocesse of Yorke, be indeede a setting forth of the power of that beast of Babylon, by the craft and falshood of his false prophets (as of truth, compared unto Gods word, and truely judged by the same, it shall plainely appeare that they be) then my lords never thinke other, but the day shall come when yee shall bee charged with this your undoing of that, that once yee had well done, and with this your perjurie and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgement, justice, and truth agreeable to Gods law. The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her filthie stewes and whoredome (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon *à pœna et culpa*) that for drunkennesse and blindnes yee may thinke your selves safe. But be yee assured, when the living Lord shall trie the matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, when all her abominations shall appeare what they be; then yee my lordes, (I give your lordships warning in time, repent if yee be happy, and love your owne soules health, repent I say, or els without al doubt, yee shall never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury and breach of your oath) as ye have banquetted in her abominations, so shall yee drinke with her (except yee repent betime) of the cuppe of the Lords indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For hee that is partner with them in their abominations, must also be partner with them of their plagues, and in the latter day shall be throwne with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare yee well my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to beleve and embrace the truth. Amen."

Ridley now prepared himself⁶ for his approaching death, which

⁵ *Lawe and decree.*] Extravag. comm. lib. i. tit. viii. *Unam sanctam ecclesiam.* See p. 25, note.

⁶ *Now prepared himself.*] The remaining part of this narrative is transcribed from the valuable *Life of Bishop Ridley*, written by Doctor Gloucester Ridley, pp. 662—73.

a sound judgment and a good conscience made him look upon as a matter of joy and triumph. He called it his marriage, and in the evening washed his beard and his legs, and behaved with as much ease and cheerfulness as ever; at supper he invited Mrs. Irish⁷ to his marriage the next morning. And wishing his sister to be there, he asked her husband whether she could find in her heart to be there or no? Mr. Shipside answered, he believed she would with all her heart. At which the bishop expressed great satisfaction. The discourse melted even the obdurate Mrs. Irish into tears, who had before made a merit and boasted of her severity towards him. On seeing her in tears, the good bishop comforted her, and said, "O Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough. For in that you weep it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither be content therewith. Indeed you be not so much a friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet⁸."

When they arose from the table, his brother offered to watch all night with him. But he would not suffer him, saying, that he minded (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly that night, as ever he did in his life.

Orders had been sent by the queen to lord Williams¹ and the householders of Oxford to attend the next morning, sufficiently provided to prevent any tumult that might arise in favour of the prisoners, and obstruct their execution; who came accordingly to

⁷ *Mrs. Irish.*] Wife of the mayor of Oxford, in whose house he had been confined for a time. See p. 82.

⁸ The particulars of the supper which he had the night before he suffered when this conversation passed, I find in a manuscript book of expenses for Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, now in Bennet (Corp. Christi) College Library, Cambridge. It shews at once their manner of living, and the price of provisions at that time.

	£	s.	d.
Bread and ale . . .	0	0	3
Shoulder of mutton . .	0	0	9
A pig	0	0	11
A plover	0	0	4
Wine	0	0	1½
Cheese and pears . . .	0	0	2
	0	2	6½

¹ *Lord Williams.*] John, first Lord Williams of Thame.

the place appointed ; which, unfortunately for the memory of bishop Brookes², was in a ditch over against Baliol College, of which he was master. An humane man, who felt for the miseries of others, had rather used his interest to have removed so shocking a spectacle out of view. But he was indulged in his savage pleasure, and every thing being in readiness, the mayor and bailiffs brought forth their prisoners.

First came bishop Ridley, dressed in a handsome black gown, furred, faced with points, such as he used to wear in his episcopal character ; about his neck was a tippet of velvet, furred likewise, his head covered with a velvet night cap, and his square cap upon that, walking to the stake in a pair of slippers, between the mayor and one of the aldermen. As he passed toward Bocardo, Mr. Irishe's house being near that prison, he looked up to the chamber where the archbishop lay, in hope of seeing him at the window, and to have spoken to him : but Cranmer was at that time busily engaged in disputation with friar Soto³ and others, so that he happened not to be at the window at that time. Ridley then looked back to see if his brother Latimer were coming ; whom he spied hasting after him in a Bristol freeze frock all worne, with his cap buttoned, an handkerchief on his head, and a new long shroud hanging down to his feet, all ready for the fire. O you be there, said Ridley ; yes, returns Latimer, I come after as fast I can follow. They preserved their distance in walking, and Ridley arriving first at the stake, there earnestly lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, till he saw, shortly after, Latimer descending to the spot : upon which, with a most cheerful countenance, he ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and comforted him, saying, be of good heart brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it. Then moving to the stake, he kneeled down and kissed it, prayd earnestly, as did Latimer likewise. Then rising, they conferred together a little while.

Dr. Smith, who had recanted in king Edward's time, was appointed to preach before them, who chose for his text these words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiii. 3. *Though I give my body to be burned and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.* In which

² *Bishop Brookes.*] James Brookes, who was consecrated bishop of Gloucester, April 1554.

³ *Friar Soto.*] Pedro de Soto, a Spaniard, high in favour with queen Mary.

short sermon, which was scarce so long as a quarter of an hour, he gave the holy martyrs frequent occasion to lift up their hands and eyes to heaven as protesting against the falshood of his assertions. For, in stating the diversity of opinions concerning the sacrament of the altar, he mentioned only three among those whom he called hereticks: 1. Luther and his followers, who held that the natural body and blood of Christ was present together with the elements of bread and wine: 2. The opinion of Oecolampadius, and his disciples, who held, that the natural body of Christ was not in the sacrament, but in heaven, yet by grace effectually received of the worthy communicants. 3. That of Zuinglius and his followers, who held that Christ's body was not present either naturally or spiritually in the sacrament, which was only a mere figure of his body. Of this last opinion, he said, were the two men who stood before them. In which representation he was twice mistaken; for neither were Ridley and Latimer, nor Zuinglius himself, of the opinion with which he charges them. Ridley always believed and maintained a real presence by grace to faith, and not a mere figure only: and although there were some English fanaticks, such as John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Paske, who believed that the sacrament was only a bare sign of Christ's body, and nothing more than a remembrance of it: yet this was not the opinion of our martyrs, who, induced by the same authority, the word of God, held with Oecolampadius and Zuinglius too, if we may believe their own confession; for they say, "Although we distinguish, as we ought, betwixt the signs and the things thereby signified, yet we divide not the reality from the signs, but confess that all who by faith embrace the promises there made, do spiritually receive Christ with his spiritual gifts, and that they who were before made partakers of Christ, do continue and renew that communication."

The other frontless assertion was, "that the old church of Christ and the catholick faith believed far otherwise." If he meant otherwise than what he falsely charged Zuinglius and the martyrs, it was nothing to the purpose: if, that the manner of the presence defined by the church of Rome was always held by the primitive church, that contradicts all history, and even their own Tonstal admits that before Innocent III. *the manner* was not defined.

When the sermon was finished, Ridley asked Latimer whether he would first answer it: but Latimer desiring Ridley to begin,

then both of them kneeling down, Ridley addressing himself to the lord Williams, Dr. Marshall the vice chancellor and other commissioners appointed for that purpose, said, I beseech you my lord, even for Christes sake, that I may speak but two or three words. And while the Lord Williams was inclining his head to ask the mayor and vice chancellor whether he might permit him to speak, the vice chancellor and bailiffs ran up hastily to him, and with their hands stopping his mouth, said, master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty to do so, but also the benefit of a subject, that is your life. Not otherwise! said he. No, returned Dr. Marshall; therefore if you will not do so, then there is no remedy, but you must suffer for your deserts. "Well," replied the noble martyr, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth. God's will be done in me." And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, Well, then I commit my cause to Almighty God, who will judge all indifferently. Latimer added his wonted saying, Well there is nothing hid but it shall be opened. And withal signified, that he could answer Dr. Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Immediately they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Bishop Ridley taking off his gown and his tippet, gave them to his brother Shipside. Some part of his apparel that was little worth, he gave elsewhere, and some the bailiffes took.

He likewise gave away several other small things to gentlemen standing by; many of them were greatly affected, and weeping: as to sir Henry Lee he gave a new groat, and to my lord Williams's gentlemen, he gave to some napkins, to some nutmegs, and races of ginger, his dial, and other such things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points of his hose. Happy was he who might get any rag of him.

Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off all his dress but his shrowd; in which he, who before in his old freeze coat and buttoned cap, seemed a withered and crooked old man, negligent of himself, now roused to play the man, stood bolt upright, and appeared a venerable comely person.

Dr. Ridley being stripped to his shirt and truss would have

been burnt in them : but his brother Shipside prevailed on him to pull off the latter, as it would else encrease his pain, and might do a poor man good. Then standing at the stake upon a stone, lifting up his hands towards heaven he prayed, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee Lord God, take mercy upon the realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies." It was not long before the realm happily experienced, as it continues to do to this day, how much the effectual fervent prayer of this righteous man availed.

Next the smith took an iron chain, and brought it round the middles of both the martyrs, and as he was driving in the staple, Dr. Ridley shook the chain, and said to the smith, good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course. And now his brother brought him some gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied it about his neck. The bishop asked what it was : and being informed, said, I take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any for my brother ? meaning Latimer. And being answered in the affirmative, he bad him give it to him betime, lest it should be too late ; which was done accordingly.

Then Dr. Ridley said to my lord Williams, " My lord, I must be a suitor to your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor sister. I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalf. I beseech your lordship for Christ's sake to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here, hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you thereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience (I praise God) this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for them. Now I hear say the bishop who now occupieth the same room will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you my lord be a mean for them : you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

We shall seldom meet with an instance, except in the great Exemplar, whose steps our blessed martyr followed, of one who in the very article of death, though sensible that his breakfast would be sharp, and the flesh have its course, yet was so regardless of

his own sufferings, and so recollected for the good and happiness of others. Let the delicate, the selfish, and the uncharitable, read and wonder !

Then they brought a faggot ready kindled, and laid it at Dr. Ridley's feet: to whom Latimer said, "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

The fire being given to them, when Ridley saw it flaming up towards him, he cried with an exceeding loud voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit, O Lord receive my spirit." Latimer on the other side as earnestly praying, "O Father of heaven receive my soul;" who received the flame as it were embracing it. After he had stroaked his face with his hand, he soon died, to appearance with little or no pain.

But on the other side the fire was so ill managed by piling too great a quantity of faggots over the furze, that the fire first burnt beneath, being kept down by the wood. Which when Dr. Ridley felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. His brother hearing his earnest request, but not understanding well the reason of it, with an ill advised kindness to rid him out of his pain, heaped more faggots upon him, quite covering him with them: which made the fire smouldering beneath, so intense, that it burnt all his nether parts before it once touched the upper: this made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared too true: for after his legs were consumed, he shewed that side towards the spectators, clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call upon God, having still in his mouth, "Lord have mercie upon me;" intermingling between whiles, "Let the fire come to me, I cannot burn." Thus he continued crying out without relief, till one of the standers-by, with his bill pulled off the faggots above; and when the tortured martyr saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself to that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side; and either from the chain loosing, or by the overpoise of his body after his legs were consumed, fell over the chain down at Latimer's feet.

Thus died this worthy martyr of God, and the glory of the English reformation; nor did he die in vain. The fruit of his

prayers for this realm we now enjoy ; and his constant sufferings as they drew teares from most eyes, so doubtless by the grace of God they wrought in the hearts of many a persuasion of the truth to which both these prelates bore so noble a testimony.

One of these we know, Julius Palmer, an ingenious young man, and fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford. He had been all through king Edwards reign a warm and zealous papist, and for his taunts against the governors of his college, and his un-conformable behaviour was expelled the society, and lost his fellowship. He was persuaded that either vanity, or the baits of preferment had influenced the reformers ; affirming that should the times change, they would change too, and none of them would stand to death for their religion. He owned indeed, in confidence, to another like zealous fellow of his own college, that they did not taste such an inward sweetness in the profession of their religion as the gospellers made a shew of ; and that they had not a clear knowledge of their religion, only as the church had decreed : yet with a true papistical spirit resolved, that he would sooner beg his bread, than yield to the reformers. And though he was sometimes staggered in the conferences he had with some into whose company he fell during his expulsion, yet all through king Edward's reign, he continued determinedly blind. In queen Mary's reign he was restored to his fellowship ; and though surprized, that the reformers submitted so patiently to the loss of their preferments, he doubted not, as Gardiner also had declared, but that severities would reclaim them. He therefore made their suffering death voluntarily the test of their faith. For this reason he sent at his own expense some of his pupils to Gloucester, to observe and report to him the manner of bishop Hoopers death. He was still willing to believe that either the report was exaggerated, or that some enthusiastick heat had impelled him to bear his torments with such constancy. But *here* he was himself the spectator and jealous observer : he had attended the martyr's examination, and been a witness of the sobriety of his answers, and with what greatness of mind he had disdained the offers of life, honours, preferments, and the favour of the queen, rather than sacrifice the truth, and deny his faith. He now saw him lay down his life in testimony that what he taught he believed. Not borne up with a spirit of pride or madness, but with meekness, charity and resolution : not with an enthusiastick callousness and insensibility of pain, but with a cool

choice persisting to endure those severe tortures which his flesh knew not well how to bear, and from which he had the liberty of escaping if he would only sign a recantation. Perhaps for the conviction of such unbelievers God permitted his death to be so lingering and acute. Palmer rose a convert from this bloud of the martyrs, and went away publicly exclaiming against the tyranny and cruelty of his old allies. And having suffered loss of fortune for his intemperate zeal in popery under king Edward, was now so convinced of his error as boldly to suffer martyrdom for protestantism under queen Mary.

Yet the severity of Ridleys sufferings, which wrought so powerfully on the ingenuous mind of Palmer, were not judged sufficient to satisfy the malice of another of his spectators, who seems to grudge him the benefit of his gunpowder. This was Dorman (or Pierson) who was fellow of another college in Oxford, who speaking of the gunpowder applied to put them the sooner out of their pain, says, "A practice among Christs martyrs, never, I trow, heard of, the sooner to dispatch themselves, as with mine own eyes I saw Ridley and Latimer burned." Observing in the margin, "That it agreed not with the martyrdom of Polycarp!" O Dorman, could you recall that dreadful sight to your memory, and speak of it with such a spirit of inhumanity? You saw his agonies, your ears were pierced with his repeated cries, your eyes were feasted with looking on his limbs consumed piecemeal before his vital parts were touched, and all was not enough to satiate your thirst for blood. Had the gunpowder, which was so long before it had any effect on Ridley, dispatched him as soon as it did Latimer, who but a ruffian could have grudged him that relief? And Nowel, in a reply to Dorman, takes notice that Ignatius said he would provoke and anger the beasts, to whom he was to be cast to be devoured, that they might the more speedily tear him to pieces. And asks, why may not the heat of fire be provoked as well as the fury of beasts? And Dorman might have remembered, that when Polycarp was burned, his persecutors, seeing that the fire came not near enough to destroy him, with more compassion than this popish spectator had, put an end to his sufferings by piercing him with a sword.

Others wedded to the world, may perhaps think the sufferings of these martyrs were a prodigality of life; and that whatsoever they privately thought, the subscription of their hands to doctrines contrary to that belief, and an outward profession of them

had been far more prudent : and that therefore Gardiner was the wiser man, who by returning to the pope, whom he had abjured, kept his preferments, preserved his life, and escaped tortures. Few of us have faith enough to take our Saviours advice, *Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do : but I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear : fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell : yea, I say unto you, fear him.* Luke xii. 4, 5. But an event immediately connected with this execution may help our unbelief, and convince us of the wisdom of our Saviours advice.

Dr. Gardiner, the lord chancellor, in the midst of all his splendor, secure in the favor of the pope and his royal mistress, and having in view a cardinals hat and legatine power from the one, and the throne of Canterbury from the other, triumphed over the weakness of the two martyrs at Oxford, for whose deaths he was impatient. His dignity and employment would not permit him to be a spectator and enjoy the sight ; but what he could he did ; he dispatched messengers on purpose to Oxford to be present at their execution, and to speed back to give him the earliest intelligence when the fire was set to them. And though the duke of Norfolk was his guest that day, he would not go to dinner till the return of the messenger had given him the satisfaction he so hungered after. At four o'clock the wretch was made happy and went to dinner : *he was not disappointed of his lust, but while the meat was yet in his mouth, the heavy wrath of God came upon him.* He was seized with a suppression of urine, and though he went five days after to the parliament, which met October 21st, and again on the 23d, he could go out no more. A foul leprosy and dropsy encreased upon him, contracted (as was reported) by drunkenness, or whoredom, both which vices he had indulged much in his life : so that his body was greatly distended, his eyes distorted, and his breath too offensive to be endured. He felt all the bitter remorse of conscience, without being able to mingle with it that salutary sorrow which can alone make it supportable. "I have erred," says he, "with Peter, but I have not wept with him." The bishop of Chichester⁴ visiting him, would have comforted him with the assurance of justification through the blood of Christ. Gardiner acknowledged the truth in private, and

⁴ *The bishop of Chichester.*] John Scory, the *deprived* bishop of Chichester. Mary had deposed him in 1553. In 1559, Elizabeth made him bishop of Hereford.

thereby assented to the reformers, but desired him politically to suppress it, saying, "he might speak of that to him or others in his condition, but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the people, then farewell altogether." He suffered this protracted execution for four weeks, during which, as one wrote out of England at that time, "he spake little but blasphemy and filthiness, and gave up the ghost with curses in his mouth, in terrible and inexpressible torments." He was called to his account that very day month that Ridley and Latimer suffered, at two o'clock in the morning, November 13.—Compare the lives of Ridley and Gardiner together, and compare their deaths; whose character was most amiable, whose conduct most prudent, whose condition most eligible? Let us cultivate those truths in our hearts and lives which had such supernatural power as to administer comfort in the midst of burning flames. What afflictions are there in this world, that a practical belief in those truths will not enable us to bear up under them? Let us not think that those errors can be even politically useful, or in this present world prudent, which can give no ease upon beds of down, amidst the pomp of power and affluence of wealth. What a blessing did these martyrs recover to their country, when they restored to it the knowledge of these primitive truths! What a glorious legacy did they bequeath to it when at their deaths, *they lit up such a candle in England, as by Gods grace shall never be put out!*



Portrait of Cranmer

THOMAS CRANMER, D.D.
Archbishop of Canterbury

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

The Reformation that was made in the Church by the succeeding king (Edward VI.) was done with all the deliberation and order imaginable, with the advice and consent of a national synod, and the concurrence and approbation of all the nobility and commons of the kingdom; in which Reformation, all that is of the essence of Catholic religion, or had unquestionable foundation in antiquity, was still reserved and preserved, and is still practised; which needs no other manifestation, than that whoever contradicts whatsoever is determined in the four first general councils, is at this day declared a heretick, and to suffer accordingly: so that this being done without the least appearance of force and compulsion, and with that regularity and solemnity that no alteration, with reference to church or state, was ever made in any state or kingdom of Europe more warrantably; hence, all the king's subjects are bound to pay the same obedience to his laws as the subjects of other princes do to those established in their dominions: and to have the same reverence and submission to the constitutions of their own church, as others have to what is enjoined by the state and church under which they live, without condemning or censuring those who differ from them in opinion; which the church of England doth not presume to do. And as the Gallican church doth challenge and require, and enjoy many extraordinary privileges, immunities, and exemptions, which the Roman church denies to be its due, and would deprive them of, if it were in their power; so the church of England hath as large rights, and owes no subjection or submission to any foreign judicatory or power under heaven.

LORD CLARENDON.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

As concerning the life and estate of that most reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memorie, Thomas Cranmer late archbishop of Canterbury, and of the originall cause and occasion of his preferment unto his archiepiscopall dignitie, who of many hath been thought to have procured the same by friendship only, and of some others hath been esteemed unworthy of so high a vocation: it is first therefore to bee noted and considered, that the same Thomas Cranmer comming of an ancient parentage, from the conquest to bee deducted, and continuing sithence in the name and familie of a gentleman, was born¹ in a village called

¹ *Was born.*] The second day of July, in the year 1489, was the day of his birth. Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 1. "Our youth (says the same historian) was put to learn his grammar of a rude parish-clerk in that barbarous age. Under whom he learned little, and endured much from the harsh and curst disposition of his school-master. Though his father were minded to have his son educated in learning, yet he would not he should be ignorant of civil and gentlemanlike exercises; insomuch that he used himself to shoot; and many times his father permitted him to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horses; so that when he was a bishop, he feared not to ride the roughest horses that came into his stables; which he would do very comely; as otherwise at all times there was not any in his house that would become an horse better. And after his studies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game being prepared for him. And sometimes he would shoot in the long-bow, and many times kill the deer with his cross-bow, though his sight was not perfect; for he was pore blind.

"But to return to his younger days. He lost his father early: but his mother, at the age of fourteen years, anno 1503, sent him to study at Cambridge: where he was nured in the grossest kind of sophistry, logick, phylosophy moral and natural, not in the text of the old philosophers, but chiefly in the dark riddles of Duns, and other subtle questionists; and in these he lost his time, till he came to two-and-twenty years of age. After

Arsalacton in Nottinghamshire, of whose said name and familie there remaineth at these daies one manour and mansion house in Lincolneshire, called Cranmer hall, sometime of heritage of the said stocke and familie. Who being from his infancie kept at schoole, and brought up not without much good civilitie, came in processe of time unto the universitie of Cambridge, and there prospering in right good knowledge, amongst the better sort of students, was chosen fellow of Jesus college, in Cambridge. And so being maister of arts, and fellow of the same college, it chanced him to marry a gentlemans daughter¹: by meanes whereof hee lost and gave over his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham college: and for that hee would with more diligence apply that his office of reading, he placed his said wife in an inne, called the Dolphin in Cambridge, the wife of the house being of affinitie unto hir. By reason whereof, and for his often resort unto his wife in that inne, he was much marked of some popish marchants: whereupon rose the slanderous noise and report against him, after he was preferred to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, raised up by the malicious disdain of certaine malignant adversaries to Christ and his truth, bruting abroad every where, that he was but an hostler, and therefore without all good learning. Of whose malicious reports, one of their practises in that behalfe shall hereafter be declared, as place and time shall serve.

But in the meane time to returne to the matter present. Whilest this said maister Cranmer continued as a reader in Buckingham college, his wife died in childbed. After whose death, the maister and fellowes of Jesus college desirous againe of their old companion, namelie for his towardnesse in learning, chose him againe fellow of the same college. Where he remaining at his studie, became in fewe yeares after, the reader of divinitie lecture in the same college, and in such speciall estimation and reputation with the whole universitie, that being doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads (which are two or

that, he gave himself to the reading of Faber, Erasmus, good Latin authors, four or five years together, unto the time that Luther began to write. And then considering what great controversy was in matters of religion, not only in trifles, but in the chiefe articles of our salvation, he bent himself to try out the truth herein." *Life of Cranmer*, p. 2. Compare Fox's Latin edition, p. 708, &c.

¹ *A gentlemans daughter.*] Joane —.

three of the chieftest learned men) to examine such as yearly professe in commencement, either bachelers, or doctors of divinitie, by whose approbation the whole universitie licenseth them to proceed unto their degree: and againe by whose disallowance the universitie also rejecteth them for a time to proceed, until they be better furnished with more knowledge.

Now D. Cranmer ever much favouring the knowledge of the Scripture, would never admit any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially seene in the storie of the Bible: by meanes wherof certaine friers, and other religious persons, who were principally brought up in the study of schoole authors, without regard had to the authoritie of Scriptures, were commonly rejected by him, so that he was for that his severe examination, of the religious sort much hated, and had in great indignation; and yet it came to passe in the end, that divers of them being thus compelled to study the Scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and wel affected, in so much, that when they proceeded doctors of divinitie, they could not overmuch extoll and commend M. Dr. Cranmer's goodness towards them, who had for a time put them back, to aspire unto better knowledge and perfection. Among whom D. Barret a white frier, who afterwards dwelt at Norwich, was after that sort handled, giving him no lesse commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeate, that our popish sort of ignorant priests may well understand that this his exercise, kinde of life, and vocation, was not altogether hostler like.

Well, to go forwards: like as he was neither in fame unknowne, nor in knowledge obscure, so was hee greatly solicited by doctor Capon, to have been one of the fellowes in the foundation of cardinall Wolseis college in Oxford (which he utterly refused, not without danger of indignation.) Notwithstanding foreseeing that which after chaunced, to the utter confusion of many well affected learned men³ there, without consideration (because mans glorie was there more sought for, than Gods) he stood to the danger of the said indignation, which chanced more prosperously unto him within fewe yeares after than hee looked for. For whiles he thus

³ *Well affected learned men.*] "All these" (as Strype tells us, after naming several of them) "were cast into prison, for suspicion of heresy: and divers through the hardships thereof died; so that well it was for Cranmer that he went not." *Life of Cranmer*, p. 3.

continued in Cambridge, the great and waighty cause of king Henry the viii. his divorce with the lady Katherine dowager of Spain, came into question, which being many waies by the space of two or three yeres amongst the canonists, civilians, and other learned men diversly disputed and debated, it came to passe that this said doctor Cranmer, by reason that the plague was in Cambridge, resorted to Waltham Abbey, to one M. Cresseys house there, whose wife was of kinne to the saide M. Cranmer. And for that he had two sonnes of the said Cressey with him at Cambridge as his pupilles, he rested at Waltham Crosse, at the house of the said maister Cressey, with the said two children, during that summer time whiles the plague reigned.

In this summer time cardinall Campeius and cardinall Wolsey, being in commission from the pope, to heare and determine that great cause in controversie betweene the king and the queene his pretended wife, dalied and delayed all the sommer time untill the moneth of August⁴ came in, hearing the said cause in controversie debated. When August was come, the said cardinals, little minded to proceed to sentence given, tooke occasion to finish their commission, and not further to determine therein, pretending not to bee permitted by the lawes to keepe courts of ecclesiastical matters in harvest time; which sodain stay and giving over of the said commission by both cardinals, being unknowne to the king, it so much mooved him, that he taking it as a mock at the cardinales hands, commanded the dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke to dispatche forthwith cardinall Campeius home againe to Rome, and so in haste remooved himself from London to Waltham, for a night or twaine whiles his householde remooved to Greenwich: by meanes whereof it chanced that the harbengers lodged doctor Stephens⁵ secretary, and D. Foxe⁶ almosiner (who were the chief furtherers, preferrers and defendors on the kings behalfe of the said cause) in the house of the said M. Cressey, where the said doctor Cranmer was also lodged and resident. When supper time came, they all three doctors met together, doctor Stephens and doctor Foxe much marvelling of D. Cranmers being there. Who declared to them the cause of his there being, namely, for that the plague was in Cambridge. And as

⁴ *August.*] 1529. See note ⁷ in the next page.

⁵ *Doctor Stephens.*] Stephen Gardiner. See vol. i. p. 557, n.

⁶ *D. Foxe.*] Edward Fox, afterwards bishop of Hereford. See vol. ii. p. 256, n.

they were of old acquaintance, so the secretary and the almosiner right well entertained D. Cranmer, minding to understand part of his opinion touching their great businesse they had in hand. And so as good occasion served, whiles they were at supper, they conferd with doctor Cranmer concerning the kings cause, requesting him of his judgment and opinion what he thought therein.

Wherefore D. Cranmer answered, that he could say little to the matter, for that hee had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding hee said to them, that in his opinion they made more adoe in prosecuting the law ecclesiasticall, than needed. "It were better as I suppose," quoth D. Cranmer, "that the question, whether a man may marry his brothers wife or no, were decided and discussed by the divines, and by the authoritie of the word of God, whereby the conscience of the prince might bee better satisfied and quieted, than thus from yeare to yeare by frustratorie delaies to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unbolted out by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will soon declare, make open and manifest, being by learned men well handled; and that may be as well done in England in the universities here, as at Rome or elsewhere in any forain nation, the authority whereof will compell any judge soone to come to a definitive sentence: and therefore as I take it, you might this way have made an ende of this matter long sithens." When D. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two well liked of his devise⁷, and wished that they had so proceeded afore time; and thereupon conceived some matter of that devise to instruct the king withall, who then was minded to send to Rome againe for a new commission.

Now, the next day when the king removed to Greenwich, like

⁷ *His devise.*] Collier, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 52, and Fiddes in the *Life of Wolsey*, p. 444, assign very strong reasons against the possibility of Cranmer's being the first to suggest the expedient of resorting to the universities for a solution of the grand question in the divorce. The universities in fact had been consulted on that point, before the date of this interview at Waltham, and Wolsey, it seems, was the first adviser of that measure. It is further worthy of remark, that the writer of the *Life of Bishop Fisher* (who calls himself Thomas Bailey, D.D.) affirms that the article opened and maintained by Cranmer at this meeting with the courtiers was that of *the King's Supremacy*, p. 96, &c. edit. 3.

This interview at Waltham was about August 1529. Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 4.

as hee tooke himsele not well handled by the cardinals in thus deferring his cause, so his minde being unquieted, and desirous of an end of his long and tedious suite, he called to him these his two principall doers in his said cause, namely, the said D. Stephens and D. Foxe, saying unto them, "What now my maisters," (quoth the king) "shall we doe in this infinite cause of mine? I see by it there must be a new commission procured from Rome, and when we shall have an end, God knoweth, and not I."

When the king had said somewhat his mind herein, the almosiner D. Fox said unto the king againe, "Wee trust that there shall be better waies devised for your majestie, then to make travell so farre as to Rome any more in your highnesse cause, which by chance was put into our heads this other night being at Waltham." The king being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, "Who hath taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceede in our said cause?" Then said D. Fox, "It chanced us to be lodged at Waltham in M. Cresseis house this other night, your highnes being there, where we met with an olde acquaintance of ours, named D. Cranmer, with whom having conference concerning your highnes cause, he thought that the next way were, first to instruct and quiet your majesties conscience by trying your highnesse question out by the authoritie of the word of God, and thereupon to proceede to a finall sentence." With this report the secretarie was not content with the almosiner, for that hee did not utter this devise as of their owne invention. And when the secretarie would have seemed by colourable wordes to make it appeare to the king, that they of themselves had devised that meanes: the king then said, "where is that doctor Cranmer; is he still at Waltham?" They answered that they left him there. "Mary," said the king, "I wil surely speake with him, and therefore let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive," quoth the king, "that that man hath the sow by the right eare^a. And if I had knowne this devise but two yeare ago, it had been in my waie a great peece of money, and had also ridde me out of much disquietnesse."

^a *The sow by the right eare.*] It is often curious to observe what appear trifling differences. In the *Life of Bishop Fisher* just referred to, this passage is thus given, p. 90. "The king swore, by his wonted oath, Mother of God, that man hath *the right sow by the ear.*" This also is the version of the well known story of queen Elizabeth and the mayor of Salisbury.

Whereupon doctor Cranmer was sent for, and beeing removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and so towards his friends in Nottingham shire, a poste went for him. But when hee came to London, he began to quarrell with these two his acquaintances, that he by their meanes was thus troubled, and brought thither to be cumbered in a matter wherein he had nothing at all travelled in studie, and therefore most instantly intreated them, that they would make his excuse in such sort, that he might bee dispatched away from comming in the kings presence. They promised and tooke the matter upon them so to doe, if by any meanes they might compasse it. But all was in vaine; for the more they began to excuse doctor Cranners absence, the more the king chid with them, for that they brought him not out of hand to his presence, so that no excuse serving he was feine undelaiedly to come to the court unto the king, whom the gentle prince benignely accepting, demanded his name, and said unto him, "Were you not at Waltham such a time, in the company of my secretarie and my almosiner?" Doctor Cranmer affirming the same, the king said againe: "Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce now in question after this sort," repeating the maner and order thereof. "That is right true, if it please your highnesse," quoth doctor Cranmer. "Well," said the king, "I wel perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand" (quoth the king) "that I have been long troubled in conscience, and now I perceive that by this meanes I might have beene long ago relieved one way or other from the same, if wee had this way proceeded. And therefore maister doctour, I pray you, and neverthelesse because you are a subject, I charge and commaund you (all your other businesse and affaires set apart) to take some paines to see this my cause to be furthered according to your devise, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I seeke not to be divorced from the queene, if by any meanes I might justly be perswaded that this our matrimonie were inviolable, and not against the lawes of God: for otherwise there was never cause to move mee to seeke any such extreamitie. Neither was there ever prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife than the queene is, nor I never fancied woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not risen: assuring you that for the singular vertues wherewith she is en-

dued, besides the consideration of her noble stock, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if so it would stand with the will and pleasure of almightie God." And thus greatly commending her many and singular qualities, the king said, "I therefore pray you with an indifferent eie, and with as much dexteritie as lieth in you, that you for your part doe handle the matter for the discharging of both our consciences."

Doctor Cranmer much disabling⁹ himselfe to meddle in so weightie a matter, besought the kings highnesse to commit the triall and examining of this matter by the word of God, unto the best learned men of both his universities, Cambridge and Oxford. "You say well," said the king, "and I am content therewith. But yet neverthelesse, I will have you especially to write your minde therein." And so calling the earle of Wiltshire¹ to him, he said, "I pray you, my lord, let doctor Cranmer have entertainment in your house at Durham place² for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accomlishe my request, and let him lacke neither bookes, ne any thing requisite for his studie." And thus after the kings departure, doctor Cranmer went with my lord of Wiltshire unto his house, where he incontinent wrote

⁹ *Much disabling.*] See vol. ii. p. 59, n.

¹ *Earle of Wiltshire.*] The father of Anne Boleyn.

² *Your house at Durham place.*] The ancient palace of the see of Durham, built originally by bishop Beck, in the reign of Edw. I. Its site now forms part of the Adelphi in the Strand, and the name is still preserved in *Durham yard*. Bishop Tunstal exchanged it with Henry VIII. who made it a palace. "Be it known to all whom it concerns, that the word [place, i. e. palace] is only applicable to the habitations of princes, or princely persons, and that it is with all the impropriety of vanity bestowed on the houses of those who have luckily acquired money enough to pile on one another a greater quantity of stones or bricks than their neighbours. How many imaginary *parks* have been formed within precincts where deer were never seen! and how many houses misnamed *halls*, which never had attached to them the privilege of a manor!" Pennant's *Hist. of London*, p. 193. 8vo. ed. Henry appears to have granted Durham place to the earl of Wiltshire, and afterwards to have resumed it; for in 1540 a tournament in honour of his nuptials with Anne of Cleves was held there. Under Edward VI. it was at first the mint, afterwards the residence of the duke of Northumberland, and in it lady Jane Grey was married in May, 1553. Durham house was reckoned one of the royal palaces belonging to queen Elizabeth, who granted the use of it to sir Walter Raleigh. The see of Durham once more regained its ancient dwelling, which, however, was finally alienated in 1640 to the earl of Pembroke, who pulled it down and built houses on the site.

his mind concerning the kings question: adding to the same, besides the authoritie of the Scriptures, of generall councells, and of auncient writers, also his opinion which was this, *That the bishop of Rome had no such authoritie, as whereby he might dispense with the word of God and the Scripture.* When doctor Cranmer had made this booke³, and committed it to the king, the king said to him, "Will you abide by this, that you have here written, before the bishop of Rome?" "That will I doe by God's grace," quoth doctor Cranmer, "if your majesty do send me thither." "Mary," quoth the king, "I will send you even to him in a sure ambassage."

And thus by meanes of doctor Cranmers handling of this matter with the king, not only certaine learned men were sent abroad to the most part of the universities in Christendome, to dispute the question, but also the same beeing by commission disputed by the divines in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded that no such matrimonie was by the worde of God lawfull.

Whereupon a solemne ambassage was then⁴ prepared and sent to the bishop of Rome, then beeing at Bononie,⁵ wherein went the earle of Wiltshire, doctour Cranmer, doctour Stokesly, doctour Carne, doctour Bennet,⁶ and divers other learned men and gentlemen.

And when the time came that they should come before the bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their ambassage, the bishop sitting on high in his cloth of estate, and in his rich apparell, with his sandales, on his feete, offering as it were, his foote to be kissed⁷ of the ambassadours, the earle of Wiltshire dis-

³ *This booke.*] "They made exception also generally against all such as had allowed Dr. Cranmer's *Book*, inasmuch as they had already declared their opinion." Gardiner and Fox's *Letter to the King from Cambridge*, Feb. 1530. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. *Records*, No. 32. p. 79.

⁴ *Then.*] In 1529-30.

⁵ *Bononie.*] Bologna.

⁶ *Bennet.*] John Stokesley, afterwards bishop of London, Carne, who was afterwards sir Edward Carne, and Dr. William Bennet. With them were joined Edward Lee, archbishop elect of York, and Dr. Tregonwell.

⁷ *Foote to be kissed.*] Bishop Tonstall, in his famous sermon against the pope's supremacy, preached before king Henry, on Palm Sunday, 1539, says, "Christ offered his fete being bare to be washed with tears and kissed, as appeareth by the gospel of Luke—but the bishop of Rome offreth his fete to be kyssed, shod with his shoes on: *for I saw myself, being then present,*

daïning thereat, stooðe still and made no countenance thereunto, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatry.

Howbeit, one thing here is not to be omitted, as a prognosticate of our separation from the see of Rome, which then chaunced by a spaniell of the earle of Wiltshire. For he having there a great spaniell which came out of England with him, stooðe directly between the earle and the bishop of Rome.

When the said bishop had advaunced forth his foote to be kissed, now whether the spaniell perceived the bishops foote of another nature than it ought to bee, and so taking it to be some kinde of repast, or whether it was the will of God to shew some token by a dogge unto the bishop of this inordinate pride, that his feete were more meete to be bitten of dogges, than kissed of Christian men: the spaniell (I say) when the bishop extended his foote to bee kist, no man regarding the same, straightway (as though hee had beene of purpose appointed thereunto) went directly to the popes feet, and not only kissed the same unmanerly, but as some plainly reported and affirmed, tooke fast with his mouth the great toe of the pope, so that in haste he pulled in his glorious feet from the spaniel. Wherat our men smiling in their sleeves, what they thought, God knoweth. But in fine, the pontificall bishop, after that, sought no more at that present for kissing his feet, but without any further ceremonie gave eare to the ambassadours what they had to say.

Who entering there before the bishop, offered on the kings behalfe to be defended, that no man *jure divino*, could or ought to marrie his brothers wife; and that the bishop of Rome by no meanes ought to dispense to the contrarie. Divers promises were made, and sundry daies appointed, wherein the question should

thirty-four yere ago, when Julius, then bishop of Rome, stode on his fete, and one of his chamberlaynes held up his skirte, because it stode not, as he thought, with his dignitie, that he shulde do it hym selfe, that his shoe might appere, whiles a noble manne of grate age dyd prostrate hym selfe upon the grounde and kyssed his shoe: which he statelly suffered to be done, as of dutie; where me thynke I saw Cornelius the centurion submittynge him selfe to Peter and much honouryng hym; but I sawe not Peter there to take hym up, and to byd hym ryse, saying, *I am a man as thou arte*, as saynte Peter dyd saye to Cornelius." Signat. B. 8. C. 1. printed by Barthelet; 1539.

On the ceremonial of kissing the Pope's foot, see Lunadoro's *Relazione della Corte di Roma*, part i. cap. xxi.

have been disputed : and when our part was ready to answer, no man there appeared to dispute in that behalf. So in the end, the bishop making to our ambassadors good countenance, and gratifying doctor Cranmer with the office of the penitentiaryship⁹, dismissed them undisputed withall.

Whereupon the earle of Wiltshire, and the other commissioners, saving doctor Cranmer, returned home againe into England. And forthwith doctour Cranmer went to the emperour, being in his journey towards Vienna, in expedition against the Turke, there to answer such learned men of the emperours councell, as would or could say any thing to the contrarie part. Where amongst the rest, at the same time was Cornelius Agrippa⁹, an

⁹ *Penitentiaryship.*] “ Siccome qualunque Vescovo usa di tenere presso di se continuamente (poichè si volle Innocenzo III. *cap. De offic. ordinar.*) un penitenziere, che assolver possa da que' casi riservati, da' quali non è permesso d'assolvere agli ordinarij confessori ; che anzi devono essi consigliarsi per tali casi con esso lui ; così il Romano Pontefice, qual Vescovo di Roma si elegge un Card. Penitenziere Maggiore, e più altri Penitenzieri, e maggiori, e minori, che all' uopo servono di detto Maggior Penitenziere, perciocchè difficilmente da se solo supplire potrebbe alla multiplicità de' negozj, e de' ricorsi che a lui vengono fatti per ottenere quelle assoluzioni o dispense, che dalla Romana Sede possono esser solo concesse, siccome a lei riservate *privativamente.*” Lunadoro, *Relazione*, &c. parte ii. cap. xxiii. Thus there were three ranks, the *pœnitentiarius maximus* being a cardinal. The well-known chronicler of the popes and emperors, Martinus Strephus [*Martinus Polonus*] archbishop of Gnesau, was created *major pœnitentiarius* by Nicholas III. in 1277, and it is probable that this is the rank which was now conferred upon Cranmer, namely, that of the second order alluded to by Lunadoro. Fuller, in his *Church Hist.*, book v. p. 182, estimates the dignity at its true value. “ Only the pope (who is excellent at making of nothing something by the solemn giving thereof,) made Cranmer supreme penitentiary (an empty title) throughout all his dominions. This was only to stay his stomach, in hope of a more plentiful feast hereafter, if Cranmer had been pleased to take his repast on any popish preferment.”

⁹ *Cornelius Agrippa.*] The celebrated Henry Cornelius Agrippa was, about this time, in the service of the lady Margaret, regent of the Low Countries, by whose interest he was made historiographer to her brother, the emperor Charles V. Fox is perhaps in error in attributing Agrippa's fall to his opinions in Henry's case. His book on the *Vanity of Sciences* had given great offence, and it was for his *De occulta philosophia libri tres* that he was accused of magic and thrown into prison at Brussels. There however he did not remain ; after fresh vicissitudes of fortune he died in France in 1534 or 1535. Of this erratic genius it has been well said, “ *Nulli hic parcat ; contemnit, scit, nescit, flet, ridet, irascitur, incitatur, carpit omnia. Ipse philosophus, dæmon, heros, deus, et omnia.*”

high officer in the emperours court, who having private conference with doctour Cranmer in the question, was so fully resolved and satisfied in the matter, that afterwards there was never disputation openly offered to doctor Cranmer in that behalfe. For through the perswasion of Agrippa, all other learned men there were much discouraged: insomuch, that after doctor Cranmer was returned into England, Agrippa fell into such displeasure with the emperour, as some thought, that because of the hindering and discouraging so much the contrarie part, he was committed to prison, where he for sorrow ended his life, as it was reported. In the meane space, while the emperour returned home from Vienna thorow Germany, doctor Cranmer in that voyage had conference with divers learned men of Germanie concerning the said question, who verie ambiguoslie heretofore conceiving the cause, were fully resolved and satisfied by him.

This matter thus prospering on doctour Cranmer's behalfe, aswel touching the kings question, as concerning the invaliditie of the bishop of Romes authoritie, bishop Warham, then archbishop¹ of Canturburie, departed this transitorie life, whereby

¹ *Warham, then archbishop.*] "It was in the month of August 1533, that William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, died, a wise and grave man, a great patron of the most learned Erasmus, and once lord chancellor of England; who seemed to foresee and foretel, or at least to conjecture, that Thomas Cranmer should succeed him, as judging him in his own mind the fittest person for the king's and church's service, in that juncture to enter upon that see. For this truth, methinks, we may pick out of those malicious words of Harpsfield in his *Ecclesiastical History*, viz. that archbishop Warham should say, 'That a Thomas should succeed him, who by a loose and remiss indulgence of a licentious sort of life granted to the people, and by unsound doctrines, would more disgrace the church of Canterbury, and all the rest of the church of England, than Thomas the martyr did amplify it by his martyrdom. And that he admonished his nephew and namesake, William Warham, archdeacon of Canterbury, that if any Thomas should succeed in the see while he lived, he should not by any means enter into his service.'

"It is not unusual, (nay it is seldom otherwise,) for popish historians to stuff their histories with strange prophecies and falsehoods, mixed with some truth. And I suppose the matter might be no more than this; this grave and sober archbishop was sensible of the gross encroachments of the bishops of Rome upon the authority of the kings of this realm in their own dominions; and his judgment stood for the restoring of this imperial crown to its ancient right and sovereignty, and for the abridging the papal power. And knowing how learned a man Dr. Thomas Cranmer was, and perceiving what an able instrument he was like to prove in vindicating the king's right to the supremacy in his own kingdoms, the archbishop upon these accounts, might

that dignitie then being in the kings gift and disposition, was immediately given to D. Cranmer² as worthy for his travell, of such a promotion.

Thus much touching the preferment of doctor Cranmer unto his dignitie, and by what meanes hee atchieved unto the same: not by flatterie, not by bribes, nor by none other unlawfull meanes: which thing I have more at large discoursed, to stop the railing mouthes of such, who being themselves obscure and unlearned, shame not to detract so learned a man most ignominiously with the surname of an ostler, who for his godly zeale unto sincere religion, they ought with much humilitie to have had in regard and reputation.

Now, as concerning his behavior and trade of life towards God and the world, beeing now entred into his said dignitie; and forsomuch as the apostle S. Paul writing to two bishops, Timothie and Titus, setteth out unto us a perfect description of a true bishop, with all the properties and conditions belonging to the same, unto the which exemplare it shall bee hard in these strange daies to find the image of any bishop correspondent: yet for example sake let us take this archbishop of Canterburie, and trie him by the rule thereof, to see either how neere hee commeth to the description of S. Paul, or else how farre off he swarveth from the common course of other in his time, of his calling. The rule of S. Paul is to be found, 1 Tim. iii. also in his epistle to Titus, chap. i. in these words:

A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God. Not stubborne, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre: but harborous, one that loveth goodnes, sober minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word and doctrine that he may be able to exhort, &c.

Unto this rule and touchstone, to lay now the life and con-

think him the fittest to succeed in the archiepiscopal chair, and might have some reason to believe that the king intended him thereunto." Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 20, 1.

² *Given to D. Cranmer.*] Warham died Aug. 23, 1532, and Cranmer was consecrated March 30, 1533. Le Neve's *Fasti*. P. 8. Of the extreme reluctance with which he accepted the archbishopric, and of the protestation which he put in against receiving it from any authority of the see of Rome, we shall read the particulars at large, from his own mouth, below.

versation of the archbishop, we will first begin with that which is thus written, *A bishop must bee faultless, as becommeth the minister of God.*—Like as no man is without sinne, and everie man carieth with him his especiall vice and fault; so yet neverthesse, the apostle meaneth, that the bishop and minister must be faultles, in comparison of the common conversation of men of the world, which seeme more licentiouslie to live at their own liberties and pleasures, then the bishop or minister ought to do, having small regard unto good example giving: which a bishop and minister most carefully ought to consider, least by his dissolute life, the word of God be slandered and evill spoken of. Which thing to avoid, and the better to accomplish this precept of the apostle, this worthy man evermore gave himselfe to continuall studie, not breaking that order that he in the universitie commonly used; that is, by five of the clocke in the morning at his booke, and so consuming the time in studie and praier untill nine of the clocke, he then applied himselfe (if the princes affaires did not call him away) untill dinner time to heare suters, and to dispatch such matters as appertained unto his speciall cure and charge, committing his temporall affaires both of his houshold and other forraine businesse, unto his officers. So that such things were never impediments neither to his studie, nor to his pastoral charge, which principally consisted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere doctrine. For the most part alwaies being in commission, he associated himself with learned men for sifting and boulting out of one matter or other³, for the commoditie and profit of the church of England. By meanes whereof, and what for his private studie, he was never idle: besides that that hee accounted it no idle point to bestowe one houre or twaine of the day in reading over such works and bookes as daily came from beyond the seas.

³ *One matter or other.*] The archbishop's various services of a literary description in connexion with the progress of the Reformation, are enumerated, and described chronologically, with great accuracy, perspicuity, and a masterly knowledge of the subject, in a copious preface by professor Jenkyns, to his edition of the "*Remains*" of Cranmer published at Oxford, in 4 vols. 8vo. A.D. 1833: a work of great value, which at once does adequate justice, for the first time, to the memory of the archbishop, and the obligations to him of the Christian world, in this most important department of his public duties; and is also in a very high degree honourable to the well-directed and successful research, the sound judgment, and general abilities of the learned editor.

After dinner, if any suters were attendant, hee would very diligently heare them, and dispatch them in such sort as everie man commended his lenitie and gentlenesse, although the case required that some whiles divers of them were committed by him to prison. And having no suters after dinner, for an houre or thereabout, hee would play at the chesse, or behold such as could play. That done, then againe to his ordinarie studie, at the which commonly, he for the most part stood, and seldom sate : and there continuing untill five of the clock, he bestowed that houre in hearing the common praier, and walking or using some honest pastime untill supper time. At supper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not sup) yet would hee sit downe at the table, having his ordinarie provision of his messe furnished with expedient company, hee wearing on his hands his gloves, because hee would (as it were) thereby weane himselfe from eating of meate, but yet keeping the company with such fruitfull talke as did repast and much delight the hearers : so that by this meanes hospitalitie was well furnished, and the almes chest well maintained for reliefe of the poore. After supper hee would consume one houre at the least in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then againe untill nine of the clocke, at one kinde of studie or other. So that no houre of the day was spent in vaine. But the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glorie of God, the service of the prince, or the commoditie of the church. Which his well bestowing of his time, procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect of other mens conversation faultlesse, as it became the minister of God.

That a bishop ought not to be stubborne.

Secondly, it is required, *That a bishop ought not to bee stubborne.* With which kind of vice, without great wrong this archbishop in no wise ought to be charged : whose nature was such, as none more gentle, or sooner wonne to any honest sute⁴ or purpose ;

⁴ *To any honest sute.*] "Alas, master secretary," (says he, in a letter to Cromwell, written from Knoles, April 22, 1536) "you forget master Smith of the exchequer" (the father, Dr. Jenkyns conjectures, of the celebrated sir Thomas Smith, afterwards secretary of state to king Edward VI. and to queen Elizabeth), "who is near consumed with thought and pensiveness. Even pity moveth me to serve the man (if I could), for his son's sake chiefly, and

especially in such things, wherein by his word, writing, counsel, or deed, he might gratifie either any gentle or noble man, or doe good to any meane person, or else relieve the needie and poore. Onely in causes pertaining to God or his prince, no man more stout, more constant, or more hard to be wonne: as in that part his earnest defence in the parliament house above three daies together, in disputing against the sixe articles of Gardiners device, can testifie. And though the king would needs have them upon some politicke consideration to go forward, yet he so handled himselfe aswel in the parliament house, as afterwards by writing, so obediently and with such humble behaviour in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but almighty Gods, who was the author of all trueth, that the king did not only well like his defence (willing him to depart out of the parliament house, into the councell chamber, whiles the acte should passe and bee granted, for safeguard of his conscience: which he with humble protestation refused, hoping that his majestie in processe of time would revoke them againe) but also after the parliament was finished, the king perceiving the zealous affection that the archbishop bare towards the defence of his cause, which many waies by Scriptures and manifold authorities and reasons hee had substantially confirmed and defended, sent the lord Cromwell then vicegerent, with the two dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth:

also for his own. I would give a great part of that I have to help him; and where I cannot myself, I make all my friends help for him: so importune I am upon my friends from my friend's cause; I suppose more than I would be for mine own, or ever was. Ruth, and importunity of my friend, maketh me so vehement against mine own nature. I have sent this bearer, only to wait upon you until you have an answer of the king, and to put you in continual remembrance; for much business maketh you to forget many things, and yet I wonder that you remember so many things as you do." Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. i. p. 162.

Surely the above hardly looks as if Cranmer was "a slow patron of causes." And yet, it is certain, sir John Cheke so speaks of him to Bucer, who had written in behalf of his friend Sleidan the historian, whose pension from England had been some time unpaid, and Bucer therefore had written (he tells Cheke,) to Cranmer, to induce him to press the payment. "The archbishop," says Cheke, "is of a benevolent disposition, but a *slow patron of causes*. . . . For my part, I do not cease to put the archbishop in mind, and I will still do further what I can." Strype's *Life of Sir John Cheke*, p. 70. edit. 1705.

where it was declared by the vicegerent, and the two dukes, that it was the kings pleasure, that they all should in his highnesse behalfe, cherish, comfort and animate him, as one that for his travell in that parliament, had shewed himselfe both greatly learned, and also discreete and wise; and therefore they willed him not to bee discouraged for any thing that was passed contrarie to his allegations. Hee most humbly thanked the kings majestie of his great goodnesse towards him, and them for all their paines, saying, "I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities shal take place, to the glorie of God and the commoditie of the realme; in the meane time I will satisfie myselfe with the honourable consent of your honours and the whole parliament."

Here is to be noted, that this mans stout and godly defence of the truth herein, so bound the princes conscience, that hee would not permit the truth in that man to be clean overthrown with authoritie and power: and therefore this way God working in the princes mind, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not so sincerely handled in the confirmation of the said sixe articles, as it ought to have beene, for else the prince might have had a just cause to have borne his great indignation towards the archbishop. Let us pray that both the like stoutnesse may be perceived in all ecclesiasticall and learned men where the truth ought to be defended, and also the like relenting and flexibilitie may take place in princes and noble men, when they shall have occasion offered them to maintaine the same, so that they utterly overwhelme not the truth by selfe will, power and authoritie.— Now in the ende this archbishops constancie was such towards Gods cause, that hee confirmed all his doings by bitter death in the fire, without respect of any worldly treasure or pleasure. And as touching his stoutnesse in his princes cause, the contrarie resistance^a of the duke of Northumberland against him proved

^a *The contrarie resistance.*] Ridley in his *Lamentation of the state of England*, referring to Cranmer and himself, says, "I have heard that Cranmer and another, whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully in the duke of Somersets cause; and both of late, but especially Cranmer, for repugning, as they might, against the late *spoile of the church goods*, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law, or order of justice, and without any request, or consent of them, to whom they did belong." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1616. Concerning the dissolution of the chantries, see Strype's

right well his good minde that waie: which chanced by reason that hee would not consent to the dissolving of chanteries, until the king came of age, to the intent that they might then better serve to furnish his royall estate, then to have so great treasure consumed in his nonage. Which his stoutnes joined with such simplicitie, surely was thought to divers of the counsell, a thing incredible, specially in such sort to contend with him, who was so accounted in this realme, as few or none would or durst gainstand him.

So deare was to him the cause of God, and of his prince, that for the one he would not keepe his conscience clogged, nor for the other lurke or hide his head. Otherwise (as it is said) his verie enemies might easily intreat him in any cause reasonable: and such things as hee granted, hee did without any suspicion of rebraiding or meede therefore: so that hee was altogether voide of the vice of stubbornnes, and rather culpable of over much facilitie and gentlenesse.

Not angry.

Then followeth, *Not angry*. Surely if overmuch patience may be a vice, this man may seeme peradventure to offend rather on this part then on the contrary. Albeit for all his doings I cannot say, for the most part, such was his mortification that way, that few we shall find in whom the saying of our Saviour Christ so much prevailed as with him, who would not onely have a man to forgive his enemies, but also to pray for them: that lesson never went out of his memorie. For it was known that he had many cruell enemies, not for his own deserts, but onely for his religion sake: and yet whatsoever hee was that ever sought his hindrance, either in goods, estimation, or life, and upon conference would seeme never so slenderly any thing to relent or excuse himselfe, hee would both forget the offence committed, and also evermore afterwards friendly entertaine him, and shew such pleasure to him, as by any meanes possible he might performe or declare: insomuch that it came into a common proverbe*, *Doe unto my L.*

Eccles. Memor., vol. ii. p. 63, 5. 135. Fuller's *Hist. of Abbeyes*, p. 349—55. See index, under *Church Property*.

* *A common proverbe.*] Morice the archbishop's secretary, (see vol. ii. p. 267,) among other particulars respecting his master, communicated by him to archbishop Parker, observes, "As concerning his own regard towards

of Canturbury displeasure or a shrewd turne, and then you may bee sure to have him your friend whiles he liveth. Of which his gentle disposition in abstaining from revengement, amongst many examples therof, I will repeat here one.

It chanced an ignorant priest and parson in the north partes, the towne is not now in remembrance, but hee was a kinsman of one Chersey a grocer, dwelling within London (being one of those priestes that used more to studie at the alehouse, then in his chamber or in his studie), to sit on a time with his honest neighbors at the alehouse within his own parish, where was communication ministered in commendation of my lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canturbury. This said parson envying his name onely for religion sake, said to his neighbors: "what make you of him," quoth he, "hee was but an hostler, and hath no more learning then the gose-lings that go yonder on the greene," with such like slandrous and uncomly words. These honest neighbours of his not well bearing those his unseemely words, articted against him, and sent their complaint to the lord Cromwell, then vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical, who sent for the priest, and committed him to the Fleet, minding to have had him recant those his slanderous words, at Paules crosse. Howbeit the lord Cromwell having great affaires

slanders and reproach by any man to him imputed or impinged, such as intirely knew him can testify, that very little he regarded the bruit thereof: because he altogether travailed evermore from giving of just occasion of detraction. *Whereupon grew and proceeded* that notable quality or vertue he had, to be beneficial unto his enemies. Whosoever had reported evil of him, or otherwise wrought to do him displeasure, were the reconciliation never so mean or simple on the behalf of his adversary, if he had any way at all relented, the matter was both pardoned and clearly forgotten; and was so voluntarily cast into the satchel of oblivion behind the back parts, that it was more clearly now out of his memory, than it was out of his mind, before it was either commenced or committed. Insomuch that if any such person should have any suit unto him afterward, he might well reckon and be as sure to obtain, as any others of his special friends. On a time, I do remember that Dr. Hethe, late archbishop of York, partly misliking this his over much lenity, by him used, said unto him, 'My lord, I now know how to win all things at your hands well enough.' 'How so,' quoth my lord? 'Marry,' saith Dr. Hethe, 'I perceive, that I must first attempt to do unto you some notable displeasure; and then by a little relenting obtain of you what I can deaire.' Whereat my lord bit his lip, as his manner was, when he was moved, and said, 'You say well: but yet you may be deceived. Howbeit, having some consideration so to do, I may not alter my mind, and accustomed condition, as some would have me to do.'"
Strype's Life of Cranmer,
p. 429.

of the prince then in hand, forgat his prisoner in the Fleet. So that this Chersey the grocer, understanding, that his kinsman was in durance in the Fleet, only for speaking words against my L. of Canterbury, consulted with the priest, and between them they devised to make sute rather unto the archbishop for his deliverance, then to the L. Cromwell, before whom hee was accused : understanding right well that there was great diversity of natures betweene those two estates, the one gentle and full of clemency, and the other severe and somewhat intractable, namely against a papist⁷. So that Chersey took upon him first to try my lord of Canterbury's benignity, namely for that his cosins accusation touched onely the offence against him and none other. Whereupon the saide Chersey came to one of the archbishop's gentle-

⁷ *Namely against a papist.*] Whereas Cranmer, on principle, often acted with special indulgence and lenity, towards papists ! I shall give the account, as we have it related by his secretary Morice, to archbishop Parker.

"Again ; one thing he commonly used, wherein many did discommend him, which was this : He always bare a good face and countenance unto the papists, and would, both in word and deed, do very much for them ; pardoning their offences ; and on the other side, he was reckoned somewhat over-severe against the protestants. Which being perceived not to be done, but upon some purpose, on a time a friend of his declared unto him, that he therein did very much harm ; encouraging thereby the papists, and also thereby discouraging the protestants. Whereunto he made this answer and said, What will ye have a man do to him, that is not yet come to the knowledge of the truth of the gospel, nor perchance as yet called, and whose vocation is to me uncertain ? Shall we perhaps in his journey coming towards us, by severity and cruel behaviour overthrow him, and as it were in his voiage stop him ? I take not this to be the way to allure men to embrace the doctrine of the gospel. And if it be a true rule of our saviour Christ, *To do good for evil* ; then let such as are not yet come to favour religion, learn to follow the doctrine of the gospel by our examples in using them friendly and charitably.—On the other side, such as have tasted of sincere religion, and as it were taken hold of the gospel, and seem in words to maintain the true doctrine thereof, and then, by the evil example of their lives, most perniciously become stumbling-blocks unto such as are weak, and not at all as yet entered into the voyage ; what would you have me do with them ? bear with them and wink at their faults ; and so willingly suffer the gospel, by their outrageous doings, to be trodden under foot ? Using herewith another notable saying of our Saviour, The servant, knowing his lord and master's pleasure and commandment, if he regardeth not the same, is, as a man might say, of all others worthy of many plagues.—And thus with these two scriptures, or doctrines of our saviour Christ he answered mine elder brother, who was earnest with him for his amendment of this quality. Mr. Isaac, yet living, is a witness of the same." *Strype's Life of Cranmer*, p. 429, 30.

men, (whose father bought yearly all his spices and fruit of the said Chersey, and so thereby of familiar acquaintance with the gentleman) who opening to him the trouble wherein his kinsman was, requested that he would be a meanes to my lord his maister, to heare his sute in the behalfe of his kinsman.

The matter was mooved. The archbishop, like as he was of nature gentle, and of much clemencie, so would he never shewe himselfe strange unto suters, but incontinently sent for the said Chersey. When hee came before him, Chersey declared, that there was a kinsman of his in the Fleete, a priest of the north countrey, "and as I may tell your grace the truth" (quoth Chersey) "a man of small civilitie and of lesse learning. And yet he hath a parsonage there, which now (by reason that my lord Cromwell hath laid him in prison) being in his cure is unserved, and he hath continued in durance above two monethes, and is called to no answer, and knoweth not when he shall come to any ende, so that this his imprisonment consumeth his substance, and will utterly undoe him, unlesse your grace be his good lord." "I knowe not the man" (said the archbishop) "nor what he hath done why he should be thus in trouble."

Said Chersey againe, "hee onely hath offended against your grace, and against no man else, as may well be perceived by the articles objected against him," the copie wherof the said Chersey then exhibited unto the said archbishop of Canterbury. Who wel perusing the said articles, said, "This is the common talk^a of all the ignorant papistical priests in England against me. Surely," said he, "I was never made privy unto this accusation, nor of his indurance I never heard before this time. Notwithstanding, if there be nothing else to charge him withall against the prince or any of the councel, I will at your request take order with him, and send him home againe to his cure to doe his duetie:" and so therupon sent his ring to the warden of the Fleet, willing him to send the prisoner unto him, with his keeper at afternoone.

Then the keeper had brought the prisoner at the houre appointed, and Chersey had wel instructed his cousin in any wise to submit himselfe unto the archbishop confessing his faulte,

^a *This is the common talk.*] So in pleading for the discharge of another priest, who had been committed to the Fleet prison for words spoken against him, the archbishop says, "Surely of all sorts of men I am daily informed that priests report the worst of me, and therefore, so to be reported of a priest it should very litle grieve me." *Remains*, vol. i. p. 112.

where by that way he should most easily have an end and win his favour: thus the parson being brought into the garden at Lambeth, and there sitting under the vine, the archbishop demanded of the parson what was the cause of his indurance, and who committed him to the Fleete? The parson answered and said, that the lord Cromwel sent him thither, for that certaine malicious parishioners of his parish had wrongfully accused him of words which hee never spake nor meant. Chersey, hearing his foolish cousin so farre out the way from his former instruction, said, "Thou dastardly dolt and varlet, is this thy promise that thou madest to me? Is there not a great number of thy honest neighbors hands against thee, to proove thee a lyer?" "Surely my lord" (quoth Chersey) "it is pitie to do him good. I am sorie that I have troubled your grace thus far with him."

"Wel," said the archbishop unto the parson, "if you have not offended me, I can doe you no good, for I am intreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended against me. If my lord Cromwel hath committed you to prison wrongfully, that lieth in himself to amend, and not in me. If your offence only toucheth me, I will be bold to do somewhat for your friends sake heere. If you have not offended against me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remain from whence you came." Lord, what ado his kinsman Chersey made with him, calling him all kind of opprobrious names! In the end my lord of Canturbury, seeming to rise and go his waies, the fond priest fel on his knees, and said, "I beseech your grace to forgive me this offence; assuring your grace that I spake those words being drunk, and not well advised." "Ah," said my lord, "this is somewhat, and yet it is no good excuse: for drunkennesse evermore uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of man when he is sober," alledging a text or twain out of the Scriptures concerning the vice of drunkennesse, which commeth not now to remembrance.

"Now therefore" (said the archbishop) "that you acknowledge somewhat your faulte, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this present of an indifferent sobrietie. Tell me then (quoth he) did you ever see me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day?" The priest answered and said, that never in his life he saw his grace. "Why then" (said the archbishop) "what occasion had you to call me an hostler: and that I had not so much learning as the goselings which then

went on the greene before your face? If I have no learning you may now trie it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore I pray you appose me, either in grammar or in other liberal sciences, for I have at one time or other tasted partly of them. Or else if you are a divine, say somewhat that waie."

The priest being amazed at my lords familiar talke, made answer and said, "I beseech your grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and understand not the Latine tongue, but very simply. My onely study hath been to say my service and masse, faire and deliberate⁹, which I can doe as well as any priest in the cuntry where I dwell, I thank God." "Wel," said the other, "if you will not appose me, I will bee so bold to appose you, and yet as easily as I can devise, and that only in the story of the Bible now in English, in which I suppose that you are daily exercised. Tell me therfore who was king Davids father," said my lord. The priest stood still pausing a while and saide; "In good faith my lord, I have forgotten his name." Then said the other againe to him, "If you cannot tell that, I pray you tell mee then who was Solomons father?" The fond foolishe priest without all consideration what was demaunded of him before, made answer, "Good my lord beare with me, I am not further seene in the Bible, then is daily read in our service in the church."

The archbishop then answering, said; "this my question may be found well answered in your service. But I now well perceive, howsoever yee have judged heretofore of my learning, sure I am that you have none at all¹⁰. But this is the common prac-

⁹ *Faire and deliberate.*] Compare above, *Life of Tindal*, vol. ii. p. 191, and note.

¹⁰ *Have none at all.*] At first sight, it may seem perhaps matter of some surprise, that we should find cases of ignorance so gross as the above, in any of the clergy, after Cranmer was archbishop, and Cromwell vice-gerent in causes ecclesiastical, and when the reformation was now making very considerable advances. But it must not be forgotten, that, through all the changes, a great part of the most ignorant of the clergy, were among the most forward to conform. The progress of improvement also in the training and education of those intended for the ministry, could only be gradual and slow; and meanwhile, in truth, from causes to which the reformation itself gave birth, the universities themselves were in a fainting and trembling condition; and rapidly falling into decay, were very incompetent to the due supply of the vacancies which would naturally occur among the parochial clergy even in the ordinary course of affairs. But, still more, the reformation itself did again unhappily, through the influence of the dæmon of avarice, and a carnal spirit, tyrannizing in the breasts of patrons, for a time, largely in-

tise of all you which are ignorant and superstitious priests, to slander, backbite, and hate all such as are learned and well affected towards Gods word and sincere religion. Common reason might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all maner of reason, that a prince having two universities within his realme of well learned men, and desirous to be resolved of as doubtfull a question as these manie yeares was not mooved the like within Christendome, should be driven to that necessitie for the defence of his cause, to send out of his realme an hostler, being a man of no better knowledge then is a gosling, in an embassade to answeare all learned men, both in the court of Rome, and the emperors court, in so difficult a question as toucheth the kings matrimonie, and the divorce thereof. I say, if you were men of any reasonable consideration, you might think it both unseemely and uncomely for a prince so to doe. But looke where malice raigneth in man, there reason can take no place: and therefore I see by it, that you are all at a point

crease the evil; and led to the placing of men in parochial cures, many of whom probably would never have attained to that dignity, even in the popish times. "The number of those who had been *regulars*," says Henry Wharton in his *Specimen of Errors*, &c. p. 139, "was now very considerable among the *beneficed* clergy, by reason that all priests who had been ejected out of religious houses, were enabled to hold benefices; and that the king also, and other patrons did more readily give benefices to them, that so by that means they might discharge themselves from the obligations of paying their annual pensions any longer to them." So honest Latimer protests against this gross abuse in a strain which ought to have brought heart-rending shame and conviction along with it. It is in his second sermon preached before king Edward.

"Take away preaching, take away salvation.—But I feare one thing, and it is, least for safety of a little money, *you will put in chauntry priests, to save their pensions*. But I will tell you, Christ bought soules with his blood, and will ye sell them for gold or silver? I would not that ye should do with chauntry priestes, as ye dyd with the abbots when abbeies were put down. For when their enormities were first read in the parliament-house, they were so great and abominable, that there was nothing but "Downe with them." But within a while after, the same abbottes were made byshoppes, as there be some of them yet alive, *to save and redeeme their pensions*.—O Lord! thinke ye that God is a foole, and seeth it not? And if he see it, wyll he not punish it? And so *now*, for safety of money, I would not that ye shoulde put in chauntrey priestes. I speake not now agaynst such chauntrey priestes as are able to preach. But those that are not able, I would not have them put in; for, if ye doe this, ye shal aunswere for it." *Sermons*, fol. 38. b.

with me, that no reason or authority can perswade you to favour my name, who never meant evill to you, but your both commoditie and profite. Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and send you better minds."

With these words the priest seemed to weepe, and desired his grace to pardon his fault and frailetie, so that by this meanes he might returne to his cure againe, and he would sure recant those his foolish words before his parishioners so soone as hee came home, and would become a new man. "Well," said the archbishop, "so had you neede." And giving him a godly admonition to refuse the haunting of the alehouse, and to bestow his time better in the continuall reading of the Scriptures, hee dismissed him from the Fleet.

The lord Cromwell perceiving within a fortnight after that his prisoner was sent home without any open punishment, came to Lambeth unto the archbishop, and in a great heate said to him: "My lord, I understand that you have dispatched the northern priest, that I of late sente to the Fleete, home againe, who unhoonestly railed of you, and called you an hostler."

"Indeede I have so done" (said he againe) "for that in his absence the people of his cure wanted their divine service." "It is verie devout divine service that he saith," quoth the l. Cromwell: "It were more meete for him to be an hostler then a curate who sticke not to call you an hostler. But I thought so much what you would doe, and therefore I would not tell you of his knavery when I sent him to prison. Howbeit henceforth, they shall cut your throate, before that I say any thing more to them on your behalfe." "Why? What would you have done with him?" quoth the archbishop: "there was nothing laid to his charge, other then wordes spoken against me, and now the man is repentant and well reconciled, and hath been at great charges in prison: it is time therefore that hee were rid out of his trouble." "Well," said my lord Cromwell, "I meant that he should have preached at Paules crosse a recantation before hee had gone home." "That had binne well done," quoth the other, "for then you would have had all the world as well to wonder at mee as at him." "Well, well," said the l. Cromwell: "we shall so long beare with these popish knaves, that at length they will bring us in deed to be wondered at of the whole world."

This example among other, serveth to declare that there remained small desire of revenging in the said archbishop.—But

what should I say more? His quietnes and mortification this waie, was such, that it is reported of all that knew him, that he never raged so far with any of his houshold servants, as once to call the meanest of them varlet, or knave in anger, much lesse to reprove a stranger with any reproachefull words. Much unlike in this part to the propertie (as it seemeth) of some other inferiour bishops of this realme, which have not spared to flie in the faces, to pluck off the beards, to burne the hands, to beat and scourge with rods the bodies both of gentlemen, married men and other, having almost nothing else in their mouth but fooles and knaves, &c. and yet after all this, thinke themselves good perfect bishops: after the rule which followeth and saith,

No striker, nor fighter.

No striker, nor fighter. From which kinde of vice, the nature of this archbishop was so far off, as was his doctrine which he professed, and death which he suffered, far off from all condition and example of blinde popery.

After the prohibition of these foresaid vices, succeedeth the mother of all good vertues necessarily required of all true Christians, but chiefly of a spirituall prelate, which is,

Not given to filthy lucre, but harborous.

Not given to filthy lucre, but harborous, &c. The contrarie whereof, was so odious unto saint Paul, that he esteemed the same no lesse than a kind of idolatry, in that it maketh men forget their dutie to God so farre, and in steade of him to worship their treasure. How little this prelate we speake of, was infected with this vice, and how hee was no niggard, all kind of people that knew him, as well learned beyond the seas, and on this side, to whome yearely hee gave in exhibition no small summes of money, as other, both gentlemen, meane men, and poore men, who had in their necessitie, that which hee could conveniently spare, lend, or make, can well testifie. And albeit such was his liberalitie to all sorts of men, that no man did lacke whom he could do for, either in giving or lending: yet neverthelesse such was againe his circumspection, that when he was apprehended and committed by queene Mary to the Tower, he owed no man living a peny that could or would demaund any duetie of him, but

satisfied every man to the uttermost : where els no small summes of money were owing him of divers persons, which by breaking their billes and obligations, he freely forgave and suppressed before his attainer. Insomuch that when he perceived the fatal end of king Edward should worke to him no good successe touching his bodie and goods, he incontinently called for his officers, his steward and other, commanding them in any wise to pay where any peny was owing, which was out of hand dispatched. And then he said, "now I thanke God I am mine own man, and in conscience, with Gods helpe, able else to answere all the world and worldly adversities ;" which some men supposeth hee might also have avoided, if he would have been counselled by some of his friends. It followeth moreover :

Harborous.

And as touching this word *harborous*, whereby is meant the good maintenance of hospitalitie, so little was this propertie lacking in him, that some men misliking the same, thought it rather a house of overmuch lavishing and unprofitable expence. But as nothing can bee so well done which by some other shall not be maligned and detracted, so neither did this man lacke his cavillers, some finding fault with his overmuch prodigalitie, some on the contrarie part repining and complaining of his spare house, and straight order much under the state of his revenues and calling. Of which two, the first sort must consider the causes which mooved him to that liberal and large kind of expenses. Wherein here commeth to be considered, the time wherein hee served : which was when reformation of religion first began to be advanced. In which time the whole weight and care of the same, most chiefly depended upon his hand. During which season almost for the space of sixteen yeares together, his house was never lightly unfurnished of a number both of learned men and commissioners from time to time appointed for deciding of ecclesiastical affaires.

And thus as hee seemed to some over-large and lavishing more than needed in hospitalitie : so on the other side there wanted not some, of whom he was much noted and accused againe, yea and also complained of to k. Henry the eighth, for too slender and niggardly housekeeping, as not worthy to bee accounted

the hospitalitie of a meane gentleman ; as here following shall appeare.

After that the ample and great possessions, revenues, juels, rich ornaments and other treasures of the abbeies were dissolved and brought into the kings hands, in the dissolving whereof many cormorants were fed and satisfied, and yet not so fullie satisfied, but that within a few yeeres they began to waxe hungry againe : and for so much as no more could bee scraped now out of abbeies, they began to seeke how by some other prey to satisfie their appetites ; which was to tickle the kings eares with the rich revenue of the bishops lands¹. And to bring this devise to

¹ *Of the bishops lands.*] This base design led to a counter-measure of policy on Cranmer's side, to secure some better chance of escape for the rights of his see, and of his successors ; but which afforded, as we shall immediately see by the context, a fresh pretext for reproach, to the sacrilegious and selfish plunderers, sir Thomas Seymour, and the like. This device is thus explained and justified by Morice, Cranmer's faithful secretary, in a letter to Cranmer's first protestant successor, archbishop Parker.

"And here I must answer for my lord Cranmer against certain objections, which are in divers men's heads, that by his means all preferments, offices, and farms are so given and let out, that his successors have nothing to give or bestow upon their friends and servants ; nor that such hospitality can be kept by reason of his fault, in letting go such things as should have maintained provision of his household.

"But to answer this in a few words, before I descend to any *particular* declaration.—It is most true, that if he had not well behaved himself towards his prince and the world, his successors should not have been cumbered with any piece of temporal revenues ; either lands, woods, or other revenues. And I pray God they may maintain in this mild and quiet time, that which he in a most dangerous world did uphold, and left to his successors.

"Yet for better declaration, in answering to those objections, it is to be considered, that when he entered upon his dignity, every man about the king made means to get some reversion of farms, or of other office of him : inso-much that the king himself made means to him for one or two things before he was consecrated ; as for the farm of Wingham-Barton, which was granted unto sir Edward Bainton knight, for fourscore and nineteen years. When my lord perceived, that in such suits as he granted to the king and queen, men would needs have an hundred years save one, he wrote to the chapter of Christ-Church, and willed them in any condition, not to confirm any more of his grants of leases, which were above one and twenty years. By this means much suit was stopped. So that in very deed he gave out his leases but for one and twenty years. Which would not satisfy the greedy appetites

passee, they procured sir Thomas Seimour², knight, of the privy chamber, to be a promoter of the matter: who not in all points much favouring the archbishop, having time and a convenient occasion, declared to the king that my lord of Canturbury did nothing els but sell his woods and let his leases by great and many fines, making havocke of all the roialties of the arch-

of some men; and therefore they found out a provision for it. For when my lord had let out certain goodly farms at Pinner, Heyes, Harrow on the Hill, Mortlake, &c. to the number of ten or twelve farms, for one and twenty years; taking no manner of fine for them, all these farms by and by were put into an exchange for the king: and the king had them not in possession six days, but they were my lord North's, and other men's. And they were not past one year in their possessions, but that the reversion of every one of them was sold for more years; some for an hundred pounds, and some for more, some for less; making sweepstakes of altogether. And so was my lord used in all things almost that he did let out for one and twenty years.

"By means whereof justice Hales, and other of his counsel learned in the laws, advised him to let out his farms for many years, which might be a mean, that they should not be so much desired in exchanges as they were: for those farms which came to my lord, came with years enough upon their backs.—And so upon this conclusion my lord was fain to alter his purpose in letting of his farms. Whereupon he did let S. Gregory's in Canterbury, to Mr. Nevyl, the priory of Dover, Chislet park, and Curleswood park, with others, for so many years as he did, on purpose to stay them, or else he had gone without them, one time or other. And as I heard say, since your grace was elect, Curleswood park was in exchange, and the rent thereof paid for one half year unto the queen's use: but so soon as they understood there were so many years to come, it was reversed to the archbishopric again:—So that hereby partly may be perceived in what state my lord Cranmer stood with his lands. . . .

"And therefore let men leave off that report of him that he was not beneficial to his successors. Other bishops, some of them lost whole manors and lordships, without any exchange at all.—Thus much my conscience hath compelled me to say in defence of my lord and master's good name: whom I knew to take as much care for his successors in that bishopric, as ever *did* archbishop, or *shall*; and would have as much advanced the same, if the iniquity of the world would have permitted him." *Strype's Life of Cranmer*, p. 434—6. Compare Anth. Harmer's *Specimen of Errors*, &c., p. 100, l. and Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. i. p. 319. Also, for some account of lands received by Cranmer in exchange, see *Strype's Life*, b. ii. c. xxix.

² *Sir Thomas Seimour.*] The same who afterwards was lord Seymour of Sudeley, lord high-admiral, and husband of Henry's widow, queen Catherine Parr. He was beheaded in 1549, during the protectorate of his brother, the duke of Somerset.

bishopricke, and that onely to the intent to gather up treasure³ for his wife and his children, keeping no maner of hospitalitie, in respect of so great a revenewe: advertising the king further, that it was the opinion of many wise men, that it were more meete for the bishops to have a sufficient yeerely stipend in money out of the exchequer, then to bee cumbered with those temporall affaires of their roialties, being impediments unto their studie, and pastorall charge, and his highnes to have their lands and

³ *To gather up treasure.*] On the contrary there is extant evidence more than enough to show abundantly, that he was often put to no small difficulty to provide sufficiently for the wants of the day that was passing over him; thus, when he sends a present of a buck to his old college, Jesus, in Cambridge, he is fain to borrow a noble of the master, "towards the baking and seasoning" of the venison: "And whensoever" (says he) "I have so much money beforehand, as I am now behindhand, I shall repay your noble again." *Remains*, vol. i. p. 34. So he has often occasion in his letters to speak of his debts. But one passage in reply apparently to some reflection by sir Wm. Cecil, (then secretary of state, and afterwards the great lord Burghley,) on his parsimony, and supposed inclination to get rich, will excuse us from all further observation on this point. The time of the letter is not less than twenty years after he was made archbishop.

"As for your admonition I take it most thankfully, as I have ever been most glad to be admonished by my friends, accounting no man so foolish as he that will not hear friendly admonishments. But as for the saying of S. Paul, *Qui volunt ditescere, incidunt in tentationem*, I fear it not half so much as I do stark beggary. For I took not half so much care for my living, when I was a scholar of Cambridge, as I do at this present. For although I have now much more revenue, yet I have much more to do withal: and have more care to live now as an archbishop, than I had at that time to live like a scholar."

Cecil's animadversions seem not to have been confined to the archbishop, but to have extended to other bishops also. Cranmer therefore does not leave them also, without that defence which the truth of the case demanded.

"And if I knew any bishop" (says he) "that were covetous, I would surely admonish him, but I know none, but all beggars except it be one," (probably Robert Holgate, archbishop of York; see Jenkyns in n.) "and yet I dare well say, he is not very rich. If you know any, I beseech you to advertise me, for peradventure I may advise him better than you.—To be short, I am not so doted to set my mind upon things here, which neither I can carry away with me, nor tarry long with them." *Remains*, vol. i. p. 351, 2.

We would hope that the Cecil here received from the calm deportment, and the modest yet impressive vindication of Cranmer, a rebuke, and conviction, as effectual in his case, as that by which we shall soon have to see a Seymour was overwhelmed, under the reproaches of the appalling voice, and of the fiery impassioned flashes of the awful eye of Henry.

royalties converted to his proper use, which besides their honest stipends, would bee unto his majesty no small commoditie and profit.

When the king had heard his faire tale, he said little thereunto, other then this, "Wel" (quoth he) "we will talk more of this matter at an other time." Now, within a fortnight after or thereabout, (whether by chance, or of set purpose, it is not known) it came to passe, that one day his highnesse going to dinner had washed, (sir Thomas Seimor then holding the ewer) and said to the said sir Thomas, "Go you out of hand to Lambeth unto my lord of Canturbury, and bid him to be with me at two of the clocke at afternoone, and faile not." Sir Thomas straightwaies went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate the porter being in the lodge, came out and conveighed him to the hall, which was thoroughly furnished and set, both with the houshold servants and strangers, with four principal head messes of officers, as daily it was accustomed⁴ to be. When Sir Thomas Seimor sawe that stately large hall so well set and furnished, beeing therewith abashed, and somewhat guilty of an untruth told to the king before, hee retired backe, and would needes have gone to the archbishop of Canturbury by the chappell, and not through the hall. Richard Nevell gentleman, then steward of the houshold, perceiving his retire, came by and by unto him, and after gentle intertainment, demanded of him whether hee would speak with my lord or no? Sir Thomas said, that he must needs do so from the kings highnes, saying unto him, "and this way I am going to my lords grace." "Sir," said the steward, "you cannot go that way, for the doore is fast shut, in the dinner time:" and so by gentle meanes brought him up to my lords chamber through the hall, who then was at dinner; with whom hee dined, after he had done his message, whose ordinarie fare might alwaies well beseem a right honorable per-

⁴ *It was accustomed.*] "There were generally three tables spread in the archbishop's hall, and served at the same time: the archbishop's table, at which ordinarily sate none but peers of the realm, privy-counsellors, and gentlemen of the greatest quality: the almoner's table, at which sate the chaplains, and all guests of the clergy, beneath diocesan bishops and abbots: the steward's table, at which sate all other gentlemen. The suffragan bishops were wont to sit at the almoner's table."—Hen. Wharton's *Observations on Strype's Cranmer*, in the Appendix to that work, p. 258. Compare Strype's *Life of Parker*, p. 155, 6, Appendix.

sonage. When dinner was scarce done, sir Thomas took his leave of my lord, and went againe to the court.

So soone as the kings highnesse saw him, he saide to him, "Have you been with my lord of Canturburie?" Sir Thomas answered, "That I have if it please your majestie, and he will be with your highnes straightwaies." "Dined you not with him?" said the king: "Yes sir" (said he) "that have I done." And with that word, whether hee espied by the kings countenance, or by his words any thing tending to displeasure, he straightway without delay, kneeled down upon his knee, and said, "I beseech your majesty to pardon me: I doe now well remember and understand, that of late I tolde your highnesse a great untruth concerning my lord of Canturburies house keeping: but from henceforth I intend never to beleieve that person which did put that vaine tale into my head: for I assure your highnesse that I never sawe so honorable a hall set in this realme, (besides your majesties hall) in all my life, with better order, and so wel furnished in each degree. If I had not seen it my selfe, I could never have beleaved it; and himselfe also so honourable served."

"Ah sir," quoth the kings highnesse: "Have you now espied the truth? I thought you would tell me another tale when you had bin there. He was a very varlet (quoth the king) that told you that tale: for he spendeth (ah good man, said the king) all that he hath in house keeping. But now I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a sort of you to whom I have liberally given of the possessions and revenewes of the suppressed monasteries, which like as you have lightly gotten, so have you more unthriftilly spent, some at dice, other some in gay apparel, and other waies worse, I feare me: and now that all is gone you would fain have me make an other chevaunce with the bishops lands, to accomplish your greedie appetites. But let no other bishops bestow their revenewes worse then my lord of Canturburie doth, then shall you have no cause to complain of their keeping of house."

And thus the tale being shut up, and ended by the kings highnesse, neither sir Thomas Seimor, nor none else on his behalfe ever after durst renue, or revive that sute any more in king Henries daies: so that it may be evident to all indifferent men, the liberalitie of the archbishop in house keeping what it was, which being defended, and commended by the prince himselfe, rather may give a good example to his posteritie to follow,

then was then to be depraved of any private subject, such as knew him not.

In which archbishop this moreover is to be noted, with a memorandum, touching the reliefe of the poore, impotent, sick, and such as then came from the wars at Bullen⁴, and other parts beyond the seas, lame, wounded, and destitute: for whome he provided, besides his mansion house at Beckisborne in Kent, the parsonage barne well furnished with certaine lodgings for the sicke and maimed souldiors. To whom were also appointed the almsiner, a physicion, and a surgeon to attend upon them, and to dresse and cure such as were not able to resort to their countries, having daily from the bishops kitchin hot broth and meate; for otherwise the common almes of the householde was bestowed upon the poore neighbors of the shire. And when any of the impotent did recover and were able to travell, they had convenient money delivered to beare their charges, according to the number of miles from that place distant. And this good example of mercy and liberall benignity, I thought here good not in silence to be suppressed, whereby other may be moved according to their vocation, to walke in the steps of no lesse liberality, then in him in this behalfe appeared.

One that loveth goodnes, sober minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.

Now followeth together these vertues, *One that loveth goodnesse, sober minded⁵, righteous, holy, and temperate.* As concerning these

⁴ *The wars at Bullen.*] In 1544, Boulogne had been taken by the troops of Henry VIII., and, in the following year, it was unsuccessfully besieged by the French under the Marshal Oudart du Bies.

⁵ *Sober minded.*] How free he was from ambition, and the pride of worldly pomp and station, we may safely take his own testimony as a proof, in a letter addressed May 12, 1535, to Cromwell. He had been invidiously complained of to the king by his malignant enemy Gardiner, for bearing the style and title of "totius Angliæ primas," which Gardiner pretended was "in derogation and prejudice of the king's high power and authority as supreme head of the church." After vindicating the title, from its antiquity, and exposing the probable motives of Gardiner, he thus proceeds;

"All this notwithstanding, if the bishops of this realm pass no more of their names, stiles, and titles, than I do of mine, the kings highness shall soon order the matter between us all. And if I saw that my stile were against the king's authority, to which I am specially sworn, I would sue myself unto his grace, that I might leave it; and so I would have done before this time.

qualities, the trade of his life before joyned with his benigne and gentle disposition⁷, doe testifie that hee could not be void of these good vertues rainging in him, which was so abundantly adorned with the other, which above we have declared.

To cleave fast unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to improve them that say against it.

Then concludeth S. Paul with the most excellent vertue above all other to be wished in a prelate of the church. For if this constancy be not in him to this end; *To cleave fast unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to improve them that say against it*: if he be void (I say) of these gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but shal seem an idol, and a deceiver of the world. Neither shal he deserve the name of a bishop, if either for dread or meed, affection or favor,

For I pray God never be merciful unto me at the general judgment, if I perceive in my heart that I set more by any title, name, or stile that I write, then I do by the paring of an apple, further than it shall be to the setting forth of God's word and will. Yet I will not utterly excuse me herein; for God must be judge, who knoweth the bottom of my heart, and so do not I myself: but I speak forsomuch as I do feel in my heart. . . . But yet I would not gladly leave any just thing at the pleasure and suit of the bishop of Winchester, he being none otherwise affectionate unto me than he is." Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. i. p. 137.

On another occasion, such is the way of the world, this same good man was harshly taxed for describing himself by the lowly title of *Minister of the church of Christ at Canterbury*. "You may perceive how much he is offended with me, for that, according to God's word, I wrote myself in the subscription of my letter, *ecclesie Cantuariensis ministrum*." *Remains*, p. 300. His censor here was Dantiscus, episcopus Varmiensis i. e. Johannes a Cunis (*Flachs-binder*) of Dantzic, bishop of Ermeland.

⁷ *Benigne and gentle disposition.*] "He was of such temperance of nature," says Morice, in his *Memoir* for archbishop Parker's use, "or rather so mortified, that no manner of prosperity or adversity could alter or change his accustomed condition. For were the storms never so terrible or odious, or the prosperous state of the times never so pleasant, joyous, or acceptable;—to the face of the world his countenance, diet, or sleep commonly never altered or changed. So that they which were most near and conversant about him, never or seldom perceived, by any sign or token of countenance, how the affairs of the prince or realm went. Notwithstanding, privately with his secret and special friends he would shed forth many bitter tears; lamenting the miseries and calamities of the world." Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 428.

hee doe at any time or in any point swarve from the truth.—As in this behalfe the worthy constancy of this saide archbishop never, for the most part, shrunk for no maner of storm; but was so many waies tried, that neither favor of his prince, nor feare of the indignation of the same, nor any other worldly respect could alienate or change his purpose, grounded upon that infallible doctrine of the gospel: notwithstanding, his constant defence of Gods truth, was ever joined with such meeknes toward the king, that he never tooke occasion of offence against him.

To manie which be yet alive, and can testifie these things, it is not unknowne, how variable the state of religion stood in these daies: how hardlie and with what difficultie it came forth: what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the king was ruled, and gave eare sometime to one, sometime to another, so one while it went forward, at another season as much backward againe, and sometime clean altered and changed for a season, according as they could prevaile which were about the king. So long as queene Anne lived, the gospel had indifferent successe.

After that she, by sinister instigation of some about the king was made away, the course of the gospel began againe to decline, but that the Lord then stirred up the lord Cromwell, opportunely to help in that behalfe. Who no doubt did much availe, for the increase of Gods true religion, and much more had brought to perfection, if the pestilent adversaries, maligning the prosperous glorie of the gospel, by contrarie practising had not craftily undermined him and supplanted his vertuous proceedings. By the meanes of which adversaries it came to passe after the taking away of the said Cromwell, that the state of religion more and more decaied, during all the residue of the raigne of king Henrie.

Among these adversaries above mentioned, the chiefe captaine was Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who with his confederates and adherents, disdaining at the state of the lord Cromwell, and at the late marriage of the ladie Anne of Cleve (who in the beginning of the yeare of our Lord 1540, was married to the king) as also grieved partly at the dissolution of the monasteries, and fearing the growing of the gospel, sought al occasions how to interrupt these happie beginnings, and to train the king to their own purpose. Now what occasion this wilie Winchester found out to worke upon, yee shall heare in order as followeth.

It hapned the same time, that the lord Cromwell for the better establishing of sincere religion in this realme, devised a marriage for the king to be concluded betweene him and the lady Anne of Cleve, whose other sister ^a was already married unto the duke of Saxonie. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetuall league, amitie, and allie should be nourished betweene this realme and the princes of Germanie, and so thereby godly religion might bee made more strong on both parts against the bishop of Rome, and his tyrannicall religion. But the divell ever envying the prosperitie of the gospell, laide a stumbling blocke in that cleer waie for the king to stumble at. For when the parents of the noble lady were communed withall for the furtherance of the said mariage, among others of her friends, whose good will was required, the duke of Saxonie her brother in law misliked the mariage, partly for that hee would have had her bestowed upon some prince of Germany more nigh unto her sister, and partly for other causes, which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followeth that the slacknes of the duke in that behalfe being espied, craftie Winchester taking good holdfast thereon, so alienated the kings mind from the amitie that seemed now to begin and grow betweene the duke and the king, that by the occasion thereof, he brought the king at length cleane out of credit with that religion and doctrine which the duke had then maintained many yeares before.

This wilie Winchester with his craftie fetches partlie upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pestilent perswasions creeping into the kings eares, ceased not to seeke all meanes how to work his feate and to overthrow religion: first bringing him in hatred with the Germaine princes, then putting him in feare of the emperor, of the French king, of the pope, of the king of Scots, and other forrain powers to rise against him, but especially of civill tumults and commotions here within this realm, which above all things he most dreaded, by reason of innovation of religion and dissolving of abbeies, and for abolishing of rites, and other customes of the church, sticking so fast in the mindes of the people, that it was to bee feared, least their hearts were or would bee shortly stirred up against him, unlesse some speedie remedie were to the contrarie provided: declaring moreover what a dangerous

^a *Whose other sister.*] Sibylla, married, in 1527, to John Frederic, elector of Saxony.

matter in a common wealth, it is to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of religion. Which being so, hee exhorted the king for his owne safeguard and publike quiet and tranquillitie of his realme, to see betime how and by what policie these so manifolde mischiefes might be prevented. Against which no other way or shift could be better devised, then if hee would shew himselfe sharpe and severe against these new sectaries, anabaptists and sacramentaries (as they called them), and would also set forth such articles, confirming the ancient and catholike faith, as whereby hee might recover againe his credence with Christian princes, and whereby all the world besides, might see and judge him to be a right and perfect catholike. By these and such like craftie suggestions, the king beeing too much seduced and abused, began to withdrawe his defence from the reformation of true religion, supposing thereby to procure to himselfe more safetie both in his owne realme, and also to avoid such dangers, which otherwise might happen by other princes, especially seeing of late hee had refused to come to the generall councell at Vincence⁹, being thereto invited both by the emperour, and other forraine potentates. And therefore although hee had rejected the pope out of this realme, yet because he would declare him selfe neverthelesse to bee a good catholike sonne of the mother church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies (as the blinde opinion of the world then did esteeme them) first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert; then after hee gave out those injunctions above prefixed¹⁰; and now further to increase this opinion with al men, in the yere next following, which was of the Lord, 1540, through the devise and practise of certain of the popes factors about him, he summoned a solemne parliament to be holden at Westminster the 28 day of April, of all the states and burgesses of the realme; also a synode or convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned of the clergie of this realm, to be in like manner assembled.

⁹ *Generall councell at Vincence.*] Vicenza. Paul III. endeavoured in vain to assemble a general council at Mantua, Vicenza, and Venice successively. It was upon occasion of a council being summoned to meet at Vicenza that Henry published a letter, beginning, "Henry the VIII., by the grace of God kynge of Englande, and of Fraunce, &c., saluteth the emperour, Christen princes, and all true Christen men." Printed by Berthelet, A.D. 1538. The letter is in Fox's *Acts*, p. 1034, 5.

¹⁰ *Above prefixed.*] Fox's *Acts*, p. 1035, 6.

In which parliament, synode, or convocation, certaine articles, matters, and questions, touching religion, were decreed by certaine prelates, to the number especiallie of six, commonly called the six articles, to be had and received among the kings subjects, in pretence of unitie. But what unitie thereof followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruell death of divers both in the daies of k. Henrie and of queene Mary, can so well declare, as I pray God, never the like be felt hereafter.

The doctrine of these wicked articles in the bloudie act¹ contained, although it bee worthie of no memorie amongst Christian men, but rather deserveth to be buried in perpetuall oblivion, yet for that the office of historie compelleth us thereunto, for the more light of posteritie to come, faithfully and truly to comprise things done in the church, as well one as another: this shall be briefly to recapitulate the summe and effect of the foresaid six articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder doe follow.

“The first article in this present parliament accorded and agreed upon, was this: that in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christs mightie word (it being spoken by the priest) is present really under the form of bread and wine, the naturall body and bloud of our saviour Jesu Christ, conceived of the virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man.

“Secondly, that the communion in both kindes, is not necessary *ad salutem*, by the law of God, to all persons: and that it is to be beleaved and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under form of bread, is the verie blood, and with the blood, under form of wine, is the very flesh, as wel apart, as if they were both together.

“Thirdly, that priests after the order of priesthood received afore, may not marrie by the law of God.

“Fourthly, that the voves of chastitie or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to bee observed by the law of God: and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which without that they might injoy.

¹ *The bloudie act.*] “It was passed in the parliament which sat in the year 1539, and came into force as law on the 12th day of July in that year.” See Maitland’s *Essays on the Reformation*, pp. 254—264.

“ Fiftly, that it is meete and necessarie, that private masses be continued and admitted in this English church and congregation : as wherby good Christian people ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits : and it is agreeable also to Gods law.

“ Sixtly, that auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained, and continued, used and frequented in the church of God.”

After these articles were thus concluded and consented upon, the prelates of the realme craftily perceiving that such a foule and violent act could not take place or prevaile, unlesse straight and bloudie penalties were set upon them, they caused, through their accustomed practise, to be ordained and enacted by the king and the lords spirituall, and temporall, and the commons in the said parliament as followeth :

“ That if any person or persons within this realm of England, or any other the kings dominions, after the xii. day of July next comming, by word, writing, imprinting, ciphing, or any other wise should publish, preach, teach, say, affirme, declare, dispute, argue, or hold any opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under forme of breade and wine (after the consecration thereof) there is not present really, the naturall bodie and bloud of our saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said consecration, there remaineth any substance of the bread or wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man : or after the time abovesaid, shall publish, preach, teach, say, affirme, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion, that in the flesh, under the forme of breade, is not the very bloud of Christ, or that with the bloud of Christ, under the forme of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, aswell apart, as though they were both together : or by any of the meanes abovesaid, or otherwise, shall preach, teach, declare, or affirme the said sacrament to be of other substance then is abovesaid, or by any meane contemne, deprave, or despise the saide blessed sacrament : that then every such person, so offending, their ayders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein, (being thereof convicted in forme underwritten, by the authoritie abovesaid) should bee deemed and adjudged heretikes, and every such offence should be adjudged manifest heresie : and that every such offender and offenders should therefore have and suffer judgement, execution, paine and paines of death by way of burning, without any abjura-

tion, benefit of the clergy, or sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, admitted or suffered: and also should therefore forfeit and lose to the kinges highnes, his heyres and successors, all his or their honors, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other his or their hereditaments, goods, and chattels, fermes and freeholds, whatsoever they were, through any such offence or offences, committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of high treason."

And as touching the other five articles following, the penalty devised for them, was this: "That every such person or persons, which doe preach, teach, obstinate lie affirme, uphold, mainteine or defend, after the 12. day of Julie, the said yeare, any thing contrary to the same: or if any being in orders, or after a vow advised lie made did marie, or make marriage, or contract matrimonie, in so doing they should be adjudged as felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in case of felony, without any benefit of the clergie, or privilege of the church or of the sanctuary, &c.

"Item, that every such person or persons, which after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, cyphring, or otherwise, did publish, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the five articles above expressed, being for any such offence duly convict or attainted for the first time, besides the forfeite of all his goods and chattels, and possessions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the kings pleasure: and for the second time, being accused, presented, and therefore convict, should suffer, as in case aforesaid of felonie.

"Item, if any within order of priesthood, before the time of the said parliament, had married or contracted matrimony, or vowed widowhood, the said matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved.

"Item, that the same danger that belonged to priests marrying their wives, should also redound to the women married unto the priests."

These sixe articles above specified, although they contained manifest errors, heresies, and absurdities against all Scripture and learning (as all men having any judgement in Gods word may plainelie understand) yet such was the miserable adversitie of that time, and the power of darkenes, that the simple cause of truth and of religion was utterlie left desolate and forsaken of all friends. For everie man seeing the kings minde so fully addict upon politike respectes to have these articles passe forward, few or none in

all that parliament would appeare, which either could perceive that was to be defended, or durst defend that they understood to be true, save onelie Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, who then being married² (as is supposed) like a constant patron of Gods cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the truth oppressed in the parliament, three daies together disputing against those six wicked articles, bringing forth such allegations and authorities as might easilie have helped the cause, *Nisi pars major vicisset, ut saepe solet, meliorem*. Who in the said disputation, behaved himselfe with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the cause of almighty God, that neither his enterprise was misliked of the king, and again his reasons and allegations were so strong, that well they could not be refuted. Wherefore the king (who ever bare speciall favour unto him) wel liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the parliament house into the councill chamber, for a time (for a safeguard of his conscience) till the act should passe and be granted; which he notwithstanding, with humble protestation refused to doe.

After the parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the king considering the constant zeale of the archbishop, in defence of his cause, and partlie also weighing the many authorities, and reasons, whereby hee had substantially confirmed the same, sent the lord Cromwell (which within fewe daies after was apprehended), the two dukes of Northfolk and Suffolke, and all the lords of the parliament, to dyne with him at Lambeth, where they signified unto him that it was the kings pleasure that they all should in his highnes behalfe, cherish, comfort and animate him, as one that for his travell in that parliament, had declared himselfe both greatly learned, and also a man discreete and wise, and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that parliament contrary to his allegations. He most humbly thanked first the kings highnes, of his singular good affection towards him, and them all for their paines, adding moreover that hee so hoped in God that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place to the glory of God, and commodity of the realme; which allegations and authorities of his, I wish

² *Then being married.*] He married in Germany, probably in the year 1532, the niece of an eminent reformer, Osiander. Her name was Anne. She was his second wife, and survived him. His first wife's name was Joan, who died in childbirth, the year after their marriage. See above, p. 132, and below, p. 190.

were amongst us extant to be seene and reade; no doubt but they would stand in time to come in great good stead for the overthrowe of the wicked and pernicious articles aforesaid.

And now that it may appeare likewise, that after the decay of the lord Cromwell, yet his constancy in Christs cause did not decay, you shall heare what followed after.

For after the apprehension of the lord Cromwell, when the adversaries of the gospell thought all things sure now on their side, it was so appointed amongst them, that ten or twelve bishops, and other learned men, joined together in commission, came to the said archbishop of Canturbury for the establishing of certaine articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the said archbishop. For having now the lord Cromwell fast and sure, they thought all had beene safe, and sure for ever: as in deed to all mens reasonable consideration, that time appeared so dangerous, that there was no maner of hope that religion reformed, should any one week longer stand, such account was then made of the kings untowardness thereunto. In so much, that of all those commissioners, there was not one left to stay on the archbishops part, but he alone against them all, stood in the defence of the truth; and those that he most trusted to, namely, bishop Heath³ and bishop Skip⁴, left him in the plaine field, who then so turned against him, that they tooke upon them to perswade him to that purpose: and having him downe from the rest of the commissioners, into his garden at Lambeth, there by all maner of effectuall perswasions, intreated him to leave off his overmuch constancy, and to incline unto the kings intent, who was fully set to have it otherwise then he then had penned, or meant to have set abroad. When those two his familiars, with one or two others his friends, had used all their eloquence, and policie, he little regarding their inconstancy and remisnesse in Gods cause or quarrel, saide unto them right notably,

“ You make much adoe to have me come to your purpose, alledging that it is the kings pleasure to have the articles in that sort you have devised them, to proceed; and now that you do perceive his highnesse by sinister information, to be bent that way, you thinke it a convenient thing to apply unto his highnesse mind. You be my friends both, especially the one of you I did

³ *Bishop Heath.*] Nicholas Heath, then bishop of Rochester, and almoner; afterwards bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York. see p. 204.

⁴ *Bishop Skip.*] John Skip or Skyp, bishop of Hereford.

put to his majesty as of trust. Beware I say, what you doe. There is but one truth in our articles to bee concluded upon, which if you do hide from his highnesse by consenting unto a contrary doctrine, and then after in processe of time, when the truth cannot bee hidden from him, his highnesse shall perceeive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I knowe his graces nature so well (quoth the archbishop) that hee will never after trust or credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, so therefore I will you to beware thereof in time, and discharge your consciences in maintenance of the truth." But all this would not serve, for they still swarved; and in the end by discharging of his conscience and declaring the truth unto the king, God so wrought with the king, that his highnesse joined with him against the rest; so that the booke of articles passing on his side, he wan the gole from them al, contrary to all their expectations, when many wagers would have bin laid in London, that he should have bin laid up with Cromwel at that time in the Tower, for his stiffe standing to his tackle.—After that day there could neither counsellor, bishop, or papist win him out of the kings favor.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the councell, whose names need not to be repeated, by the intisement and provocation of his ancient enemie the bishop of Winchester, and other of the same sect, attempted the king against him, declaring plainly, that the realme was so infected with heresies and heretikes, that it was dangerous for his highnesse, farther to permit it unreformed: least peradventure by long suffering, such contention should arise, and ensue in the realm among his subjects, that therby might spring horrible commotions, and uproares, like as in some parts of Germanie it did not long ago. The enormitie whereof they could not impute to any so much, as to the archbishop of Canturburie, who by his own preaching, and that of his chapleins had filled the whole realme full of divers pernicious heresies. The king would needes know his accusers. They answered that forasmuch as hee was a counsellor no man durst take upon him to accuse him: but if it would please his highnesse, to commit him to the Tower for a time, there would bee accusations and proofes enow against him: for otherwise, just testimonie and witnesse against him would not appeare: and therefore your highnesse (said they) must needs give us the councell liberty, and leave to commit him to durance.

The king perceiving their importunate sute against the archbishop (but yet meaning not to have him wronged and utterly given over into their hands) granted unto them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower for his tryall. When night came, the king sent sir Anthony Denie about midnight, to Lambeth to the archbishop, willing him forthwith to resort unto him at the court. The message done, the archbishop speedily addressed himselfe to the court, and comming into the gallerie where the king walked, and taried for him, his highnesse said, "Ah my lord of Canturburie, I can tell you newes. For divers waighty considerations it is determined by me, and the councell, that you to morrowe at nine of the clocke shall be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared, the whole realm being infected with them, no small contention, and commotions will rise thereby among my subjects, as of late daies the like was in divers parts of Germanie: and therefore the councell have requested me, for the triall of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the Tower, or else no man dare come forth, as wnesse in these matters, you being a counsellor."

When the king had said his mind, the archbishop kneeled downe and said, "I am content if it please your grace, with all my hart, to go thither at your highnesse commandement; and I most humbly thank your majesty that I may come to my trial, for there be that have many waies slandered mee: and now this way I hope to trie my selfe not worthy of such report."

The king perceiving the mans uprightnesse, joined with such simplicitie, said, "Oh Lord, what maner a man bee you? What

Oh Lord, what maner a man bee you?

" . . . Now, by my holy-dame,

What manner of man are you? My lord, I look'd

You would have given me your petition, that

I should have ta'en some pains to bring together

Yourself and your accusers; and to have heard you

Without indurance, further.

Cranmer.

Most dread liege,

The good I stand on is my truth, and honesty;

If they shall fail, I, with mine enemies,

Will triumph o'er my person; which I weigh not,

[Being

simplicitie is in you? I had thought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the paines to have heard you and your accusers together for your triall, without any such indurance. Doe not you know, what state you be in with the whole world, and how manie great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easie thing it is, to procure three or foure false knaves to witnesse against you? Think you to have better lucke that waie, than your master Christ had? I see by it, you will run head long to your undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevaile against you, for I have otherwise devised with my selfe to keepe you out of their hands. Yet notwithstanding to morrow when the counsell shall sit, and send for you, resort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a counsellor, that you may have your accusers brought before them without any further indurance, and use for your selfe as good perswasions that way as you may devise: and if no intreatie or reasonable request will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring⁶," (which then the king delivered unto the archbishop) "and say unto them, *if there be no remedie my lords, but that I must needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeals to the kings owne person, by this his token*

Being of those virtues vacant. I fear nothing
What can be said against me.

K. Henry. Know you not how
Your state stands i' the world, with the whole world?
Your enemies
Are many, and not small; their practices
Must bear the same proportion: and not ever
The justice and the truth o' the question carries
The due o' the verdict with it."

Henry VIII. Act V. sc. 1.

⁶ *This my ring.*] On the ring as a token of authority; see above, p. 151.

" this morning see
You do appear before them; if they shall chance,
In charging you with matters, to commit you,
The best persuasions to the contrary
Fail not to use, and with what vehemency
The occasion shall instruct you: if intreaties
Will render you no remedy, this ring
Deliver them, and your appeal to us
There make before them."

Henry VIII. Act V. sc. 1.

unto you all: for," (sayd the king then unto the archbishop)
 "so soon as they shall see this my ring, they knowe it so well
 that they shall understand that I have resumed the whole cause
 into mine owne hands and determination, and that I have dis-
 charged them thereof."

The archbishop perceiving the kings benignitie so much to
 himwards, had much ado to forbear teares. "Well," said the
 king, "Go your waies my lord, and do as I have bidden you."
 My lord humbling himselfe with thankes, tooke his leave of the
 kings highnesse for that night.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noone, the
 councill sent a gentleman usher for the archbishop, who when
 hee came to the councill chamber doore, could not be let in, but
 of purpose (as it seemed) was compelled there to wait among the
 pages, lackies, and serving men al alone. Doctor Butts, the
 kings physicion, resorting that way, and espying how my lord of
 Canturbury was handled, went to the kings highnesse and said,
 "My lord of Canterbury, if it please your grace, is well pro-
 moted': for now he is become a lackey or a serving man; for
 yonder he standeth this half hower at the councill chamber doore
 amongst them." "It is not so" (quoth the king) "I trowe;
 nor the councill hath not so little discretion as to use the metro-
 politane of the realm in that sort, specially being one of their own
 number. But let them alone" (sayd the king) "and we shall
 heare more soone."

'Is well promoted.]

Butts. I'll show your grace the strangest sight,—

K. Hen. What's that, Butts?

Butts. I think, your highness saw this many a day.

K. Hen. Body o' me, where is it?

Butts. There, my lord;

The high promotion of his grace of Canterbury;

Who holds his state at door, 'mongst pursuivants,

Pages and foot-boys.

K. Hen. Ha! 'Tis he, indeed:

Is this the honour they do one another?

'Tis well, there's one above them yet. I had thought,

They had parted so much honesty amongst them,

(At least, good manners,) as not thus to suffer

A man of his place, and so near our favour,

To dance attendance on their lordships' pleasures,

And at the door too, like a post with packets.

By holy Mary, Butts, there's knavery."

Henry VIII. Act V. sc. 2.

Anone the archbishop was called into the counsaile chamber, to whome was alledged as before is rehearsed. The archbishop answered in like sort as the king had advised him: and in the end, when he perceived that no maner of perswasion or intreatie could serve, he delivered them the kings ring, revoking his cause into the kings hands. The whole councell being thereat somewhat amazed, the earle of Bedford with a loud voice confirming his wordes with a solemn othe^a, said, "When you first began the matter my lords, I tolde you what would come of it. Do you thinke that the king will suffer this mans finger to ake? Much more (I warrant you) will hee defend his life against brabling varlets. You doe but cumber your selves to heare tales and fables against him." And so incontinentlie upon the receipt of the kings token, they all rose, and caryed to the king his ring. surrendering that matter as the order and use was, into his own hands.

When they were all come to the kings presence, his highnes, with a severe countenance, said unto them; "Ah my lords, I thought I had wiser men of my councell than now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the primate of the realm, and one of you in office, to waite at the councell chamber doore amongst serving men? You might have considered that he was a counsellor as wel as you, and you had no such commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should trie him as a counsellor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things be done against him maliciously, and if some of you might have had your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermost. But I doe you all to wit, and protest, that if a prince may bee beholding unto his subject" (and so solemnly laying his hand upon his brest, he said) "by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my lord of Canterbury, to be above all other a most faithfull subject unto us, and one to whome wee are much beholding;" giving him great commendations otherwise. And with that one or two of the chiefest of the councell, making their excuse, declared, that in requesting his indurance, it was rather meant for his triall and his purgation, against the common fame, and slander of the world, than for any malice conceived against him. "Well, well, my lords" (quoth

^a *With a solemn othe.*] The earl of Bedford appears to have been somewhat notorious for swearing. See Fraser Tytler's *England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. i. pp. 142. 145.

the king) "take him and well use him as he is worthy to be, and make no more adoe." And with that every man caught him by the hand, and made faire weather of altogethers; which might easily be done with that man.

And it was much to be marvelled, that they would go so far with him, thus to seeke his undoing, this well understanding before, that the king most entirely loved him, and allwaies would stand in his defence whosoever spake against him: as many other times the kings patience was by sinister informations against him tried. Insomuch that the lord Cromwell was evermore wont to say unto him: "my lord of Canterbury, you are most happy of all men: for you may doe and speake what you list; and say what all men can against you, the king will never beleeve one word to your detriment or hindrance. I am sure I take more paines than all the counsell doth, and spend more largely in the kings affaires, as well beyond the seas as on this side: yea I assure you, even very spies in other forreine realmes, at Rome and else where⁹, costeth me above one thousand marks a yeere: and do what I can to bring matters to knowledge, for the commoditie of the king and the realme, I am every day chidden and many false tales now and then beleaved against me: and therefore you are most happy, for in no point can you be discredited with the king." To this the archbishop againe answering, "If the kings majestie were not good to me that way, I were not able to stand and indure one whole week; but your wisdom and policy is such, that you are able to shift well enough for your selfe."

Now when the kings highnes had thus benignly and mercifully dispatched the said archbishop from this sore accusation by the counsell laid against him, all wise men would have thought that it had been mere folly afterwards to have attempted any matter

⁹ *At Rome and else where.*] "He (Henry VIII.) maintained many learned youths on great cost and charges, in all foreign courts and countries. For, this was the fashion in his reign,—to select yearly one or more of the most promising pregnancies out of both universities, and to breed them beyond the seas on the king's exhibitions to them. Sir Thomas Smith, bred in Queen's Coll. in Cambridge, and afterward principal secretary to queen Elizabeth, was one of the last educated in this manner. These young men proved afterwards the picklocks of the cabinet councils of foreign princes; no king having better intelligence than king Henry from beyond the seas."—Fuller's *Church Hist.*, book vi. sec. iv. (v. 10, 11).

against him : but yet looke where malice raigneth, there neither reason nor honesty can take place. Such therefore as had conceived deepe rancor and displeasure against him, ceased not to persecute him by all possible means.—Then brought they against him a new kinde of accusation, and caused sir John Gostwike¹ knight, a man of a contrary religion, to accuse the archbishop openly in the parliament house, laying to his charge his sermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures read at Canterbury, wherein should bee contained manifest heresies against the sacrament of the altar, &c. which accusation came to the kings eare. “Why,” (quoth the king) “where dwelleth Gostwick? As I take it, either in Bedfordshire or Buckinghamshire : and hath he so open an eare that he can heare my lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent? This is very likely,” said the king. “If he had bin a Kentishman, there had been something worthie of consideration : but as for Gostwike, I know him well enough, and what good religion he is of. Go to him and tell him,” said the king to one of his privy chamber, “if he go not to my lord of Canterbury, and so reconcile himselfe to him that he may become his good lord, I will pull the Goslings fethers so, that hereafter hee shall have little lust to slander the metropolitane, or any other learned man.” When sir J. Gostwicke heard these words, it was no need to bid him haste himselfe to Lambeth unto the metropolitane, making to him as many friends as possible hee might. When he came to the archbishop, he was faine to disclose unto him, by what meanes he was procured to doe that he did, requesting his clemencie to be his good lord, or else he tooke himself utterly undone, being so in the kings indignation, as he understoode he was by that afore declared ; which sute was soone won at his hand : and so the archbishop casting into the satchell behind him all those sir John Gostwicks ingrattitudes, went to the king, and wan to sir John his princes favour againe. And thus the king made a short end of this accusation.

Wel, here you may perceive that malicious invention went not the wisest way to worke, to procure a stranger dwelling a far off, to accuse the archbishop of his doctrine preached in his diocese : and therefore hath blinde malice learned some more wisdom now to accuse the archbishop in such sort as hee shall never be able

¹ *Sir John Gostwike.*] Member of parliament for the county of Bedford. This took place in the session of Jan.—March, 1544.

to avoid it. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not onely the prebendaries of his cathedrall church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of peace in the shire should accuse him, and article against him: which in very deede was moste substantially brought to passe, and the articles, both well written and subscribed, were delivered to the kings highnesse, as a thing of such effect, that there must needs follow to the said archbishop both indignation of the prince and condigne punishment, for his greivous offence committed by him and his chaplaines, in preaching such erroneous doctrin as they did within his diocesse of Canterbury, wherof they being such witnesses of credit, no man had cause to doubt of their circumspect doings. This accusation particularlie set out, was delivered to the king by some of the counsailes meanes. When the king had perused the booke, hee wrapt it up, and put it into his sleeve: and finding occasion to solace himselfe upon the Thames, came with his barge furnished with his musitions a long by Lambeth bridge towards Chelsey. The noise of the musitions provoked the archbishop to resort to the bridge to doe his duetie, and to salute his prince. Whom when the king had perceived to stand at the bridge, eft-soones he commanded the watermen to draw towards the shore, and so came straight to the bridge.

"Ah my chaplaine," said the king to the archbishop, "come into the barge to me." The archbishop declared to his highnesse, that he would take his owne barge and waite upon his majestie. "No," said the king, "you must come into my barge, for I have to talk with you." When the king and the archbishop all alone in the barge were sit together, said the king to the archbishop; "I have newes out of Kent for you my lord." The archbishop answered, "Good I hope, if it please your highnesse." "Mary," said the king, "they be so good, that I now know the greatest hereticke in Kent;" and with that pulled out of his sleeve the booke of articles against both the said archbishop and his preachers, and gave the book to him, willing him to peruse the same. When the archbishop had read the articles, and saw himselfe so uncourteously handled of his own church, wherof he was head, I meane of the prebendaries of his cathedrall church, and of such his neighbours as he had many waies gratified, I mean the justices of the peace, it much grieved him. Notwithstanding he kneeled downe to the king, and besought his majesty to grant out a commission to whomsoever it pleased his highnesse, for them to try out the

truth of this accusation. "In very deed" (said the king) "I do so mean, and you your selfe shall bee chiefe commissioner, to adjoyne to you such two or three more as you shall thinke good your selfe." "Then it will be thought" (quoth the archbishop to the king) "that it is not indifferent, if it please your grace, that I should bee mine owne judge, and my chaplains also." "Well," said the king, "I will have none other but your selfe, and such as you will appoint. For I am sure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you be driven to accuse yourself; and I know partlie how this geare proceedeth, and if you handle the matter wisely, you shall find a pretty conspiracie devised against you. Whom will you have with you?" sayde the king. "Whom it shall please your grace to name," quoth the archbishop. "I will appoint doctor Bellhouse for one, name you the other," said the king, "meete for that purpose." "My chancellor, doctor Coxe, and Hussey, my register," said the archbishop, "are men expert to examine such troublesome matters." "Well," said the king, "lett there be a commission made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and advertise me of your doings."

They came into Kent, and there they sate about three weekes to bould² out who was the first occasion of this accusation, for thereof the king would chieffie be advertised.— Now the inquisition being begun by the commissioners, every man shrunk in his horns, and no man would confesse any thing to the purpose. For doctor Coxe and Hussey, being friendly unto the papists, handled the matter so, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This thing beeing well perceived by one of the archbishops servants, his secretary³, he wrote incontinently unto doctor Buttes, and maister Deny, declaring that if the kings majestie did not send some other to assist my lord, than those that then were there with him, it were not possible that any thing should come to light: and therefore wished that doctor Lee⁴ or some other stout man that had beene exercised in the king's ecclesiastical affaires in his visitations, might be sent to the archbishop. Upon these letters doctour Lee was sent for to Yorke by the king, and having the kings farther mind declared unto him, when he came to the court, hee resorted incontinently into Kent, so

² *Bould.*] i. e. sift.

³ *His secretary.*] Ralph Morice. See vol. ii. p. 267. n.

⁴ *Lee.*] Edward Lee, archbishop of York.

that on Alhallows even, he delivered to the archbishop the kings ring, with a declaration of his highnesse farther pleasure: and by and by upon his message done, he appointed the archbishop aforesaid to name him a dosen or twelve of his officers and gentlemen, such as had both discretion, wit, and audacitie, to whom he gave in commission from the king, to search both the purses, chests, and chambers, of all those that were deemed or suspected to be of this confederacy both within the cathedrall church and without, and such letters or writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the archbishop and him.

These men thus appointed went in one houre and instant, to the persons houses and places, that they were appointed unto: and within foure houres afterwarde the whole conspiracie was disclosed by finding of letters, some from the bishop of Winchester, some from doctor London of Oxford, and from justices of the shire, with other: so that the first beginning, the proceeding and what should have been the end of their conspiracie was now made manifest. Certain chambers and chests of gentlemen of the shire was also searched, where also were found letters serving to this purpose. Amongst all other, came to my lords hands two letters, one of the suffragan of Dover, and another of doctor Barbar a civilian, whom continually the archbishop reteined with him in housholde for expedition of matters in sute before him, as a counsellor in the lawe when need required it. These two men being well promoted by the archbishop, hee used ever in such familiaritie, that when the suffragan being a prebend of Canturburie, came to him, he alwaies set him at his owne messe¹, and the other never from his table, as men in whom hee had much delight and comfort, when time of care and pensivenesse chanced. But that which they did, was altogether counterfaite, and the divell was turned into the angell of light, for they were both of this confederacie.

When my lord had gotten these their letters into his hands, he on a day, when it chaunced the suffragan to come to him to his house at Bekisburne, called to him into his studie the said suffragan of Dover and doctor Barbar, saying, "Come your waies

¹ *His owne messe.*] "The suffragan bishops then were wont to sit at the almoner's table; and the archbishop, in admitting his suffragan Thornden to his own table, did him an unusual honour; which was therefore noted to aggravate the ingratitude of the man, conspiring against the archbishop."—H. Wharton, in *Strype's Cranmer*, p. 258. Appendix. See above, p. 161.

with me, for I must have your advise in a matter." When they were with him in his studie altogether, he saide to them, " You twaine be men in whom I have had much confidence and trust: you must now give me some good counsell, for I am shamefully abused with one or twaine to whom I have showed all my secrets from time to time, and did trust them as my self. The matter is so now fallen out, that they not only have disclosed my secrets, but also have taken upon them to accuse me of heresie and are become witnesses against mee. I require you therefore of your good advice how I shall behave my selfe towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I alwaies have used when I needed counsell. What say you to the matter?" quoth the archbishop.

" Mary," quoth doctor Barbar, "such villains and knaves, (saving your honour) were worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law." " Hanging were too good," quoth the suffragan, "and if there lacked one to doe execution, I would be hangman my selfe."

At these words, the archbishop cast up his hands to heaven, and said, " Oh Lord most merciful God, whom may a man trust now adaies? It is most true which is sayd; *Maledictus qui confidit in homine, et ponit carnem brachium suum*. There was never man handled as I am: but, Oh Lord! thou hast evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and maister, (meaning the king) without whose protection I were not able to stand upright one day unoverthrowne. I prayse thy holy name therefore." And with that he pulled out of his bosome their two letters, and sayd, " Know ye these letters my maisters?" With that they fell downe upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declaring how they a yeere before were attempted to do the same; and so very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, besought his grace to pardon and forgive them. " Well," sayde the gentle archbishop, " God make you both good men; I never deserved this at your hands: but aske God forgiveness against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now that there is no fidelitie or truth amongst men. I am brought to this point now, that I feare my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not much marveile hereat, for our saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him of his great mercie to finish that time shortly:" and so

departing, he dismissed them both with gentle and comfortable wordes, in such sort that never after appeared in his countenance^e or words any remembrance thereof.

Now, when all those letters and accusations were found, they were put into a chest, the kings majesty minding to have perused some of them, and to have partly punished the principals of it. The chest and writings were brought to Lambeth. At what time began the parliament, lord what ado there was to procure the king a subsidie, to the intent that thereupon might ensue a pardon, which indeede followed, and so nothing was done, other than their falshood known.—This was the last push of the pike that was inferred against the saide archbishop in king Henry the eighths daies : for never after durst any man move matter against him in his time.

And thus have ye both the working and disclosing of this popish conspiracy against this worthy archbishop and martyr of Christ, Thomas Cranmer. In the which conspiracy, forsomuch as complaint was also made unto the king of his chaplaines and good preachers in Kent, it shall not be out of the storie somthing likewise to touch therof, especially of Richard Turner, then preacher the same time in this archbishops diocesse, and curate to maister Morice the archbishops secretary, in the towne of Chartham, by whose diligent preaching a great part of this heartburning of the papists tooke his first kindling against the archbishop. Touching the description of which story, because by me nothing shall be said either more or lesse than is the truth, yee shall heare the very certainty thereof truely compiled in a letter sent the same time to doctor Butts and sir Anthony Deny, to be shewed unto the king, and so it was, written by the foresaid M. Morice, secretary then to the said archbishop, farmour of the same benefice of Chartham, and patrone to M. Turner there minister and preacher aforesaid.

A Letter or Apologie of M. Morice, sent to sir William Butts, and sir Anthony Deny, defending the cause of M. Richard Turner preacher, against the Papists.

The letter first beginning in these words, "I am certain right worshipful, that it is not unknown to your discreet wisdoms, &c."

^e *In his countenance.*] "But he thought fit no more to trust them: and so discharged them of his service."—*Strype's Cranmer*, p. 121.

And after a few lines, comming to the matter, thus the said letter proceedeth.

“As your worships wel know it was my chance to be brought up under my lord of Canterbury, my master, in writing of the ecclesiastical affaires of this realm, as wel touching reformation of corrupt religion, as concerning the advancement of that pure and sincere religion received by the doctrine of the gospell: which I take to bee so substantially handled and builded upon the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, that hell gates shall never prevaile against it. The consideration wherof compelled me, being a farmer of the parsonage of Chartham in Kent, to retain with me one named M. Richard Turner, a man not only learned in the Scriptures of God, but also in conversation of life towards the world irreprehensible, whom for discharging of my conscience I placed at Chartham aforesaid to be curate there. This man because he was a stranger in the country there, and so thereby voide of grudge or displeasure of any olde rancor in the countrey, I thought it had been a mean to have gotten him the better credit in his doctrine: but where malice once taketh fire against truth, no policy I see is able to quench it. Wel, this man as hee knew what appertained to his office, so hee spared not weekly both Sundaies and holidais to open the gospell and epistle unto his audience after such a sort (when occasion served) that as wel by his vehement inveying against the bishop of Romes usurped power and authority, as in the earnest setting forth and advancing of the kings majesties supremacy, innumerable of the people of the country resorting unto his sermons, changed their opinions, and favored effectually the religion received. The confluence of the people so daily increased, that the church being a faire ample, and large church, was not, now and then, able to receive the number. The fame of this newe instruction of the people was so blazed abroad, that the popish priests were wonderfully amased and displeased, to see their pope so to be defaced, and their prince so highly advanced.

“Now thought they it is high time for us to worke, or else all will here be utterly lost by this mans preaching: some then went with capons, some with hens, some with chickens, some with one thing, some with an other, unto the justices, such as then favored their cause and faction, and such as are no small fooles, as sir John Baker⁷, sir Christopher Hales⁸, sir Thomas

⁷ *Sir John Baker.*] Of Sissinghurst.

⁸ *Sir Christopher Hales.*] Of Hales-place, near Canterbury.

Moile⁹, knights, with other justices. The prebendaries of Christs church in Canturbury were made privy hereof, giving their succor and aide thereunto: so that in conclusion poore Turner and other preachers were grievously complained of unto the kings majesty. Whereupon my lord of Canterbury and certain other commissioners were appointed at Lambeth to sit upon the examination of these seditious preachers. Howbeit, before Turner went up to his examination, I obtained of sir Thomas Moyles, that he in Easter week was content to heare Turner preach a rehearsal sermon in his parish church at Westwell, of al the doctrin of his sermons preached at his cure in Chartham: which he most gently granting, heard Turner both before noone and after noon on the Wednesday in Easter week last past, and (as it seemed) took all things in good part, remitting Turner home to his said cure with gentle and favorable words. I supposed by this meanes to have staid M. Turner at home from further examination, hoping that sir Thomas Moyle would have aunswere for him at Lambeth before the commissioners. Notwithstanding, after maister Moiles comming to London, such information was laide in against Turner, that hee was sent for to make aunswere himselfe before the said commissioners: and there appearing before them, hee made such an honest, perfect, and learned answere unto the articles objected, that hee was with a good exhortation discharged home againe, without any manner of recantation or other injunction.

“ Now when the pope-catholic clergie of Kent understood of his comming home without controlement, so that he preached as freely as he did before against their blinde and dumme ceremonies, straightway by the help of the bishop of Winchester, Steven Gardiner, they found a new means to put him to an utter confusion, devising that he came home from examination in such glorious pompe by the hie waies side in the woods adjoyning that five hundred persons met him then with banquetting dishes to welcome him home, stirring the people rather to an uprore and a commotion, than to keep them in any quiet obedience: when in very deede contrary to this surmise (as God would) on this side Rochester a mile or two, for avoiding all such light and glorious talke with any of his familiars or acquaintance, he of purpose left the high way, and came through the woods al alone about eighteen miles together on foote, so wearied

⁹ *Sir Thomas Moile.*] Of Eastwell: ancestor of the earl of Winchilsea.

and megered for want of sustenance, that when he came into my house at Chartham, he was not well able to stand or speake for faintnesse and thirst.

“This malicious tale being reported unto the kings highnes, his majesty was so sore agrieved therewith, that hee sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, willing him to cause Turner to bee whipt out of the countrey. By meanes whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury sent again for Turner. I hearing therof made incontinently report by my letters with such vehemency proving it meere malice, that the archbishop understanding the truth, pacified againe the kings majesties wrath. Home commeth Turner once againe to his cure without blot. Which so wrung the papists, in that they could not prevaile, that they thought it all in vaine anie further to attempt against him concerning any accusation for matters in Kent, the archbishop of Canturburie being his ordinary.—Well, yet would they not thus leave him undiscredited. Then was there one new matter devised, how that he had preached erroneous doctrine in other countries before he came into Kent, laying to his charge that hee had both translated the masse into English, and said, or ministered the same; and that he had preached against purgatory, pilgrimages, and praying for the dead, &c. By meanes whereof, he was now convented before the whole councel by the bishop of Winton, who sent Syriacke Petite gentleman, for him, which brought him up to London bound (as I heard say), and being examined before the said bishop of Winchester and other, he was committed to ward for a season.

“In the which meane time the archbishop of Canturbury, being in Kent about the trial of a conspiracy purposed against himselfe by the justice of the shire, and the prebendaries of Christes church, Turner is now sent down to the archbishop, to the intent he should recant that doctrine which long ago hee in other places out of Kent had preached, to the utter subversion and defacing of all that he had most godly and earnestly here in Kent taught both to the glory of God, and the furtherance and setting forth of the kings highnesse proceedings. If his majesty will thus permit learned honest men thus daily to be overcrowded and troden under foot with a sort of tyrannous or rather trayterous papists (who cannot abide to heare his majesties supremacy advanced, nor the sincere word of God preached) it were better for men to dwell amongst the infidels and miscreants then in England.

“What reason is this, that Turner should recant here in Kent the doctrine which in other countries he hath taught, to the wounding and overthrowing most desperately of five hundred mens consciences and above, (I dare say) who lately by his sincere preaching have embraced a right good opinion both of the kings supremacy, and also of the reformed religion received? All good subjects may well lament the kings majesties estate in this behalfe, that no man may dare to bee so bolde to advance his highnesse title, but that every ignorant and malicious papist shall spurne against him, seeking his utter undoing, and that by the aid of papisticall justices set in authority. I beseech your worships to pardon mee of my rude and homely tearms. They herein deserve worse if worse may be devised. For what honest man can beare with this, that so noble a princes eares shall be thus impudently abused with manifest lies and fables, as this one is of Turners comming home in such a triumph as they craftily and falsly had devised? It is easily to be spied what they meane and go about, that, the prince being alive, dare take in hand so uncourteously to abuse both the gentle nature of the prince, and his godly preacher, the avauncer and extoller of his just authoritie.

“What think your worships they would attempt if his majesty were at God’s mercy (as God forefend that ever any of us should see that day, without better reformation) that can thus dally with his highnesse, blinding his eies with mistes, whilst he liveth and raineth amongst us in most prosperity. As for my lord of Canterbury he dare nothing do for the poore mans delivery, he hath done so much for him already. And his grace hath tolde me plainly, that it is put into the kings head, that hee is the maintainer and supporter of all the hereticks within the realme; nor will he permit mee or my neighbours to resort unto the councell for his purgation while he was at Chartham; saving only I have obtained this at his hand, that I may become a suter in writing to my friends and good masters in the court for his delivery.

“And therefore it is (right worshipfull) that I have now taken pen in hand, thus to discourse and open our misery unto you concerning the extream handling of this honest poore man M. Turner. If it may possibly bee brought to passe by your godly wisdom, that the poore man may bee released and discharged of his recantation, you cannot doe to God and your prince a more acceptable service in my poore opinion. For otherwise if he should be driven to recant (as I am sure he will sooner die) both Gods

cause and the kings shall suffer no small detriment amongst his poore loving subjects here. For if there be no better stay for the maintenance of these godly preachers, the kings authoritie concerning his supremacie, shall lie post alone hidden in the acte of parliament, and not in the harts of his subjects.

“If they can bring to passe that Turner may recant to the defacing of his good doctrin preached here, then have they that for which they have thus long travailed. And yet in effect shall not Turner recant, but king Henry the eighth in Turners person shall most odiously recant, to the wounding of all mens consciences here. If the kings majesty do not esteem his authority given to his highnesse by Gods word and his parliament, it were wel done, that the preachers had good warning to talk no more to the people therof, than thus to bee tossed and turmoiled for doing their duties by the members of antichrist.

“And now to the intent that they might effectually for ever slander Turners doctrine here, they have indited him for offending against the six articles, this last sessions, by the witnes of two papists of the parish of Chartham his utter enemies, Sanders and Brown by name, for a sermon preached at Chartham on Passion Sunday, which chanced on S. Gregories eeven, they both being absent that day at Wye faire, as it is well proved; namely, for that he preached against the masse; saying, that our savior Christ was the only sole priest which song masse on the altar of the crosse, there sacrificing for the sinnes of the world once for ever, and that all other masses were but remembrances and thanksgiving for that one sacrifice, or such wordes in effect.

“Wherefore, to conclude (right worshipfull) knowing your godly zeales, as well towards the preferment of sincere religion, as your no lesse affection towards the king his majesties person and his godly proceedings, I most humbly beseech you in the bowels of our saviour Christ, so to ponder the weightie consideration of the premises, as by your travailes unto the kings majesty, or to the honourable councell, we here in Kent that have now of late our hearts bent towards the observation of the lawe of God and the prince, through Turners godly persuasions, may receive from your worships some comfortable words of his deliverance; or else certainly many an honest and simple man lately embracing the truth, may perhaps fall away desperately from the same, not without danger of their soules. In accomplishing wherof your worships shall not only doe unto almighty God and

the prince most true and acceptable service, but also binde the saide M. Turner, with all other to whom this cause doth appertaine, both daily to pray for your prosperities, and also to bee at your commandements during their lives. From Canturburie the second daie of November.

“ Your worships evermore at commandment,

“ R. M.”

And thus much containeth the letter sent (as is saide) by M. Morice to doctor Buts and sir Anthony Deny. Now, what successe and speede this letter had, it followeth to bee declared. For doctour Buts the kings physicion aforesayde, after the receipt of these letters, considering the weighty contents of the same, as hee was ever a forward friend in the gospels cause, so he thought not to foreslacke this matter to the uttermost of his diligence: and so spying his time, when the king was in trimming and in washing (as his maner was at certaine times to call for his barbar) doctor Buttes (whose maner was at such times ever to be present, and with some pleasant conceits to refresh and solace the kings minde) brought with him in his hand this letter. The king asking what newes, D. Buts pleasantly and merrily beginneth to insinuate unto the king the effect of the matter, and so at the kings commandement read out the letter: which when the king had heard, and paused a little with himself upon the same, he commanded again the letter to be read unto him. The hearing and consideration wherof so altered the kings minde, that wheras before he commanded the said Turner to be whipped out of the countrey, he now commanded him to be retained as a faithfull subject. And here of that matter an end.—Let us now returne to the archbishop againe.

Who although he was compassed about (as is sayde) with mighty enemies, and by many crafty traines impugned, yet through Gods more mightie providence, working in the kings hart so to favour him, he rubbed out all king Henries time without blemish or foile, by meanes of the kings supportation, who not only defended the said archbishop against all his conspired adversaries, but also extended such special favor unto him in such sort, that he being not ignorant of his wife, whom hee married before at Noremberge (being niece to the wife of Osiander) keeping her also all the sixe articles time contrary to the law,—notwithstanding, he both permitted the same, and kept his counsell.

I will now (the Lord Christ assisting me with his grace) proceed next to the time and raigne of k. Edward his son, after that first I shall intermit a few words touching the death of the said king Henrie, and the maner of the same. Who after long languishing, infirmitie growing more and more upon him, lay from saint Stevens day to the latter end of Januarie¹. His physicians at length perceiving that he would away, and yet not daring to discourage him with death, for feare of the act past before in parliament, that none should speake any thing of the kings death (the act being made onelie for soothsayers, and talkers of prophecies) mooved them that were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatall infirmitie. Which when the rest were in dread to do, master Denie who was speciallie attendant upon him, boldlie comming to the king tolde him what case hee was in, to mans judgement not like to live, and therefore, exhorted him to prepare himselfe to death, calling himselfe to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Christ betime for grace and mercie, as becometh everie good Christian man to doe.

Although the king was loth to heare any mention of death, yet perceiving the same to rise upon the judgment of his physicians, and feeling his owne weaknesse, hee disposed himselfe more quietlie to hearken to the words of his exhortation, and to consider his life past. Which although he much accused, "Yet," (said he) "is the mercie of Christ able to pardon me all my sins, though they were greater than they be." Master Deny being glad to heare him thus to speake, required to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer withall, and to open his minde unto. To whome the king answered againe, that if he had any, he would have doctor Cranmer, who was then lying at Croydon. And therefore master Denie asking the king, whether he would have him sent for, "I will first," said the king, "take a little sleepe, and then as I feele myselfe, I will advise upon the matter."

After an houre or two, the king awaking, and feeling feeblenes to increase upon him, commanded doctor Cranmer to bee sent for: but before he could come the king was speechlesse, and almost senselesse. Notwithstanding, perceiving doctor Cranmer to bee come, hee reaching his hand to doctor Cranmer did hold him fast, but could utter no words unto him, and scarse was

¹ *Januarie.*] 1547.

able to make any signe. Then the archbishop exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercie, desired him, though he could not speake, yet to give some token with his eies or with his hand, as he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his, as hard as he could, and so shortly after departed, after hee had raigned in this land the tearme of 37 yeres and 9 moneths, leaving behinde him three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

After the death of k. Henry, immediately succeeded his son king Edward, under whose government and protection the state of this archbishop, being his godfather, was nothing appaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this meane time of k. Henry aforesaid, untill the entring of k. Edward, it seemeth that Cranmer was scarcely yet thoroughly perswaded in the right knowledge³ of the sacrament,

³ *In the right knowledge.*] There are few readers who will not admire the sober and pious language of this excellent man, on occasion of its being objected to him, by Dr. Richard Smith, that he had maintained in his *Short Instruction into Christian Religion*, printed in 1548, the doctrine of the carnal presence. After denying the truth of Smith's allegation, he thus proceeds: "But this I confesse of myselfe, that not long before I wrot the sayd catechisme, I was in that error of the real presence, as I was many yeares past in divers other errors, as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the masse, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitions and errors that came from Rome, being brought up from youth in them, and nouseled therein for lacke of good instruction from my youth; the outrageous floods of papisticall errors at that tyme overflowing the world. For the which, and other myne offences in youth, I do dayly pray unto God for mercy and pardon, saying, *delicta juventutis mee, et ignorantias meas, ne memineris Domine*, Good Lord, remember not mine ignorances and offences of my youth.

"But after it had pleased God to shew unto me by his holy word a more perfect knowledge of his sonne Jesus Christ from tyme to tyme as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance. And as God of his mercy gave me light, so through his grace I opened myne eyes to receive it, and did not wilfully repugne unto God, and remayne in darkness. And I trust in God's mercy and pardon for my former errors, because I erred but of frailnes and ignorance. And now I may say of my selfe as S. Paule sayd, When I was like a babe or childe in the knowledge of Christ, I spake like a childe, and understood like a childe; but now that I come to mans estate and growing in Christ through his grace and mercy, I have put away that childishness."—Answer to Smith's Preface, subjoined to his Answer to Gardiner, p. 402. edit. 1580.

It is not to be questioned, but that to Ridley he was indebted for his first convictions of the true doctrine of Christ's presence in the Holy Eucharist;

or at least, was not yet fully ripened in the same ; wherein shortly after he being more groundly confirmed by conference with bishop Ridley, in processe of time did so profit in more ripper knowledge, that at last hee tooke upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute and throw down first the corporall presence ; secondly, the phantasticall transubstantiation ; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration ; fourthly, the false error of the papists, that wicked men do eate the naturall bodie of Christ ; and lastly, the blasphemous sacrifice of the masse. Whereupon in conclusion he wrote five bookes for the publick instruction of the church of England, which instruction yet to this day standeth and is received in this church of England.

Against these five bookes of the archbishop, Steven Gardiner, the arche-enemie to Christ and his gospel, being then in the Tower, slubbereth up a certaine answere such as it was, which he in open court exhibited up at Lambeth, being there examined by the archbishop aforesaide and other the kings commissioners in k. Edwards daies, which booke was intituled, *An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholick Faith, touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with a Confutation of a Book written against the same.*

Against this explication, or rather a cavilling sophistication of Steven Gardiner, doctor of lawe, the archbishop of Canterbury learnedly and copiously replying againe, maketh answere, which also he published abroad to the eies and judgements of all men in print. All which writings and bookes, as well of the one part as of the other, our present storie would require here to bee inserted : but because to prosecute the whole matter at length will not be comprehended in a small roome, and may make too long tariance in our story, it shall therefore bee best to put off the same unto the place of the appendix following³, wherein (the Lord willing)

and that the critical time was the year 1546. See (Cheke's) Preface to the *Defensio veræ et Catholicæ Doctrinæ*, &c. 12mo. 1557. "Post multam Scripturarum pervestigationem, ex unius beati martyris Ridlæi, episcopi Londinensis, institutione, sero tandem (nimirum anno 46) in eam, quam hic tuetur, sententiam adductus est." For the *other* point, his obligation to Ridley, we shall come to an express testimony to that below, from his own mouth.

³ *The appendix following.*] This part of Fox's design was never executed ; but in the year 1580, John Day printed, I apprehend under the direction of Fox, a second edition of Cranmer's *Answer to Gardiner's Sophistical Cavillation* ; which book, according to a method of conducting controversies not

wee intend to close up both these, and divers other treatises of these learned martyrs, as to this our story shall appertaine.

The unquiet spirit of Steven Gardiner being not yet contented, after all this thrusteth out another booke in Latine of the like popish argument, but after another title, named Marcus Antonius Constantinus⁴. Wherunto first the archbishop again intending a full confutation, had already absolved three parts of his answer lying in prison. Of the which parts, two perished in Oxford: the other yet remaineth in my hands readie to be seen and set forth, as the Lord shall see good. Also bishop Ridley lying likewise the same time in prison having there the saide book of Marcus Antonius, for lacke of pen and paper, with a leade of a window in the margent of the booke wrote annotations, as straightnesse of time would serve him, in refutation of the same book. And finally because these worthy martyrs had neither liberty nor leisure to goe through with that travaile, that which lacked in them for accomplishment of that behalfe, was supplied shortly after by Peter Martir, who abundantly and substantially hath overthrown that book in his learned defension⁵ of the truth against the false sophisticaton of Marcus Antonius aforesaid.

Besides these bookes above recited of this archbishop, divers other things there were also of his doing; as the book of the Reformation⁶, the catechisme, with the book of Homilies, whereof

unusual in those days (the *spirit* of which, though not the *letter*, may and ought to be the subject of applause and imitation to our own, and every age) contains the whole of his own first work (*The Defence*), together with the whole of Gardiner's attack upon it (*The Explication and Assertion*), as well as the *Answer to the Sophistical Cavillation*.

⁴ *Constantinus*.] See note to the Life of Ridley, p. 26, *ante*.

⁵ *Defension*.] "Defensio doctrinæ veteris et Apostolicæ de sacro-sancto eucharistiæ sacramento adversus Stephani librum."

⁶ *The book of the Reformation*.] By this book is meant the *Liturgy*, as sufficiently appears from Bale's *Centuries*, p. 691, and Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 489, 90, edit. 2d. By the "Catechisme," might be intended, either the *Catechism of king Edward*, or the *Short Instruction into Christian Religion*, a work, notwithstanding its title, in size much surpassing the former, amounting to not less than five hundred pages. Fox is not in the habit of distinguishing very accurately between these two books, and therefore, I say either of them *might* have been intended by this appellation. But there is reason to think, that, in this place, the former, along with the 42 articles, was meant to be designated. Of neither, however, can it be properly said, that they were solely and strictly "of his doing;" though Cranmer was, no doubt, in good degree, responsible for the contents of both. Of the latter he was *the translator*: the former has been usually attributed to Ponet bishop

part was by him contrived, part by his procurement approved and published. Whereunto also may be adjoined an other writing or confutation of his against eighty-eight articles by the convocation devised and propounded, but yet not ratified nor received, in the raigne and time of king Henry the eighth.

And thus much hitherto concerning the doings and travels of this archbishop of Canterbury during the lives' both of king

of Winchester; but it certainly passed through a review by Ridley, and probably by Cranmer.

Who the authors were of the book of Homilies has never been fully ascertained. With regard to the first book, we may, I think, agree with Strype, who says, "the Homily of Salvation particularly *seems* to be of Cranmer's own doing." (*Life of Cranmer*, p. 149.) And the same may perhaps reasonably be conjectured of the second Homily, *of the misery of all mankind*; of the fourth, *of the true and lively faith*; and the fifth, *of good works*. In the twelfth, *against contention and brawling*, many, I apprehend, will think that they see the honest good-humoured pen of Latimer. But of the twelfth in three parts, *against whoredom and adultery*, there can be no doubt, but that it was the work of Thomas Becon, one of Cranmer's chaplains. I do not recollect that this circumstance has been before noticed. But in Becon's works, collected together, and published by himself, A.D. 1564, the Homily in question may be found, vol. ii. fol. 157, &c. [The Homily "Of the Misery of all Mankind" is by John Harpsfield, and that "Of Christian Love and Charity" is by Edmund Bonner, and both are included in the volume of Homilies which Bonner set forth in queen Mary's time. The authorship of all the others is conjectural, although many unsuccessful attempts have been made to name writers.] Of the second book, published in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, I am not aware, that the writer of any single Homily has been indubitably specified; but the following extract throws light upon the authorship of two of them. "The fact of greatest interest connected with Taverner's Book of Postils is, that two of its discourses, belonging also to two of the most important services of the Church, were adopted by Archbishop Parker, and published by the authority of queen Elizabeth in the second book of Homilies. The Homilies for Good Friday and Easter Day are the same with the Exhortation upon the Passion of Christ, and the Sermon of the Resurrection." Cardwell's *Preface to Taverner's Postils*, p. 14. Oxf. ed. 1841.

It has been shewn (in the *British Magazine* for April, 1846) that the work on which Taverner's Postils are founded is a translation (by lord Morley from some as yet unknown writer) made for the use of Anne Boleyn, whose copy is preserved in the British Museum.

⁷ *During the lives.*] I take the liberty of borrowing here some very just and valuable remarks from professor Jenkyns's preface to the "*Remains*."

"But besides these improvements which were actually accomplished, others were designed. It was proposed, as we learn from unquestionable authority," (see *Letters*, No. ccxvi. cclxvi.) "to revise the service books, to digest a new code of ecclesiastical law, and to abolish several superstitious

Henry, and of k. Edward his son. Which two kings so long as they continued, this archbishop lacked no stay of maintenance against all his maligners.

customs which had hitherto kept their ground. In all these plans Cranmer was doubtless a prime mover, and as they had been approved by the king Henry (VIII.), and were in a state of forwardness, there seemed to be a fair prospect of success. But they were frustrated for a time by the intrigues of Gardiner. It was however only for a time: for the death of Henry VIII. and the accession of Edward VI. in January 1547, opened the way to their being resumed, and for the most part happily completed.—And perhaps the issue might have been the same, if Henry's life had been prolonged. He is known to have been greatly displeased with Gardiner in 1546, and he about the same time declared in such strong terms his resolution to go forward in 'the establishing of sincere religion,' that 'a man,' as the archbishop states, 'would hardly have believed it.' (Fox, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 586.)

"But perhaps the progress which Henry had already made is not always duly appreciated. It is not an uncommon notion, that his ideas of reformation were limited to the rejection of the papal supremacy for the sake of effecting his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to the dissolution of the monasteries for the sake of enriching himself with their spoils. But writers who lived nearer his times, take a very different view of the matter. 'What organ of Christ's glory,' asks Fox, (*Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 604,) 'did more good in the church than he, . . . in setting up the bible in the church, in exploding the pope with his vile pardons, in removing divers superstitious ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects, in putting chantry priests to their pensions, in permitting white meat in Lent, in destroying pilgrimage worship, in abrogating idle and superstitious holidays?' The good deeds here recounted are of very unequal merit, and some of them perhaps may excite a smile; but when combined, they must be allowed, both to have wrought a great change, and to have prepared the way for a still greater. For he not only shook off the yoke of Rome, but he broke the power of that 'papal militia' as the religious orders have been called, which might otherwise have replaced it. While too he thus asserted the right of the national church to reform itself, he laid down also the rule by which that reformation was to be conducted, namely, the written word of God. And he followed up this appeal to the Scriptures, 'as the only touch-stone of true learning,' (Fox, vol. ii. p. 438,) by encouraging their translation and general use. It may be admitted, that though he at one time favoured the circulation of the Bible, he at another restricted it; that he pressed his own interpretations of it on his subjects, to the violation of all liberty of conscience; that he retained doctrines and practices, which could not stand the test that he had himself set up;—it may be admitted, in short, that though he begun, he did not perfect the reformation: yet the value of his services may still be incalculable. For it was precisely one of those cases, where the beginning was at least half of the work; where it was not less laborious to clear the ground and lay a firm foundation, than to raise a goodly building thereon. It may indeed be doubted whether the feeble efforts of a minor could ever have removed those formidable obstacles, which

Afterward, this k. Edward, a prince of most worthy towardnesse falling sicke, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painefull disease would not suffer him to live longer, and knowing that his sister Marie was wholly wedded to the popish religion, he bequeathed the succession of this realme to the ladie Jane (a ladie of great birth but of greater learning, being niece to king Henry the eighth by his sister) by consent of the councell and lawyers of this realme. To this testament of the kings when all the nobles of the realme, the states and judges had subscribed: they sent for the archbishop, and required him that he also would subscribe. But he excusing himselfe on this maner, said: "that it was otherwise in the testament of king Henry his father, and that he had sworne to the succession of Marie, as then the next heire, by which oath he was so bound, that without manifest perjury he could not go from it." The councell answered, "that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had conscience as well as he, and moreover

were not swept away without difficulty even by the mature and vigorous arm of Henry VIII.

"But however this may be, it will not be disputed, that his energy in freeing the kingdom from papal usurpation, materially lightened the task devolved on his successor. Yet Cranmer felt it to be still too heavy for the strength of a youthful sovereign. It is evident from the remarkable conversation (Fox, vol. ii. p. 586), already referred to, that he considered the exchange from the long established and absolute sway of Henry, to the new and unsettled authority of Edward, as a loss rather than a gain to the cause of reformation. 'It was better,' said Cranmer to his secretary in 1547, 'to attempt such reformation in king Henry VIII.'s days, than at this time, the king being in his infancy. For if the king's father had set forth any thing for the reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gainsay it?' He may perhaps have been mistaken in this view: the flexibility of the son may in truth have been no less favourable to the construction of a new system, than the obstinacy of the father to the demolition of an old one. But the inference is almost unavoidable, that the difficulties of his situation under Henry were less, and under Edward greater, than is usually supposed. And if we reflect on the youth of the king, on the struggles of ambitious nobles for power, and on the unremitting exertions of an able and active religious party to baffle him, it may well be imagined, that the position in which Cranmer stood was most embarrassing. To his wisdom and moderation under these critical circumstances, we are mainly indebted, as is well known, for our present church establishment. In spite of all impediments, he succeeded in founding it on so firm a basis as to be proof against the persecutions of the following reign. He received, it is true, in this great undertaking, valuable assistance from his own countrymen and from foreigners: but his was the presiding judgment which directed the whole; he was the master builder, to whom the symmetry and beauty of the structure were chiefly due." *Preface*, p. xli—v.

that they were sworne to that testament, and therefore he should not think there was any danger therein, or that he should be in more perill of perjury than the rest."

To this the archbishop aunswered, "that he was judge of no mans conscience but his owne: and therefore as he would not be prejudiciall to others, so hee would not commit his conscience unto other mens factes, or caste himselfe into danger, seeing that everie man should give account of his owne conscience and not of other mens. And as concerning subscription, before he had spoken with the king himselfe, he utterly refused to doe it."

The king therefore being demanded of the archbishop concerning this matter, saide, "That the nobles and lawyers of the realme councelled him unto it, and perswaded him that the bond of the first testament could nothing let, but that this lady Jane might succeed him as heire, and the people without danger acknowledge her as their qucen." Who then demanding leave of the king, that he might first talke with certaine lawyers that were in the court, when they all agreed that by law of the realme it might be so, returning to the king, with much ado, he subscribed^a.

^a *He subscribed.*] Cranmer in a letter to the queen, gives the following account of this transaction.

"I am now constrained most lamentably, and with most penitent and sorrowfull heart, to aske mercy and pardon for my haynous folly and offence, in consenting and followyng the testament and last will of our late soveraigne lorde king Edward the sixth your graces brother, which will, God knoweth, God he knoweth, I never liked, nor never any thing grieved me so much that your graces brother did, and if by any means it had been in me to have letted the making of that will, I would have done it, and what I said therein, as well to his counsell as to himselfe, divers of your majesties counsell can report, but none so well as the marquis of Northampton, and the lord Darcy then lord chamberlayne to the kinges majesty, which two were present at the communication between the kinges majesty and me. I desired to talke with the kinges majesty alone, but I could not be suffered, so I failed of my purpose, for if I might have commoned with the king alone, and at good leisure, my trust was that I should have altered hym from that purpose, but they being present my labour was in vayne. Then when I could not dissuade him from the sayd will, and both he and his privy counsell also informed me the judges and the learned counsell sayde, that the acte of entailyng the crowne made by his father, could not be prejudiciall to him, but he being in possession of the crowne, might make his will thereof; this seemed very straunge unto me, but being the sentence of the judges, and other learned his counsell in the lawes of this realme (as both he and his counsell informed me) methought it became not me being unlearned in the law to stande against the prince therein, and so at length I was required by the kings

As the time approached when it pleased almighty God to call this young king from us, which was the sixth day of July in the

majesty himself to set my hand to his will, saying that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his will, than the rest of the counsel were (which words surely greved my heart very sore) and I graunted him to subscribe his wil, and to followe the same, which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfainedly, and withoute dissimulation : for the which I submit myselfe most humbly unto your majesty, acknowledging mine offence with most grevous and sorrowful hart, and beseeching your mercy and pardon, which my hart giveth me, shall not be denied unto me, being graunted before to so many which traileld not so much to dissuade the king and his counsell as I did." Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 2. A.D. 1564.

"And by that justice and law, that lately hath been executed in England, (if it may be called justice and law,) it should appear that the ministers of civil power do sometimes command that, which the subjects ought not to do.

"When the innocent lady Jane, contrary to her will, yea by force, with tears dropping down her cheeks, suffered herself to be called queen of England; yet you see, because she consented to that which was not by civil justice lawful, she, and her husband for company, suffered the pains of traitors, both heads buried in one pit.

"When the blessed man of God, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, did what he might to resist to subscribe to king Edward's will, whereby his two sisters, the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, should have been wrongfully disinherited; yet because he afterward, to content the king's mind and commandment, yet indeed to save the innocent king from the obedience to most wicked traitorous tyrants" (his council) "did subscribe unto it against his will; was it not laid unto him by the wicked judge Morgan, that he ought not to do any thing unlawful, by commandment of any power? And so he, an innocent, picked out among a great number of very evil doers to satisfy the law, was condemned as a traitor before he suffered as a martyr." *Short Treatise of Politic Power*, written by D. John Ponet, D.D. and published in the reign of queen Mary, 1556, p. 28, 9, edit. 1642.

Ponet had been one of Cranmer's chaplains.

There were evidently no bounds of moderation in the expedients resorted to by the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, to constrain the several members of the council to be parties in their ambitious designs in behalf of lady Jane.

"As for sir Edward Montague, lord chief justice, what he did was by command against his own will, as appears by his *written protestation at his death, still*," says Fuller, "*in the hands of his honourable posterity*. But whilst in this army of offenders, the nobility in the front made an escape for themselves, queen Mary's displeasure overtook the old judge in the rear, the good old man being not able with such speed to provide for himself. Yea though he had done nothing but by general consent and command, the rest of the lords laid load on him, desirous that the queen's anger should send him on an errand to the prison, and thence to the scaffold; to excuse themselves from going on the same message. However, after some imprisonment he was pardoned: a sufficient argument that

year of our Lord 1553, about three hours before his death, this godly childe^o, his eyes being closed, speaking to himselfe, and thinking none to have heard him, made this prayer as followeth :

“Lord God deliver mee out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen : howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to Thee. O Lord, thou knoweth how happy it were for me to bee with Thee. Yet for thy chosen sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve Thee. O my Lord God, blesse thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realme from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy sonne Jesus Christes sake.”

Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, said unto them, “Are ye so nigh? I thought you had been further off.” Then doctor Owen said, “wee heard you speake to yourselfe, but what you said we know not.” Hee then, after his fashion, smilingly, said, “I was praying to God.” The last words of his pangs were these, “I am faint. Lord, have mercy upon me, and take my spirit.” And thus he yeelded up the ghost, being almost sixteen yeeres old, to the great sorrow, but greater calamitie of the whole realme. After whose decease¹ immediately it was commaunded that the ladie Jane (which was unwilling thereunto) should be proclaimed queene. Which thing much

the queen conceived him to concur *passively* in that action.” *Holy State*, p. 255, 6.

^o *This godly childe.*] William Thomas, afterwards clerk of the council, and much employed in assisting the studies of king Edward, thus describes him, in a work written in the first year of his reign.

“Alas (quoth I) yf you knew the towardnes of that young prince, your heart would melt to heare him named, and your stomacke abhorre the malice of them that would him yll : the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sunne, the liveliest, the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world ; such a spirite of capacitie in learning the things taught him by his schoole-masters, that it is a wonder to heare say ; and finally, he hath such a grace of porte and gesture in gravitie, when he cometh into any presence, that it should seeme he were already a father ; and yet passeth he not the age of ten yeares, a thing undoubtedly much rather to bee seene, than beleevved. Alas ! (quoth I,) nay alas agayne, what cruelties should move these ravening dragons, to covet the devouring of so meeke and innocent a lambe with the sedition of such develish rumours !” *Apologie for king Henrie the eighth. Works of William Thomas*, p. 116, 7. 8vo. 1774.

¹ *After whose decease.*] July 6th, 1553.

misliked the common people: not that they did so much favor Mary, before whom they saw the lady Jane preferred, as for the hatred conceived against some, whom they could not favor.

Besides this, other causes there happened also of discord between the nobles and the commons the same time: for what injuries of commons and enclosures wrongfully holden, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealing betweene the landlords, and tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine thus the matter fell out, that Mary hearing of the death of her brother, and shifting for her selfe, was so assisted by the commons, that eftsoones she prevailed. Who being established in the possession of the realme, not long after came to London, and after shee had caused first the two fathers, the duke of Northumberland and the duke of Suffolke to be executed, likewise she caused the ladie Jane, being both in age tender, and innocent from this crime, after shee could by no meanes be turned from the constancy of her faith, together with her husband to be beheaded.

The rest of the nobles paying fines, were forgiven, the archbishop of Canterbury only excepted. Who though he desired pardon (by means of friends) could obtaine none: insomuch that the queene would not once vouchsafe to see him. For as yet the olde grudge against the archbishop for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion changed: all which was imputed to the archbishop, as the chiefe cause thereof.

While these things were in doing, a rumour was in all mens mouthes, that the archbishop, to curry favor with the queene, had promised to say a *dirige* masse after the olde custome, for the funerall of k. Edward her brother. Neither wanted there some which reported that he had already said masse at Canturbury: which masse indeed was sayd by D. Thornton. This rumour Cranmer thinking speedily to stay, gave forth a writing in his purgation.

Here ensueth a purgation of Thomas archbishop of Canturbury, against certaine slanders falsely raised upon him.

“As the divell, Christs ancient adversary, is a liar and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members, to persecute Christ and his true word and religion with lying; which

he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the prince of famous memory, king Henry the eighth, seeing the great abuses of the Latine masse, refourmed some things therin in his life time, and after our late soveraigne lord, k. Edward the sixt, tooke the same whole away for the manifold and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christs holy supper according to Christes owne institution, and as the apostles used the same in the primitive church: the divell goeth about now by lying to overthrow the Lords supper againe, and to restore his Latine satisfactorie masse, a thing of his owne invention and devise. And to bring the same more easily to passe, som have abused the name of me Thomas archbishop of Canturbury, bruting abroad that I have set up the masse again at Canturbury, and that I offered to say masse at the burial of our late soveraign prince k. Edward 6. and that I offered also to say masse before the queenes highnes, and at Pauls church, and I wot not where. And although I have bin well exercised these twenty yeares to suffer and beare evill reports and lies, and have not bin much greeved therat, but have born al things quietly: yet when untrue reports and lies turn to the hinderance of Gods truth, they are in no wise to bee suffered. Wherefore these be to signifie unto the world, that it was not I that did set up the masse at Canturbury, but it was a false flattering, lying and dissembling monk, which caused masse to bee set up there without mine advice or counsel: *Reddat illi dominus in die illo*. And as for offering my selfe to say masse before the queenes highnes, or in any other place, I never did it, as her grace well knoweth. But if her grace wil give me leave, I shal be ready to proove, against al that wil say the contrary, that al that is contained in the holy communion set out by the most innocent and godly prince k. Edward the 6. in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our savior Christ did both observe and command to be observed, and which his apostles and primitive church used many yeres: wheras the masse in many things not only hath no foundation of Christ, his apostles, nor the primitive church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it.—And although many, either unlearned or malicious, doe report that M. Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet if the queens highnes wil grant therunto, I with the said M. Peter Martyr, and other four or five which I shall chuse, wil by Gods grace take upon us to defend, not only the common praiers of the church,

the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our said sovereign lord k. Edward the 6. to bee more pure and according to Gods word, then any other that hath bin used in England these thousand yeeres; so that Gods word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofes of both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as wel that all the world may examin and judge thereon, as that no man shal start back from his writing.—And where they boast of the faith, that hath bin in the church these fifteen hundred yeares, we wil join with them in this point, and that the same doctrine and usage is to bee followed, which was in the church fifteen hundred yeares past: and we shall prove that the order of the church, set out at this present in this realme by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred yeares past; and so shall they be never able to prove theirs.”

This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, commeth in by chance M. Scory, bishop then of Rochester², who after he had read and perused the same, required of the archbishop to have a copy of the bill. The archbishop when he had granted and permitted the same to M. Scory, by the occasion therof M. Scory lending it to some friend of his, there were divers copies taken out therof, and the thing published abroad among the common people; insomuch that everie scrivener's shop almost, was occupied in writing and copying out the same; and so at length some of these copies comming to the bishops hands, and so brought to the counsell, and they sending it to the commissioners, the matter was knowen, and so he commanded to appeare³.

² *Bishop then of Rochester.*] John Scory, bishop of Rochester, from 30th August, 1551, till May, 1552, when he was translated to *Chichester*: he was deprived of his see by queen Mary in 1553. In 1559, he was made bishop of Hereford by queen Elizabeth.

³ *Commanded to appeare.*] “This present day (14th Sept. 1553). Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, appearing before the lords, as he was the day before appoynted, after long and seryous debating of his offence by the whole boarde, it was thought convenient, that as well for the treason committed by him agenst the queen's highness, as for the aggravating of the same his offence, by spreding abroad sedycious billes, moving tumultes to the disquietnes of the present state, he shulde be committed to the Toure.” Proceedings in the privy council in Haynes's *Burghley State Papers*, p. 184.

Whereupon D. Cranmer at his day prefixed, appeared before the said commissioners, bringing a true inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a bishop⁴ of the queenes privy counsell, being one of the said commissioners, after the inventory was received, bringing in mention of the bil, "My lord (said he) there is a bil put forth in your name, wherin you seeme to be agreeed with setting up the masse againe: we doubt not but you are sory that it is gone abroad."

To whom the archbishop answered againe, saying: "as I do not deny my selfe to bee the very authour of that bill or letter, so must I confesse here unto you, concerning the same bil, that I am sory that the said bill went from me in such sort as it did. For when I had written it, M. Scory got the copy of me, and it is now come abroad, and as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sory, that it so passed my hands: for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample maner, and minded to have set it on Pauls church door, and on the doores of all the churches in London, with mine owne seale joyned thereto."

At which words when they saw the constantnesse of the man, they dismissed him, affirming they had no more at that present to say unto him, but that shortly he should heare further. The saide bishop declared afterward to one of doctour Cranmers friends, that notwithstanding his attainder of treason, the queens determination at that time was, that Cranmer should only have been deprived of his archbishoprick, and have had a sufficient living assigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true inventory, with commandment to keepe his house without meddling in matters of religion. But how that was true, I have not to say. This is certaine, that not long after this, he was sent unto the Tower, and soone after condemned of treason⁵. Notwithstanding, the queene, when she could not honestly denie him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and specially, seeing he last (of all other) subscribed to king Edwards request, and that against his owne

⁴ *A bishop.*] "This bishop was Dr. Heath, bishop after of Yorke." Fox's *Margin*. Nicholas Heath, then bishop of Worcester, to which see he was translated from Rochester in 1543. He was displaced by Edward VI., and the see given in commendam to Hooper, bishop of Gloucester. In 1553, Heath was restored by Mary, and in the same year translated to York. See p. 172.

⁵ *Condemned of treason.*] According to Stow and Grafton he was arraigned and condemned of treason at Guild-hall, London, on the 13th of Nov., 1553.

will, released to him his action of treason, and accused him only of heresie: which liked the archbishop right well and came to passe as he wished, because the cause was not now his owne, but Christs; not the queens, but the churches. Thus stood the cause of Cranmer, til at length it was determined by the queene and the councill that hee should be remooved from the Tower, where he was prisoner, to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. And privily word was sent before to them of Oxford to prepare themselves and make them readie to dispute. And although the queen and the bishops had concluded before what should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that under some honest shewe of disputation, the murther of the man might be covered. Neither could their hasty speed of revengement abide any long delay: and therefore in all haste he was caried to Oxford.

What this disputation was, and how it was handled, what were the questions, and reasons on both sides, and also touching his condemnation by the university and the prolocutor, because sufficiently it hath been declared⁶, wee minde now therefore to proceede to his finall judgement and order of condemnation, which was the twelfth day of September an. 1555, and seven daies before the condemnation of bishop Ridley and M. Latimer, as is above foretouched. The story whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (comming by chance to our hands) of one who being both present therat, and also a devout favorer of the sea and faction of Rome, can lacke no credit (I trowe) with such, which seeke what they can to discredit whatsoever maketh not with their phantasied religion of Rome.

After the disputations done and finished in Oxford between the doctors of both universities and the three worthy bishops D. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, yee heard then how sentence condemnatory immediatly upon the same was ministred against them by doctor Weston and other of the universitie: wherby they were judged to be hereticks, and so committed to the maior and sheriffs of Oxford. But forasmuch as the sentence given them, was voide in lawe⁷, (for at that time the authoritie of the pope was not yet received into the land) therefore was a new commission sent from

⁶ *It hath been declared.*] See *Life of Latimer*, vol. ii. p. 548.

⁷ *Voide in lawe.*] See above, vol. ii. p. 616, n.

Rome, and a new processe framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly learned men aforesaide. In which commission, first was doctor James Brooks, bishop of Glocester, the popes sub-delegate, with doctor Martin^a, and doctor Storie^b, commissioners in the king and queens behalfe, for the execution of the same. Of the which three commissioners above named, as touching doctor Martin, this by the way is to bee understood, that although he was used for an instrument of the popes side, to serve a turne (whose booke also is extant against the lawfull marriage of priests) yet notwithstanding neither was he so bitter an enemy in this persecution, as other commissioners were: and also in this time of q. Elizabeth where divers other doctors of the arches refused to be sworne against the pope, he denied not the oath: and yet notwithstanding he is not altogether here to be excused.—But to the purpose of this story. Wherof first it shall be requisite to declare the circumstance, and the whole state of the matter, as in a general description, before we come to their orations, according as in a parcell of a certaine letter touching the same, it came to our hands.

In primis, here is to be understand, that after the comming down of the foresaid commissioners, which was upon Thursdaie^c, the twelfth of September an. 1555 in the church of S. Mary, and in the east end of the said church at the high altar, was erected a solemne scaffold for bishop Brookes aforesaide, representing the popes person, ten foot high. The seat was made that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar. And on the right hand of the popes delegate beneath him sate doctor Martin, and on the left hand sate doctour Storie the king and queens commissioners,

^a *Doctor Martin.*] Thomas Martin, chancellor of the diocese of Winchester, under Gardiner, and also a master in Chancery, See Tanner's *Bibl.* p. 515.

^b *Doctor Storie.*] John Story, chancellor of the diocese of London: he was executed at Tyburn in 1571.

^c *Upon Thursdaie.*] There was a previous meeting of the commissioners in St. Mary's church, on Monday, Sept. 9th, as appears from bishop Brookes's official report of this whole process, transmitted by him to Rome, to the cardinal *De Puteo* (see p. 256 *infra* n.) whose delegate he was. The business of that day was to open the commission, to cite the archbishop, and to agree upon other preliminaries. *Lambeth MSS.*, No. 1136. This "Report" has been printed in the modern edition of Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, 8vo. Oxford, 1812.

which were both doctors of the civill lawe, and underneath them other doctors, scribes, and pharisies also, with the popes collectour, and a rabblement of such other like.

And thus these bishops being placed in their pontificalibus, the bishop of Canturbury was sent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himselfe. He came forth of the prison to the church of saint Mary, fetched forth with billes and glevs for feare least he shold start away, being clothed in a faire blacke gowne, with his hooде on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinitie in the universitie use to weare. Who after hee was come into the church, and did see them sit in their pontificalibus, hee did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till that he was called. And anon one of the proctors for the pope, or else his doctour, called "Thomas archbishop of Canterburie, appear here and make answeere to that shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemie, incontinenzie, and heresie; and make answeere heere to the bishop of Gloucester, representing the popes person."

Upon this he being brought more neere unto the scaffold where the foresaid bishop sate, he first well viewed the place of judgement, and spying where the king and queenes majesties proctors were, putting off his cap, he first humblie bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and after to the other.

That done, beholding the bishop in the face, hee put on his bonet² againe, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the bishop being offended, saide unto him that it might besee me him right well, weying the authoritie he did represent, to doe his duetie unto him. Whereunto doctor Cranmer answered and said, that he had once taken a solemne othe, never to consent to the admitting of the bishop of Romes authoritie into this realme of England againe, and that he had done it advisedlie and meant by Gods grace to keepe it, and therefore would commit nothing either by signe or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same; and so he desired the said bishop to judge of him: and that he did it not for anie contempt of his person, which hee coulde have beene content to have honored as wel as any of the other, if his commission had come from as good an authoritie as theirs. This answered he

² Put on his bonet.] See above, vol. ii. p. 622.

both modestlie, wiselie, and patientlie, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the popes person, which was wonderously of the people marked, that was there present and saw it, and marked it as nye as could be possible.

When after manie meanes used, they perceived that the archbishop would not moove his bonet, the bishoppe proceeded in these wordes following.

“ My lord, at this present we are come to you as commissioners, and for you, not intruding our selves by our own authoritie, but sent by commission, partlie from the popes holines, partlie from the king and queenes most excellent majesties, not to your utter discomfort, but to your comfort, if you will your selfe. We come not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of that you have beene, and shall be. Neither come we to dispute with you, but to examine you in certaine matters ; which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you. The first being well taken, shall make the second to be well taken. For if you of your part be mooved to come to a conformity, then shall not onelie we of our side take joy of our examination, but also they that have sent us.

“ And first, as charitie doth moove us, I would thinke good, somewhat to exhort you, and that by the second chapter of saint John in the apocalypse, *Remember from whence thou art fallen, and doe the first workes, or if not ;* and so as yee know what followeth : Remember your selfe from whence you have fallen. You have fallen from the universall and catholick church of Christ, from the verie true and received faith of all Christendome, and that by open heresie. You have fallen from your promise to God, from your fidelitie and allegeance, and that by open preaching, marriage and adulterie. You have fallen from your soveraigne prince and queene by open treason. Remember therefore from whence you are fallen. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be seene. Wherefore when I say, remember from whence you have fallen, I put you in minde not onelie of your fall, but also of the state you were in before your fall. You were sometime as I and other poore men, in a meane estate. God I take to witnesse, I speake it to no reproch or abasement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from a lowe to an high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better, and never gave you over, till he had appointed you *legatum natum, metropolitanum*

Angliæ, pastorem gregis sui. Such great trust did he put you in, in his church. What could he doe more? for even as hee ordained Moses to be a ruler over his church of Israel, and gave him full authoritie upon the same; so did hee make you over his church of England. And when did he this for you? forsooth when you gave no occasion or cause of mistrust either to him, or to his magistrates. For although it be conjectured, that in al your time, ye were not upright in the honour and faith of Christ, but rather set up of purpose as a fitt instrument, whereby the church might be spoiled and brought into ruine, yet may it appeare by manie your doings otherwise, and I for my part, as it behooveth each one of us, shall thinke the best. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? Who was thought to have more conscience of a vow making, and observing the order of the church, more earnest in the defence of the reall presence of Christes bodie and bloud in the sacrament of the aultar, then yee were? And then all things prospered with you: your prince favored you, yea God himselfe favoured you: your candlesticke was set up in the highest place of the church, and the light of your candle was over all the church. I would God it had so continued still.

“But after ye began to fall by schisme, and would not acknowledge the popes holines as supream head, but would stoutlie upholde the unlawfull requests of king Henry the eighth and would beare with that should not be borne withall, then began you to fansie unlawfull libertie, and when you had exiled a good conscience, then ensued great shipwracke in the sea; which was, out of the true and catholike church, to be cast into the sea of desperation; for as hee³ saith, *Extra ecclesiam non est salus*, without the church there is no salvation. When yee had forsaken God, God forsooke you, and gave you over to your owne will, and suffered you to fall from schisme to apostasie, from apostasie to heresie, and from heresie to perjurie, from perjurie to treason, and so in conclusion, into the full indignation of our soveraigne prince, which you may thinke a just punishment of God, for your other abominable opinions.

“After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the lowest degree of all, to the end of honor and life. For if the light of your candle be as it hath beene hitherto duskey, your candle-

³ Hee saith] Meaning the *Decretum*.

stick is like to be remooved, and have a great fall, so lowe, and so farre out of knowledge, that it shall bee quite out of Gods favor, and past all hope of recoverie: *Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio*, for in hell there is no redemption. The danger whereof being so great, very pity causeth me to say, *Memor esto unde excideris*, remember from whence thou hast fallen. I adde also, and whither you fall.

"But heere peradventure you will say to me, what sir, my fall is not so great as you make it. I have not yet fallen from the catholike church. For that is not the catholike church that the pope is head of. There is another church. But as touching that, I answeare: you are sure of that as the Donatists were, for they saide that they had the true church, and that the name of the true Christians remained onelie in Aphricke, where onelie their seditious sect was preached: and as you think, so thought Novatus, that all they that did acknowledge their supream head at the sea of Rome, were out of the church of Christ. But heere saint Cyprian, defending Cornelius against Novatus, saith on this wise: *Ecclesia una est, quæ cum sit una, intus et foris esse non potest*. So that if Novatus were in the true church, then was not Cornelius, who in deed by lawfull succession, succeeded pope Fabian. Heere S. Cyprian intendeth by the whole processe to proove, and concludeth thereupon, that the true church was onelie Rome. Gather you then what will followe of your fall.

"But you will saie peradventure, that ye fell not by heresie; and so said the Arrians, alledging for themselves that they had Scripture, and going about to perswade their schisme by Scripture, for in deed they had more places^s by two and fortie, which by their torture seemed to depend upon Scripture, then the catholikes had. So did the Martians provoke their heresie to Scripture. But those are no Scriptures, for they are not truelie alledged, nor truelie interpreted, but untruelie wrested and wroong, according to their owne fantasies. And therefore were they all justly condemned, for their wrong taking of the Scriptures, and the church replieth against them, saying, 'What make you heer in my heritage? from whence came you? the Scripture is my inheritage. I am right heire thereof. I holde it by true succession of the apostles; for as the apostles required mee to

^s *They had more places.*] Compare above, *Life of Latimer*, vol. ii. p. 656, and n.

holde, so do I hold it. The apostles have received mee, and put me in my right, and have rejected you as bastards, having no title thereunto.'

"Also yee will denie that you have fallen by apostasie, by breaking your vow; and so Vigilantius saide, insomuch that he would admit none to his ministerie, but those that had their wives bagged with children. What now? shall we say that Vigilantius did not fall therefore? did not Donatus, and Novatus fall, because they said so, and brought Scripture for their defence? then let us beleieve as we list, pretending well, and say so: nay there is no man so blinde that will say so. For except the church which condemneth them for their say so, doe approve us for to doe so, then will shee condemne you also. So that your deniall will not stand. And therefore I tell you, remember from whence ye have fallen, and how low yee shall fall, if you hold on as you doe begin. But I trust you will not continue, but revoke your selfe in time, and the remedie followeth.

"*Age poenitentiam et prima opera fac*, repent, and doe thy first works; for by such meanes as ye have fallen, ye must rise againe. First, your hart hath fallen, then your tongue and your penne, and, besides your own damage, hath caused many more to fall. Therefore, first your hart must turn, and then shall the tongue and the pen be quicklie turned: *Sin minus, veniam tibi cito, et movebo candelabrum tuum de loco suo*.

"I neede not to teach you a methode to turne: you know the readie way your self. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right and truth, then the way should soone be found out. For if ye remember how many ye have brought by abhominable heresie, into the way of perdition, I doubt not but very conscience would moove you, as much for them, as for your selfe to come againe. And so would you spare neither tongue nor penne, if heart were once reformed: for as touching that point, the Holie Ghost toucheth their hearts very neere by the mouth of his holie prophet Ezechiell, when he requireth the bloud of his flocke at the priests hands, for lacke of good and wholesome foode: how much more should this touch your guiltie heart, having overmuch diligence to teach them the way of perdition, and feeding them with baggage, and corrupt foode, which is heresie. *He that shall convert a sinner from his wicked life, shall save his soule from death, and shall cover the multitude of sinnes*. So that if it be true that he, who converteth a sinner, saveth a

soule, then the contrarie must needs be true, that he that perverteth a soule, and teacheth him the way of perdition, must needs be damned.

“Origenes super Paulum ad Romanos : The damnation of those that preach heresie, dooth increase to the day of judgement. The more that perish by hereticall doctrine, the more grievous shall their torment bee, that minister such doctrine. Berengarius who seemed to feare that danger, provided for it in his life time, but not without a troubled and disquiet conscience. He did not onelie repent, but recant, and not so much for himselfe, as for them whome he had with most pestilent heresies infected. For as he lay in his death bed upon Epiphany day, he demanded of them that were present, Is this (quoth he) the day of Epiphany, and appearing of the Lord? They answered him, yea. Then (quoth he) this day shall the Lord appeare to me, either to my comfort, either to my discomfort. This remorse argueth, that hee feared the danger of them whome he had taught, and led out of the faith of Christ. Origenes upon him saith in this wise: Although his owne blood was not uppon his head, for that he did repent, and was sorrie for his former errors, yet being converted, he feared the blood of them, whome hee had infected, and who received his doctrine.

“Let this move you even at the last point. Insomuch as your case is not unlike to Berengarius, let your repentance be like also. And what should stay you (tell mee) from this godlie returne? feare, that ye have gone so far, yee may not returne? nay, then I may say as David said: Ye feare where ye have no cause to feare. For if ye repent and be heartilie sorry for your former heresie and appostasie, yee need not to feare. For as God of his part is mercifull and gracious to the repentant sinner, so is the king, so is the queene mercifull, which ye may well perceive by your own case, since ye might have suffered a great whiles agoe for treason committed against her highnesse, but that yee have beene spared, and reserved upon hope of amendment, which she conceived very good of you, but now as it seemeth is but a very desperate hope. And what doe you thereby? *according to the hardnes of your heart yee treasure up to your selfe anger in the day of wrath.*

“Well, is it then, if feare do not hinder you, shame, to unsay that, that you have said? Nay, it is no shame, unlesse ye thinke it shame to agree with the true and the catholike church of

Christ. And if that be shame, then blame saint Paul who persecuted the disciples of Christ with the sword: then blame saint Peter, who denyed his master Christ with an othe that he never knew him. S. Cyprian before his returne being a witch; S. Augustine being nine yeeres out of the church; they thought it no shame, after their returne, of that they had returned. Shall it then be shame, for you to convert and consent with the church of Christ? No, no.

“What is it then that doth let you? Glory of the world? nay, as for the vanitie of the world, I for my part judge it not in you being a man of learning and knowing your estate.

“And as for the losse of your estimation, it is ten to one that where you were archbishop of Canturburie, and metropolitane of England, it is ten to one (I say) that ye shall be as wel still, yea and rather better.

“And as for the winning of good men, there is no doubt but al that be heere present, and the whole congregation of Christes church also will more rejoyce of your returne, then they were sorry for your fall. And as for the other, yee neede not to doubt, for they shall all come after: and to say the truth, if you should lose them for ever it were no force, ye should have no losse therby at all. I doe not here touch them which should confirme your estimation. For as saint Paule after his conversion was received into the church of Christ, with wonderfull joy to the whole congregation, even so shall you be. The fame of your returne shall be spreade abroad throughout all Christendome, where your face was never knowne.

“But you will say perhaps, your conscience will not suffer you. My lord, there is a good conscience and there is a bad conscience. The good conscience have not they, as S. Paule declareth to Timothie concerning Hymeneus and Alexander. The evill and bad conscience is (saith S. Cyprian) well to bee knowne by his marke. What marke? This conscience is marked with the print of heresie. This conscience is a naughtie, filthie, and a branded conscience, which I trust is not in you. I have conceived a better hope of you then so, or else would I never goe about to perswade or exhort you. But what conscience should stay you to returne to the catholike faith and universall church of Christ? what conscience doth separate you to that divelish and severall church? to a libertie which never had ground in

the holie Scriptures? If you judge your libertie to be good, then judge you all Christendome to doe evill besides you.

“O what a presumptuous perswasion is this, upon this utterlie to forsake the church of Christ? Under what colour or pretence do you this? For the abuses? as though in your church were no abuses: yes that there were. And if you forsake the universall church for the abuses, why doe you not then forsake your particular church, and so be flitting from one to another? That is not the next way, to slip from the church for the abuses: for if you had seene abuses, you should rather have endeavoured for a reformation then for a defection. He is a good chirurgeon, who for a little paine in the toe will cut off the whole leg. He helpeth well the tooth ache, which cutteth a way the head by the shoulders! It is meere follie to amend abuses by abuses. Ye are like Diogenes: for Diogenes on a time envying the cleanlines of Plato, said on this wise, *Eccē calco fastum Platonis*. Plato answered, *Sed alio fastu*. So that Diogenes seemed more faultie of the two.

“But when we have said all that we can, peradventure you will say, I will not returne. And to that I say, I will not answer. Neverthelesse heare what Christ saith to such obstinate and stifnecked people in the parable of the supper. When he had sent out his men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bad his servants going into the waies and streetes, to compell men to come in. If then the church will not leese anie member that may bee compelled to come in, ye must thinke it good to take the compulsion, least you lose your part of the supper which the Lord hath prepared for you: and this compulsion standeth well with charitie.

“But it may be perhaps, that some hath animated you to sticke to your tackle, and not to give over, bearing you in hand that your opinion is good, and that yee shall die in a good quarrell, and God shall accept your oblation. But heare what Christ saith of a meaner gift: *if thou come to the auldar to offer thy oblation, and knowest that thy brother hath somewhat to say against thee, leave there thy gift, and goe and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer up thy gift*, or else thy brother will make thy offering unsavourie before God. This he said unto all the world, to the end they should know how their offerings should bee received, if they were not according.

“Remember you therefore before you offer up your offering, whether your gift be qualified or no. Remember the church of Rome, and also of England, where not one onelie brother, but a number have matter against you, so just that they will make your burnt offering to stinke before God, except you bee reconciled. If you must needs appoint upon a sacrifice, make yet a meane first to them that have to lay against you. I say no more then the church hath allowed me to say. For the sacrifice that is offered without the church, is not profitable. The premisses therefore considered, for Gods sake, I say, *Memor esto unde excideris, et age pœnitentiam, et prima opera fac. Sin minus, &c.* Cast not your self away, spare your bodie, spare your soule, spare them also whome you have seduced, spare the sheading of Christs blood for you in vaine. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yeelde to the prescript word of God, to the catholike church of Rome, to the received veritie of all christendome. Wed not your selfe to your owne selfe will. Stand not too much in your owne conceite, thinke not your selfe wiser then all Christendome is besides you. Leave off this unjust cavill. How? leave what? leave reason, leave wonder, and beleve as the Catholike church doth beleve and teach you. Perswade with your selfe, that without the church there is no salvation. And thus much have I said of charitie. If this poore simple exhortation of mine may sinke into your head, and take effect with you, then have I said as I would have said, otherwise not as I would, but as I could for this present.”

And thus bishop Brooks finishing his oration, sate down. After whome, doctor Martin taking the matter in hand, beginneth thus.

The oration of doctor Martin.

“Albeit there bee two governments, the one spirituall, and the other temporall, the one having the keies, the other the sword, yet in all ages we reade that for the honour and glory of God both these powers have beene adjoynd together. For if we reade the Old Testament, we shall finde that so did Josias and Ezekias. So did the king of the Ninivites compell a generall fast through all the whole citie. So did Darius in breaking the great idol, Bell, and delivered godlie Daniell out of the den of lyons. So did Nabuchodonosor make and institute lawes against

the blasphemers of God. But to let passe these examples, with a great number moe, and to come to Christs time, it is not unknowne what great travaile they tooke to set forth Gods honour: and although the rule and government of the church did onelie appertaine to the spirituality, yet for the suppression of heresies and schismes, kinges were admitted as ayders thereunto. First, Constantinus the great called a councell at Nice for the suppression of the Arrian sect, where the same time was raised a great contention among them. And after long disputation had, when the fathers could not agree upon the putting downe of the Arrians, they referred their judgement to Constantine. God forbid, quoth Constantine: you ought to rule me, and not I you. And as Constantine did, so did Theodosius against the Nestorians, so did Marcianus against Manicheus. Jovinian made a law, that no man should marry with a nunne, that had wedded her selfe to the church.

“So had king Henry the eight the title of defender of the faith⁶, because he wrote against Luther and his complices. So these 900 yeres the kings of Spaine had the title of catholike⁷, for the expulsion of the Arrians: and to say the truth, the king and queenes majesties doe nothing degenerate from their auncetry, taking upon them to restore again the title to be defender of the faith, to the right heyre thereof, the popes holinesse.

“Therefore these two princes, perceiving this noble realme, how it hath beene brought from the unitie of the true and catho-

⁶ *Defender of the faith.*] The original bull sent to Henry VIII. by Leo X., and having that pope's signature, is kept in the British Museum. The title was happily chosen to suit a Protestant, as well as a Roman Catholic king. On the subject of this title see a curious paper, by Alex. Luders, in the *Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries*. Vol. xix. pp. 1—10. See also vol. ii. p. 478, of this collection.

⁷ *Title of catholike.*] Doctor Martin, it would seem, was not well acquainted with history. It is true that Don Alfonso, who reigned from 739 to 757 was surnamed *the Catholic*, but he did not expel the *Arians*, although he fought against and tried to expel the *Moors*. Pedro II. of Aragon, who lived from 1196 to 1213, was sometimes styled *Catholic* on account of his wars against the Albigenses. These were isolated cases on personal grounds. Nor did the title descend to any of the kings of the several kingdoms into which Spain was divided. The title of *Reges Catholicici*, or *Los Reyes Católicos*, was conferred by the infamous pope Alexander VI., a Spaniard by birth, by name Rodrigo Borgia, on Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1494. It is only from that time that the king of Spain has been called *his Catholic Majesty*.

like church, the which you and your confederates do, and have renounced; perceiving also that you doe persist in your detestable errorrs, and will by no meanes be revoked from the same, they have made their humble request and petition to the popes holinesse Paulus the fourth, as supream head of the church of Christ, declaring to him, that where you were archbishop of Canturburie, and metropolitane of England, and at your consecration tooke two solemne othes, for your due obedience to bee given to the sea of Rome, to become a true preacher, or pastor of his flocke, yet contrary to your oathe, and alleageance, for unity, you have sowed discord; for chastity, mariage and adultery; for obedience, contention; and for faith, yee have been the author of all mischief. The popes holines, considering their request, and petition, hath granted them, that according to the censure of this realme, processe should be made against you.

“And whereas in this late time, you both excluded charitie and justice, yet hath his holinesse decreed, that you shall have both charitie and justice shewed unto you. He willethe you should have the lawes in moste ample maner, to answeere in your behalfe, and that you shall heere come before my lorde of Gloucester, as high commissioner from his holinesse, to the examination of such articles, as shall be proposed against you, and that wee should require the examination of you, in the king and queenes majesties behalfe. The king and queene as touching themselves, because by the law they cannot appear personallie, *quia sunt illustrissimæ personæ*, have appointed as their attorneys doctor Story and me. Wherefore heere I offer to your good lordship^a our proxie, sealed, with the broad seale of England, and offer my selfe to be proctor in the kings majesties behalfe. I exhibite here also certaine articles, containing the manifest adultery and perjury: also books of heresie made partlie by him, partlie set forth by his authoritie. And heere I produce him as partie principall, to answeere to your good lordship.”

Thus when doctor Martin had ended his oration, the archbishop beginneth, as heere followeth.

Cranm. “Shall I then make my answeere?”

Martin. “As you thinke good, no man shall let you.”

And here the archbishoppe kneeling downe on both knees towards the west said first the Lords praier. Then rising up he

^a *Your good lordship.*] Turning himself apparently from Cranmer, whom he had hitherto addressed, to Brookes as the pope's representative.

reciteth the articles of the creede. Which done, he entereth with his protestation in forme as followeth.

The faith and profession of D. Cranmer, archbishop of Canturbury, before the commissioners.

"This I do professe as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the bishop of Rome shall have anie jurisdiction within this realme."

Story. "Take a note thereof."

Martin. "Marke D. Cranmer how you answere for your selfe. You refuse and deny him, by whose lawes yee yet do remaine in life, being otherwise attainted of high treason, and but a dead man by the lawes of this realme."

Cran. "I protest before God I was no traitor, but indeede I confessed more at my arraignment then was true."

Martin. "That is not to be reasoned at this present. Ye know ye were condemned for a traitor, and *Res judicata pro veritate accipitur*. But proceede to your matter."

Cranmer. "My lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently in your oration put mee in remembrance of many thinges touching my selfe, wherein, I doe not meane to spend the time in answering of them. I acknowledge Gods goodnesse to me in all his giftes, and thanke him as hartily for this state wherein I finde my selfe now, as ever I did for the time of my prosperitie: and it is not the losse of my promotions that grieveth mee. The greatest grieve I have at this time is, and one of the greatest that ever I had in all my life, to see the king and queenes majesties by their proctors here to become my accusers, and that in their owne realme and countrey, before a forraine power. If I have transgressed the lawes of the land, their majesties have sufficient authority and power both from God, and by the ordinance of this realme to punish mee, whereunto I both have and at all times shall be content to submitte my selfe.

"Alas! What hath the pope to doe in England? whose jurisdiction is so farre different from the jurisdiction of this realme, that it is impossible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The lawes also are so divers^o, that whosoever sweareth to both,

^o *The lawes also are so divers.*] Compare Cranmer's Letter to the Queen; *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 4, 5.

must needs incurre perjurie to the one. Which as oft as I remember, even for the love that I beare to her grace, I cannot but be hartily sory to thinke upon it, how that her highnesse the day of her coronation¹, at which time shee tooke a solemne othe to observe all the lawes and liberties of this realm of England, at the same time also tooke an othe to the bishop of Rome, and promised to maintaine that see. The state of England being so repugnant to the supremacy of the pope, it was impossible but she must needs be forsworne in the one. Wherein if hir grace had bin faithfully advertised by hir councill, then surely shee would never have done it.

“The lawes of this realme are, that the king of England is the supreme and sole governor of all his countries and dominions: and that he holdeth his crowne and scepter of himselfe, by the ancient lawes, customes, and descents of the kinges of the realme, and of none other. The pope sayth, that all emperours and kings hold their crownes and regalities of him, and that he may depose them when hee list: which is highe treason for any man to affirme and thinke, being borne within the kings dominions.

“The lawes of England are, that all bishops and priests offending in cases of felony or treason, are to bee judged and tried by the lawes and customes of the realme. The popes lawes are that the secular power cannot judge the spirituall power, and

¹ *The day of her coronation.*] And accordingly he remonstrates with the queen herself on this subject, as follows.

“I learned by doctor Martin that at the day of your majesty’s coronation you took an oath of obedience to the pope of Rome; and the same time you took another oath to this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties and customs of the same. And if your majesty did take an oath to the pope, I think it was according to the other oaths which he useth to minister to princes; which is to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands and privileges. And if it be so (which I know not but by report) then I beseech your majesty to look upon your oath made to the crown and realm, and to expend and weigh the two oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then to do as your grace’s conscience shall give you: for I am surely persuaded that willingly your majesty will not offend, nor do against your conscience for no thing. But I fear me that there be contradictions in your oaths, and that those which should have informed your grace thoroughly, did not their duties therein. And if your majesty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you shall perceive you were deceived; and then your highness may use the matter as God shall put in your heart.” *Coverdale’s Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 12, 13.

that they are not under their jurisdiction: which robbeth the king of the one part of his people².

² *One part of his people.*] See above, *Life of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 231, and n.

We will again borrow here a passage from Mr. Jenkyns's valuable Preface to Cranmer's *Remains*, already noticed.

"Cranmer maintained, that the papal dominion was incompatible with the royal; and that consequently a king who acknowledged the supremacy of the pope, was not sovereign in his own realm. It may be said perhaps, that this line of argument, though well calculated to gratify the arbitrary temper of his master, in no degree affected the real merits of the case. Even if this be granted, it still cannot be inferred that Cranmer was actuated in his choice of it by a corrupt motive; since he urged it no less strenuously under Mary, when she was occupied in restoring the papal power, than he had done under Henry, when that monarch was meditating its overthrow. But in truth this reasoning was by no means devoid of force. It will scarcely be denied, that the collision of authorities, which he pointed out, established at least the necessity of inquiry. If this inquiry had ended in demonstrating that universal dominion was given to the pope by the word of God, the inconveniences of such an appointment, however great, must of course have been endured as inevitable. But a very different result was anticipated by the archbishop. He was confident that the papal supremacy would be found to depend on human institutions alone: and then, the same evils which had suggested the examination into its *origin*, would also show the expediency of its *abolition*. And the right to abolish it would clearly reside in the party by whom it had been created, namely, the English nation." p. x.

To these last words Mr. Jenkyns subjoins a note, as follows.

"The protestation made in 1537, by the king, the council, and the clergy of England, against the council of Mantua, states the argument thus: 'that which (the pope) hath usurped against God's law, and extorted by violence, we by good right take from him again. But he and his will say, We gave them a primacy. We hear them well: we gave it you indeed. If you have authority as long as our consent giveth it you, and you evermore will make your plea upon our consent, then let it have even an end where it begun. We consent no longer: your authority must needs be gone.'" Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 375.

But I may remark, the argument is not nearly so well stated here in the original, as it is in an alteration proposed in a letter (given by Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. n. lxxii. Appendix, and referred to by Mr. Jenkyns,) from sir Richard Moryson to Cromwell, on occasion of a projected new edition of the Protestation.

"And for the place of the papacy" (says sir Richard) "*given by our consent over us, and taken away by our consent*, I have thus changed it.

"In time past, we being deceived by false pretence of Scripture, by whose authority you claimed your prerogative and jurisdiction upon all men, did acknowledge your primacy; and following the consent, or rather error of the world, gave you authority upon kings' subjects. Now we will be no longer

“The lawes also of England are, that whosoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the lawes of England for any other forraigne lawes, ecclesiasticall or temporall, incurreth the daunger of a *premunire*. The popes lawes are, that whosoever hindereth the proceedinges or executions of his lawes, for any other lawes of any other king or countrey, both the prince himselfe, his counsell, all his officers, scribes, clearks, and whosoever give consent or ayde to the making or executing of any such lawes, standeth accursed. A heavie case³ (if his curse were any thing worth)

deceived. Now we justly call in again that you have unjustly extorted of our fathers; and will that *truth* make an end of your reign, which began by *error*. *It is lawful; reason will; yea, we are commanded to take from you that that no man can give you, but he that is deceived.*”

This, I apprehend, is the true light in which this very important matter is to be placed. All consent and submission to authority may not be withdrawn and reversed at pleasure, *without*, and much more it cannot, if *against* the will of the party in whose hands we have reposed it, (which is too much the argument as it is worded in the *original* Protestation;) but it is then simply justified when the consent, at the beginning, was obtained by fraud, or extorted by unjust violence; and when it is contrary to the will of God, as revealed by undoubted reason, or the plain words of holy Scripture.

³ *A heavie case.*] He has prosecuted the whole of this argument with great spirit and admirable force of reasoning, in the long and very valuable letter to queen Mary, before quoted, in which he gives her a full account of this process before the bishop of Gloucester.

“Another cause why I refused the pope’s authority is this, that his authority as he claimeth it, repugneth to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same, which every true subject is bounden to defend. First, for that the pope saith, that all manner of power as well temporal as spiritual, is given first to him of God; and that the temporal power he giveth unto emperors and kings, to use it under him, but so as it be always at his commandment and becke.

“But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and jurisdiction temporal of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under Him only, and is subject unto none, but to God alone.

“Moreover, the imperial laws and customs of this realm, the king in his coronation, and all justices when they receive their offices, be sworn, and all the whole realm is bounden, to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto the pope by his authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our books, all laws and customs being repugnant to his laws; and declareth accursed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers and executors of such laws or customs: as it appeareth by many of the pope’s laws, whereof one or two I shall rehearse.” These he cites, and then proceeds as follows.

“Now by these laws, if the bishop of Rome’s authority which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your grace’s laws and customs of your realm, being contrary to the pope’s laws, be naught: and as well your majesty, as your

that the king and queene cannot use their owne lawes, but they and all theirs must stand accursed." These things and many

judges, justices, and all other executors of the same, stand accursed among heretics, which God forbid ! And yet this curse can never be avoided, if the pope have such power as he claimeth, until such times as the laws and customs of this realm, being contrary to his laws, be taken away and blotted out of the law books.

"And although there be many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I named but a few ; as, to convict a clerk before any temporal judge of this realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime ; which clerks by the pope's laws be so exempt from the king's laws, that they can be no where sued but before their ordinary.

"Also the pope by his laws may give all bishoprics and benefices spiritual, which by the laws of this realm can be given but only by the king and other patrons of the same, except they fall into the lapse.

"By the pope's laws, *jus patronatus* shall he sued only before the ecclesiastical judge ; but by the laws of this realm it shall be sued before the temporal judges.

"And to be short, the laws of this realm do agree with the pope's laws like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the *præmunire* : so that if any man have let the execution of the laws of this realm by any authority from the see of Rome, he falleth into the *præmunire*. But, to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by cursing. For whosoever letteth the pope's laws to have full course within this realm, by the pope's power standeth accursed. So that the pope's power treadeth all the laws and customs of this realm under his feet, cursing all that execute them, until such time as they give place unto his laws. . . .

"These things, as I suppose, were not fully opened in the parliament house, when the pope's authority was received again within this realm : for if they had, I do not believe that either the king or queen's majesty, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons of the same, would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial, as well to the crown, as to the laws and customs, and state of this realm, as whereby they must needs acknowledge themselves to be accursed. But none could open his matter well but the clergy, and such of them as had read the pope's laws, whereby the pope hath made himself as it were a god. *These* seek to maintain the pope, whom they desired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have as it were a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and wherewith the crown may not meddle ; and so, being exempt from the laws of this realm, they might live in this realm like lords and kings without damage or fear of any man, so that they please their high and supreme head at Rome. For this consideration, I ween, some that knew the truth held their peace in the parliament ; whereas if they had done their dutie to the crown and whole realm, they should have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and showed the perils and dangers that might ensue to the crown and realm." Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs* ; or Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. i. p. 370—3.

more examples he alledged, which (he sayd) stirred him that hee could not give his consent to the receiving of such an enemie into the realm, so subverting the dignitie and ancient liberties of the same.

“And as for the matter of heresie, and schisme, wherewith hee was charged, he protested and called God to witnesse, that hee knew none that he maintained. But if that were an heresie to deny the popes authoritie, and the religion which the see of Rome hath published to the world these latter yeares, then all the ancient fathers of the primitive church, the apostles and Christ himselfe taught heresie: and he desired all them present to bear him witnesse, that he tooke the traditions and religion of that usurping prelate to be most erroneous, false, and against the doctrine of the whole Scripture, which hee had oftentimes well proved by writing; and the author of the same to be verie antichrist, so often preached of by the apostles and prophetes, in whom did most evidently concur al signes and tokens wherby he was painted out to the world to be knowne.

“For it was most evident that he had advanced himselfe above all emperours and kinges of the world, whome he affirmeth to hold their states and empyres of him, as of their chiefe, and to be at his commandement to depose and erect at his good will and pleasure; and that the stories make mention of his intollerable and insolent pride, and tyranny, used over them in such sort, as no king would have used to his Christian subjectes, nor yet a good maister to his servantes; setting his feete on the emperours necke, affirming that to be verified in him, which was spoken onely of our Savior Jesus Christ, in these words⁴, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem*⁵. Other some had he made to hold his styrrop, others he had displaced and remooved from their empires and seates royall: and not content herewithall, more insolent then Lucifer, hath occupied not onely the highest place in this world, above kings and princes, but hath further presumed to sit in the seate of Almighty God, which onely he reserved to himselfe, which is the conscience of man: and for to keepe the possession thereof, he hath promised forgivenessse of sins *totiens quotiens*.

⁴ *In these words.*] See above, *Inett*, vol. i. p. 71.

⁵ *Draconem.*] Ps. xci. 13, of the English version. Ps. xc. of the Latin Vulgate.

“He hath brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new religion, full of gaine and lucre, quite contrary to the doctrine of the holy Scripture, onely for the maintaining of his kingdome, displacing Christ from his glory, and holding his people in a miserable servitude of blindness, to the losse of a great number of soules, which God at the latter day shall exact at his hand; boasting many times in his canons and decrees, that he can dispense⁶ *Contra Petrum, contra Paulum, contra vetus et novum Testamentum*: and that hee, *plenitudine potestatis, tantum potest quantum Deus*: that is, ‘Against Peter, against Paule, against the Old and New Testament: and of the fulnes of power may doe as much as God.’—O Lord, who ever heard such blasphemie? If there bee any man that can advance himselfe above Him, let him be judged antichrist.

“This enemie of God and of our redemption, is so evidently painted out in the Scriptures by such manifest signes and tokens, which all so cleerely appeare in him, that except a manne will shut uppe his eyes and heart against the light, hee cannot but knowe him: and therefore for my part I will never give my consent to the receiving of him into this church of England. And you my lord, and the rest that sit here in commission, consider well and examine your owne consciences: you have sworne against him, you are learned, and can judge of the truth. I pray God you be not wilfully blinde. As for me, I have heerein discharged mine owne conscience towarde the world, and I will write also my mind⁷ to her grace, touching this matter.

“The bishop of Rome is contrarie to God, and injurious to his lawes: for God commanded all men to bee diligent in the knowledge of his law, and therefore hath appointed one holyday in the week in the least, for the people to come to the church and heare the word of God expounded unto them, and that they might the better understand it, to heare it in their mother tongue which they know. The pope doth contrarie; for he willed the service to be had in the Latine tongue, which they doe not understand. God would have it to be perceived: the pope will not. When the priest giveth thanks, God would that the people should doe so

⁶ *He can dispense.*] Compare Sanderson, *De juramenti obligatione*, Prælect. 7, sect. 3, p. 133—6.

⁷ *I will write also my mind.*] This letter, which is long and very valuable, may be found in Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 3—12, and in Cranmer's *Remains*, by Jenkyns, vol. i. p. 369.

too, and God will have them to confesse altogether:—the pope will not.

“Now as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine of the sacrament of the aaltar. For if it canne be proved by any doctor above a thousand yeares after Christ, that Christes bodie is there reallie, I will give over. My book was made seaven yeares agoe, and no man hath brought anye authors against it. I beleeve that who so eateth and drinketh that sacrament, Christ is within them, whole Christ, his nativitie, passion, resurrection and ascension, but not that corporaltie that sitteth in heaven.

“Now Christ commanded all to drinke of the cup: the pope taketh it away from the lay men, and yet one saith, that if Christ had dyed for the divell, that he should drinke thereof. Christ biddeth us to obey the king. The bishop of Rome biddeth us to obey *him*: therefore unlesse he bee antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore, if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ.

“Now I have declared why I cannot with my conscience obey the pope. I speake not this for hatred I beare to him that supplieth the roome, for I know him not. I pray God give him grace not to follow his ancestors. Neither say I this for my defence, but to declare my conscience for the zeale that I beare to Gods word trodden under foote by the bishop of Rome. I cast feare apart; for Christ saide to his apostles, that in the latter daies they should suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for his name sake: *feare them not* (saith he) *but feare him which when he hath killed the bodie, hath power to cast the soule into fire everlasting.* Also Christ saith: *That hee that will live shall die, and hee that loseth his life for my names sake, he shall finde it againe.* Moreover he said, *Confesse me before men, and be not affraide: if you doe so, I will stand with you: if you shrinke from me, I will shrinke from you.* This is a comfortable and a terrible saying, this maketh mee to set all feare apart. I say therefore the bishop of Rome treadeth under foote Gods lawes, and the kings. And therefore say I, that hee is neither true to God, neither to the king, that first received the pope. But I shall heartilie pray for such counsellours as may informe her the truth: for the king and queene if they be well informed, will do well.”

Mart. "As you understand then, if they maintaine the supremacie of Rome, they cannot maintaine England too."

Cran. "I require you, to declare to the king and queene what I have said, and how their othes do stand with the realme and the pope. S. Gregory saith, hee that taketh uppon him to be head of the universall church, is worse than the antichrist. If any man can shew me, that it is not against Gods word to holde his styrop when hee taketh his horse, and kisse his feete (as kings do) then will I kisse his feet also.

"And you for your part my lord are perjured, for now yee sit judge for the pope, and yet you did receive your bishopricke of the king^a. You have taken an othe to bee adversary to the realme: for the popes lawes are contrary to the lawes of the realme."

Glocester. "You were the cause that I did forsake the pope, and did sweare that he ought not to be supream heade, and gave it to king Henry the eight, that he ought to bee it, and this you made me to do."

Cranmer. "To this I answer," said hee, "you report mee ill, and say not the truth, and I will proove it here before you all. The truth is, that my predecessour bishoppe Wareham gave the supremacie^b to king Henry the eight, and said that he ought to

^a *Of the king.*] Professor Jenkyns has shown very successfully, that this paragraph with its context contains several erroneous statements. (Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. iv. p. 87. 8.) It is certain that Brokes was not *D.D.* till 1546, nor bishop till 1554, and that he could not therefore receive his bishopric "from the king" (Henry VIII.), but did so from queen Mary: neither was it possible, that "all this" which is told, was "in bishop Warham's time." Yet it is not only highly probable, but morally certain, that Brokes did twice swear to Henry's supremacy, and abjure that of the pope, namely in June 1545, when he took his *B.D.* degree, and in the same month of the following year, when he took that of *D.D.* For the Act 28 Hen. VIII. chap. x. § 6. requires that this shall be done "by all and every person which shall be promoted or preferred to any degree of learning in any university within this realm:" and to such testimonies of "consent," vouched also probably by his "hand," Cranmer might, not without reason, appeal. The errors perhaps need be attributed to no more serious cause than the imperfect hearing of the narrator, and a misunderstanding of the *order* of events, or to some blunder of the transcriber; and do not, I think, materially impugn the general fidelity of this narrative.

^b *Gave the supremacie.*] See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 725. This was on Feb. 11, 1530-1. The determinations of the universities, which did not

have it before the bishop of Rome, and that Gods word would beare him. And upon the same was there sent to both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would doe touching the supremacie, and it was reasoned upon, and argued at length. So at the last both universities agreed, and set to their seales, and sent it to king Henry the eight, to the court, that he ought to be supream head and not the pope. Whereupon you were then doctour of divinitie at that time, and your consent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appeare. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope; but it was your selfe. All this was in bishop Warehams time, and whilst he was alive, so that it was three quarters of a yeare after ere ever I had the bishopricke of Canturbury in my hands, and before I might doe anie thing. So that heere ye have reported of me, that which yee cannot proove, which is evill done." All this while his cap was on his head.

Gloc. "We come to examine you, and you, me think, examine us."

Doctor Stories Oration.

Story. "Pleaseth it your good lordship, because it hath pleased the king and queenes majesties to appoint my companion and me, to heare the examination of this man before your good lordship, to give me leave somewhat to talke in that behalfe. Although I know that in talke with heretikes there commeth hurt to all men, for it wearyeth the stedfast, troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in snare the weake and simple: yet because he saith he is not bound to answeere your lordship sitting for the popes holinesse, because of a *premunire*, and the word of God, as he tearmeth it, I thinke good somewhat to say, that all men may see how he runneth out of his race of reason into the rage of common talke, such as heere I trust hath done much good. And as the king and queenes majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him, so wil they be weary to heare the blundering of this stubborne heretike. And where he alledgeth divinitie, mingling *fas nefasque* together, he should not have beene

take place till the year 1534, are given in the same work, p. 771, and p. 775. Warham died August 23, 1532, and Cranmer was consecrated March 30, 1533.

heard. For shall it be sufficient for him to alledge, the judge is not competent? Doe we not see that in the common law it is not lawfull for a man in Westminster Hall to refuse his judge? And shall we dispute *contra eum qui negat principia*? Although there bee heere a great companie of learned men, that know it unmeete so to doe, yet have I heere a plaine canon, wherein he declareth himselfe convicted *ipso facto*. The canon is this, 'Sit ergo ruinæ suo dolore prostratus quisquis apostolicis voluerit contraire decretis, nec locum deinceps inter sacerdotes habeat, sed exors à sancto fiat ministerio, nec de eo ejus judicio quisquam posthac curam habeat, quin jam damnatus à sancta et apostolica ecclesia sua inobedientia ac præsumptione à quoquam esse non dubitetur. Quin majoris excommunicationis dejectione est abjiciendus, cui sanctæ ecclesiæ commissa fuerit disciplina, qui non solum jussionibus prefatæ sanctæ ecclesiæ parere debuit, sed etiam aliis ne præterirent insinuare. Sitque alienus a divinis et pontificalibus officiis, qui noluerit præceptis apostolicis obtemperare.'

"He hath alledged manie matters against the supremacie, but malitiously. Ye say that the king in this realme is supream head of the church. Well syr, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholike church, before any king was christned. Then if it were a perfect church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any king was member thereof: for you know Constantinus was the first christened king that ever was. And although you are bound (as saint Paule saith) to obey your rulers, and kings have rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have cure of soules; for *a fortiori*, the head may doe that the minister cannot doe: but the priest may consecrate and the king cannot, therefore the king is not head.

"It was licensed by Christ to every man to bring into the sheepefold, and to augment the flocke, but not to rule, for that was onelie given to Peter.

"And where the apostles doe call uppon men to obey their princes, *cui tributum, tributum, cui vectigal, vectigal*; they perceiving that men were bent to a kind of liberty and disobedience, were enforced to exhorte them to obedience and paiment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth onelie to temporall matters.

"And againe, where you say that the bishop of Rome maketh

lawes contrary to the lawes of the realme, that is not true, for this is a maxime in the lawe : *Quod in particulari excipitur, non facit universale falsum.*

“Now as touching that monstrous talke of your conscience, that is no conscience that ye professe ; it is but *privata scientia, electio* and *secta*. And as yet for all your glorious babble, you have not prooved by Gods lawes that ye ought not to answer the popes holinesse.

“The canons which be received of all Christendome compell you to answere, therefore you are bound so to do. And althogh this realme of late time, through such schismatiks as you were, have exiled and banished the canons, yet that cannot make for you. For you know your selfe, that *Par in parem, nec pars in totum aliquid statuere potest*. Wherefore this ile being in deed but a member of the whole, could not determine against the whole. That notwithstanding, the same lawes, being put away by a parliament, are now received againe by a parliament, and have as full authoritie now as they had then, and they will now that yee answere the popes holinesse : therefore by the lawes of this realme yee are bound to answere him. Wherefore my good lord, all that this Thomas Cranmer (I cannot otherwise tearme him considering his disobedience) hath brought for his defence, shall nothing prevaile with you nor take any effect. Require him therefore to answere directlie to your good lordshippe : commande him to set aside his trifles, and to bee obedient to the lawes and ordinances of this realme. Take witnesse heere of his stubborn contempt against the king and queenes majesties, and compel him to answere directlie to such articles, as wee shall heere lay against him, and in refusall, that your good lordship will excommunicate him.”

As soone as doctor Story had thus ended his tale, beginneth doctor Martin again to enter speech with the archbishop : which talke I thought heere likewise not to lette passe, althogh the report of the same be such, as the author thereof seemeth in his writing verye partiall : for as he expresseth the speech of doctor Martin at full, and to the uttermoste of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part, that either was or could bee saide more ; so againe on the other part, how rawe and weak he leaveth the matter, it is easie to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that doctour Cranmer againe answered for his defence, nor yet in those short speeces which he expresseth, seemeth to discharge the

part of a sincere and faithfull reporter. Notwithstanding such as it is, I thought good the reader to understand, who in perusing the same, may use therin his own judgment and consideration.

Talke between D. Martin and the archbishop.

“Maister Cranmer, ye have told here a long glorious tale pretending some matter of conscience in appearance, but in veritie you have no conscience at all. You say that you have sworne once to king Henry the eight against the popes jurisdiction, and therefore you may never forswear the same, and so ye make a great matter of conscience in the breach of the saide othe. Heere will I ask you a question or two. What if ye made an othe to an harlot to live with her in continuall adulterie, ought you to keepe it?”

Cran. “I thinke no.”

Mar. “What if you did sweare never to lend a poore man one penny, ought you to keepe it?”

Cran. “I thinke not.”

Martin. “Herod did sweare whatsoever his harlot asked of him hee would give her, and he gave her John Baptists head: did he well, in keeping his othe?”

Cran. “I thinke not.”

Martin. “Jepthe one of the judges of Israell did sweare unto God, that if he would give him victory over his enemies, he wold offer unto God the first soule that came forth of his house: it happened that his owne daughter came first, and he slue her to save his othe. Did he well?”

Cran. “I thinke not.”

Mart. “So saith S. Ambrose *de officiis*, it is a miserable necessitie, which is paid with parricide. Then master Cranmer, you can no lesse confesse by the premises but that you ought not to have conscience of every othe, but if it be just, lawfull, and advisedlie taken?”

Cran. “So was that othe.”

Mart. “That is not so; for first it was not just, for it tended to the taking away of another mans right, It was not lawfull, for the lawes of God and the church were against it. Besides, it was not voluntary, for every man and woman were compelled to take it?”

Cran. "It pleaseth you to say so."

Mart. "Let all the world be judge. But sir, you that pretend to have such a conscience to breake an oath, I pray you did you never sweare and breake the same?"

Cran. "I remember not."

Mart. "I will helpe your memorie. Did you never swear obedience to the sea of Rome?"

Cran. "Indeed I did once sweare unto the same."

Mart. "Yea that ye did twise, as appeareth by recordes and writings heere readie to be shewed."

Cran. "But, I remember I saved all by protestation¹ that I made by the counsaile of the best learned men I could get at that time."

Mart. "Hearken good people what this man saith. Hee made a protestation one day, to keepe never a whit of that which hee would sweare the next day: was this the part of a Christian man? If a Christian man would bargaine with a Turke, and before he maketh his bargaine solemnlie, before witnesse, readeth in his paper that he holdeth secretlie in his hand, or peradventure protesteth before one or two, that hee mindeth not to performe whatsoever hee shall promise to the Turke; I say, if a Christian man would serve a Turk in this maner, that the Christian man were worse than the Turke. What would you then say to this man that made a solemne othe and promise unto God and his church, and made a protestation before quite contrary?"

Cran. "That which I did, I did by the best learned mens advise I could get at that time."

Mart. "I protest before all the learned men heere, that there is no learning will save your perjury herein: for there bee two rules of the civill lawe cleane contrary against you," and so brought forth his rules, which being done, he proceeded further. "But will you have the truth of the matter? King Henrie the eight even then meant the lamentable change which after you see came to passe: and to further his pittifull proceedings from the divorcement of his most lawfull wife, to the detestable departing from the blessed unity of Christes church, this man made the foresaid protestation: and on the other side, he letted not to make two solemne oathes quite contrarye, and why? for otherwise by the

¹ *By protestation.*] Given in Strype's *Cranmer, Records*, No. v. book i. Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 757, &c. &c.

lawes and canons of this realme, hee could not aspire to the archbishopricke of Canturbury."

Cran. "I protest before you all, there was never man came more unwilling to a bishopricke, than I did to that. In so much that when king Henry did send for me in poste, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weekes at the least, thinking that he would be forgetfull of me in the meane time."

Mart. "You declare well by the way, that the king took you to be a man of good conscience, who could not finde within all his realme any man that would set forth his strange attempts, but was inforced to send for you in poste to come out of Germany. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact between you beeing then queene Annes chaplein, and the king: give me the archbishopricke of Canturburie, and I will give you licence to live in adulterie."

Cran. "You say not true."

Mart. "Let your protestation, joyned with the rest of your talke, give judgment. *Hinc prima mali labe*. Of that your execrable perjury, and his coloured and too shamefullie suffered adultery, came heresie and all mischief to this realme.

"And thus have I spoken as touching the conscience you make for breaking your hereticall othe made to the king. But to break your former othe made at two sundrie times both to God and his church, you have no conscience at all.

"And now to answer an other part of your oration, wherein you bring in Gods word, that you have it on your side and no man else, and that the pope hath devised a new scripture contrary to the Scriptures of God: yee play herein as the Pharisies did, which cryed alwaies, *Verbum Domini, verbum Domini*; 'the word of the Lord, the word of the Lord,' when they meant nothing so. This bettereth not your cause, because you say you have Gods word for you; for so Basilides and Photinus the hereticks said, that they had Gods word to maintaine their heresie. So Nestorius, so Macedonius, so Pelagius, and briefly, all the heretikes that ever were, pretended that they had Gods word for them; yea and so the divell being the father of heresies, alleadged Gods word for him, saying: *Scriptum est*, 'It is written:' So said he to Christ, *Mitte te deorsum*, 'Cast thy selfe downward,' which you applied most falsely against the pope. But if you marke the divels language well, it agreed with your proceedings most truly.

For *mitte te deorsum*, 'Cast thy selfe downward,' said hee, and so taught you to cast all things downeward. Down with the sacrament, downe with the masse, downe with the aultars, downe with the armes of Christ, and up with a lyon and a dog², downe with the abbeyes, downe with chauntreys, downe with hospitals and colledges, downe with fasting, and prayer, yea downe with all that good and godly is. All your proceedings and preachings tended to no other, but to fulfill the devils request, *Mitte te deorsum*. And therefore tell not us that you have Gods word. For God hath given us by his word, a marke to know that your teaching proceeded not of God, but of the divell, and that your doctrine

² *And a dog.*] Martin here refers to the taking down of the roods and rood-lofts in churches, and to the fixing up of the king's arms in their room, of which the supporters were, *temp.* Henry VIII. *a lion and a greyhound*. (Henry however changed these sometimes.) "The rood was an image of Christ upon the cross, made generally of wood, and placed on a *loft* made for that purpose, just over the passage out of the church into the chancel; out of this mystery, they say, that the church represents the church *militant*, and the chancel the church *triumphant*; and those which will pass out of the former into the latter, must go under the rood-loft, that is, they must go under the cross, and suffer affliction. This rood was not compleat without the images of the Virgin Mary and St. John, one of them standing on the one side, and the other on the other side of the image of Christ; in allusion to that of St. John in the gospel, *Jesus* (on the cross) *saw his mother*, and *the disciple standing by whom he loved*. These images were also sometimes placed without over the entrance into the church: but the places now wherever they stood before, are possessed and filled up generally with the *king's arms*. These holy roods were of great esteem, and many miracles pretended to have been done at, and by them." *Stavely's History of Churches in England*, p. 199. The removal of these images, which was occasioned by the manifold superstitions to which they were instrumental, gave great offence to the patrons of the old religion: and now, in the reign of queen Mary, when popery was in the midst of her drunken, unruly, and sanguinary triumph, her partizans did not scruple to set all truth and reason at defiance, by speaking of this salutary measure in such terms as the following: "If a man shuld entre into a churche whiche is as it were Goddes palaise in earth, and there plucke downe violentlye Christes owne image, and eyther breake it, or burne it, and *sette up the kinges armes in stede thereof*, because he *woulde make him a God* (as Caius the emperoure did in the holy temple of Hierusalem, where he caused his own image to be set up, and would be called a God, and that the temple there shulde be named the temple of the goodly newe Juppiter Caius), I beleeve, that no good christen man woulde judge hym to be Christes frende, but a wretched heretike, and an arrende traytoure both to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and also to hys blessed spouse the catholyke church." *Christopherson Against Rebellion*. Signat. U. 2. 1554.

came not of Christ, but of antichrist. For Christ foresaid, there should come against his church, ravening wolves, and false apostles. But how should wee know them? Christ teacheth us, saying, *By their fruites ye shall knowe them.* Why, what be their fruites? Saint Paule declareth, *After the flesh they walke in concupiscence, and uncleannesse; they contemne potestates.* Againe: *In the latter daies there shall be perillous times. Then shal there be men loving themselves, covetous, proude, disobedient to parents, treasonworkers.* Whether these be not the fruites of your gospell, I referre me to this worshipfull audience: whether the said gospell beganne not with perjurie, proceeded with adulterie, was maintained with heresie, and ended in conspiracy.

"Now sir, two points more I marked in your raging discourse that you made heere: the one against the holie sacrament; the other against the popes jurisdiction, and the authoritie of the sea apostolicke.

"Touching the first, ye say you have Gods word with you, yea and all the doctors. I would heere aske but one question of you: whether Gods word be contrary to it selfe, and whether the doctors teach doctrine contrary to themselves, or no? For you master Cranmer, have taught in this high sacrament of the aultar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one, *verbum Domini.*"

Cran. "Nay, I taught but two contrarye doctrines³ in the same."

Mart. "What doctrine taught you when you condemned Lambert the sacramentary in the kings presence in Whitehall?"

Cran. "I maintained then the papists doctrine."

³ *Two contrarye doctrines.*] Upon no better authority than the calumnies of his adversaries, and the slight presumptions arising from his early familiarity with Germans, and his translating the Latin catechism of Justus Jonas, it has been affirmed by the protestant historians, Fox, p. 1115, Burnet, vol. i. p. 241, &c., Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 123, 396, &c. from whose hands the same error has been received by very many modern writers, that Cranmer once maintained the Lutheran doctrine of the sacrament.

It is fit I should now state (A. D. 1838), that since the above note was written, the question of Cranmer's Lutheranism has been largely considered by professor Jenkyns in his edition of Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. i. p. lxxiv—lxxvi. and vol. iv. 95—7, and that he inclines strongly to the opinion that, at one time, Cranmer *did* hold the Lutheran sentiments: the subject is treated with the ability and learning which might be expected from the excellent writer. Still, I am obliged to confess, that, for myself, I am not convinced.

Mart. "That is to say, the catholike and universall doctrine of Christs church. And how when king Henry died? did you not translate Justus Jonas booke?"

Cran. "I did so⁴."

Mart. "Then there you defended another doctrine touching the sacrament, by the same token, that you sent to Lynne your printer, that whereas in the first print there was an affirmative, that is to say, Christs bodie really in the sacrament, you sent then to your printer to put in a *not*, wherby it came miraculously to passe, that Christs bodie was cleane conveyed out of the sacrament."

Cran. "I remember there was two printers of my said booke, but where the same *not* was put in, I cannot tell."

Mart. "Then from a Lutherane, ye became a Swinglian⁵, which is the vilest heresie of all in the high misterie of the sacrament, and for the same heresie you did helpe to burne Lambert the sacramentary, which you now call the catholike faith, and God's word."

Cran. "I grant that then I beleaved otherwise than I doe now, and so I did, untill my lord of London, doctor Ridley, did conferre with mee, and by sundry perswasions and authorities of doctors drew me quite from my opinion."

Mart. "Now sir as touching the last part of your oration, you denied that the pope's holinesse was supreme head of the church of Christ."

⁴ *I did so.*] See p. 20, note.

⁵ *Swinglian.*] Zuinglian. Barlow, in his *Dialogue against the Lutheran Faction*, thus defines their various opinions on the sacrament. "After this fell a dissention betwene Martin Luther and Carolostadius [A. R. Bodenstein], aboute the sacramente of the aulter. For Carolostadius denyeth in it the bodelye presence of Christe, affirmynge that when he spake these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, he ment them of his owne corporall bodye, and not of the sacrament: whereas M. Luther holdeth the contrarye." Signat. C. 6. b. Again, speaking of Carolostadius and Zuinglius, he tells us, that they agreed in their doctrine of the Eucharist, "savynge in this poynte they differed; whereas Carolostadius sayd that our Saveour Chreyst spekyng these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, meanted his corporall presence there syttinge with his disciples at the table, and not in forme of bread; Zuinglius affirmed that they were not to be understood lytterallye, but by a figure of interpretation, so that *est* was taken for *significat*, and these wordes of Chryste, *thys is my bodye*, were as muche to saye, as, This *signifyeth* my bodye." Signat. C. 8. These extracts will be valued as illustrative of the literary history of these much celebrated interpretations.

Cran. "I did so."

Mart. "Who say you then is supream head?"

Cran. "Christ."

Mart. "But whome hath Christ left heere in earth his vicar and head of his church?"

Cran. "No bodie."

Mart. "Ah, why tolde you not king Henry this when you made him supream head? and now no body is. This is treason against his owne person, as you then made him."

Cran. "I meane not but every king in his owne realme and dominion is supream head, and so was hee supream head of the church of Christ in England."

Mart. "Is this alwaies true? and was it ever so in Christs church?"

Cran. "It was."

Mart. "Then what say you by Nero? he was the mightiest prince of the earth after Christe was ascended: was he head of Christs church?"

Cran. "Nero was Peter's head."

Mart. "I aske whether Nero was head of the church or no? if he were not, it is false that you said before, that all princes be, and ever were heads of the church within their realmes."

Cran. "Nay, it is true; for Nero was head of the church, that is, in worldlie respect of the temporall bodies of men, of whome the church consisteth: for so hee beheaded Peter and the apostles. And the Turke too is head of the church in Turkey."

Mart. "Then he that beheaded the heads of the church, and crucified the apostles, was head of Christs church; and he that was never member of the church, is head of the church, by your new found understanding of Gods word."

It is not to be supposed contrary, but much other matter passed in this communication between them, especially on the archbishops behalfe, whose answers I doe not thinke to bee so slender, nor altogether in the same forme of words framed, if the truth, as it was, might be knowne: but so it pleased the notary thereof, being too much partiallie addicted to his mother sea of Rome in favour of his faction, to diminish and drive downe the other side, either in not shewing all, or in reporting the thing otherwise than it was: as the common guise is of moste writers, to what side

their affection moste wayeth, their oration commonlie inclineth.—
But let us proceede further in the story of this matter.

“It followed then (saith this reporter) when the archbishophe thus had answered, and the standers by began to murmure against him, the judges not content with his answeres, willed him to answer directly to the interrogatories: which interrogatories articulated against him in forme of lawe, were these under following.”

Interrogatories objected to the archbishop, with his answers annexed to the same.

1. First was objected, that he the foresaid Thomas Cranmer, being yet free, and before he entred into holie orders, married one Joane surnamed blacke or browne, dwelling at the signe of the Dolphin in Cambridge.

Answered. Whereunto he answered, that whether she was called black or browne, he knew not, but that he married there one Joane, that he granted.

2. That after the death of the foresaid wife, hee entered into holy orders, and after that was made archbishophe by the pope.

Answer. He received (he said) a certaine bull of the pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was archbishop by him.

3. Item, that hee being in holy orders, married an other woman as his second wife, named Anne^e, and so was twice married.

Answer. To this he granted.

4. Item, in the time of king Henry the eight, he kept the said wife secretlie, and had children by her.

Answer. Heereunto hee also granted: affirming that it was better for him to have his owne, than to doe like other priestes, holding and keeping other mens wives.

5. Item, in the time of king Edward, he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publikelie the same to bee his wife.

Answer. He denied not but he so did, and lawfully might doe the same, for as much as the lawes of the realme did so permit him.

6. Item, that he shamed not openlie to glorie himselfe to have had his wife in secret manie yeares.

^e Anne.] Niece of Osiander, see p. 171.

Ans. And though he so did (he said) there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

7. Item, that the said Thomas Cranmer falling afterward into the deepe bottome of errours, did fly and recuse the authority of the church, did hold and follow the heresie concerning the sacrament of the aaltar, and also did compile, and caused to bee set abroad divers bookes.

Auns. Whereunto when the names of the bookes were recited to him, he denied not such bookes which he was the true author of. As touching the treatise⁷ of Peter Martyr, upon the sacrament, hee denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and well like of the same. As for the catechisme, the booke of articles, with the other book against Winchester, hee granted the same to bee his doings⁸.

8. Item, That he compelled many against their willes to subscribe to the same articles.

Ans. He exhorted (he said) such as were willing to subscribe: but against their willes he compelled none.

9. Item, for so much as hee surceased not to perpetrate enorme and inordinate crimes, hee was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the parliament there should be holden.

Auns. To this he said, that hee knew no such enorme and inordinate crimes, that ever he committed.

10. Item, that in the said citie of Oxford, he did openly maintaine his heresie, and there was convicted upon the same.

Ans. Hee defended (he said) there the cause of the sacrament, but to be convicted in the same that he denied.

⁷ *The treatise.*] See p. 194, note.

⁸ *His doings.*] Upon this interrogatory it is material to insert the precise words which were reported to the cardinal *de Puteo* (see p. 256, n. *infra*) by bishop Brookes in his official dispatch forwarded to Rome.

“Ad septimum fatetur se edidisse librum in hac parte exhibitum, et in articulo mentionatum, vocatum, *A Defence of the true and Catholyke Feithe*, &c. et negat se edidisse librum in eodem articulo etiam mentionatum, vocatum, *A Discourse of Peter Martir*, &c. et quoad tertium librum, vocatum, *A Discourse of the Lordes Supper*, &c. negat se illum edidisse, tamen credit quod hujusmodi liber est bonus et catholicus: et quoad catechismum et articulos in eodem fatetur se adhibuisse ejus consilium circa editionem ejusdem; et quoad librum vocatum, *An Answer of the moste Reverende Father in God*, &c. fatetur se edidisse illam partem ejusdem libri quæ continet ejus responsa ad librum editum per reverendum patrem Wintoniensem episcopum.” Lambeth MSS. No. 1136, p. 7.

11. Item, when he persevered still in the same, hee was by the publike censure of the university, pronounced an heretike, and his books to be hereticall.

Auns. That he was so denounced, hee denyed not: but that hee was an heretike, or his bookes hereticall, that he denyed.

12. Item, that hee was and is notoriously infamed with the note of schisme, as who not onlie himselfe receded from the catholike church and sea of Rome, but also mooved the king and subjects of this realme to the same.

Ans. As touching the receding, that hee well granted: but that receding or departing (said he) was onlie from the sea of Rome, and had in it no matter of any schisme.

13. Item, that he had beene twice sworne to the pope: and withall doctor Martin brought out the instrument of the publike notary, wherein was contained his protestation made when he should bee consecrated, asking if hee had anie thing else protested.

Auns. Whereunto he answered, that he did nothing but by the lawes of the realme.

14. Item, that hee the said archbishop of Canturbury did not onelie offend in the premisses, but also in taking upon him the authoritie of the sea of Rome, in that without leave or licence from the said sea, hee consecrated bishops and priests.

Auns. He granted, that hee did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the publike lawes and determination of the realme.

15. Item, that when the whole realme had subscribed to the authority of the pope, he onely still persisteth in his errour.

Auns. That he did not admit the popes authority, hee confessed to be true. But that he erred in the same, that he denyed.

16. Item, that all and singular the premisses be true.

Auns. That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had now answered.

Thus they proceeded to examine him of these divers articles, whereof the chiefe was: That at the time of his creating archbishop of Canturbury, he was sworne to the pope, and had his institution and induction from him, and promised to maintain then the authoritie of that see, and therefore was perjured: wherefore he should rather sticke to his first othe, and returne to his olde folde againe, then to continue obstinately in an othe forced in the time of schisme.

To that he answered, saving his protestation (which tearme he used before all his answeres) that at such time as archbishop Warham died, he was ambassador in Germanie for the king, who sent for him thereupon home, and having intelligence by some of his friendes (who were neare about the king) how hee meant to bestow the same bishopricke upon him, and therefore counselled him in that case to make haste home, hee feeling in himselfe a great inability to such a promotion, and very sorie to leave his study, and especially considering by what meanes he must have it, which was cleane against his conscience, which he could not utter without great perill and danger, devised an excuse to the king of matter of great importance, for the which his longer abode there should be most necessarie, thinking by that means in his absence, that the king would have bestowed it upon some other, and so remained there by that devise, one halfe yeare after the king had written for him to come home. But after that no such matter fell out, as hee seemed to make suspicion of, the king sent for him againe. Who after his returne, understanding still the archbishopricke to be reserved for him, made meanes by divers of his best friendes, to shift it off, desiring rather some smaller living, that he might more quietly follow his booke.

To be brieve, when the king himself spake with him, declaring his full intention, for his service sake, and for the good opinion he conceived of him, was to bestowe that dignitie upon him, after long disabling of himselfe, perceiving hee could by no perswasions alter the kings determination, he brake frankly his conscience with him, most humbly craving first his graces pardon, for that he should declare unto his highnes. Which obtained, he declared, that if he accepted the office, then he must receive it at the popes hand, which he neither would nor could doe, for that his highnesse was onely the supreame governour of this church of England, as well in causes ecclesiasticall as temporall, and that the full right and donation of all maner of bishopricks and benefices, as well as of any other temporall dignities, and promotions, appertained to his grace, and not to any other forraine authority, whatsoever it was, and therefore if he might serve God in that vocation, him, and his country, seeing it was his pleasure so to have it, he would accept it, and receive it of his majestie, and of none other stranger, who had no authoritie within this realme, neither in any such gift, nor in any other thing. "Whereat the king," said he, "staying a while and

musings, asked me how I was able to proove it. At which time I alledged many textes out of the Scriptures, and the Fathers also, approving the supreme and highest authority of kings in their realms and dominions, disclosing therewithall the intolerable usurpation of the pope of Rome."

"Afterwards it pleased his highnes" (quoth the archbishop) "many and sundry times to talke with me of it, and perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, the king himselfe called doctor Oliver, and other civill lawyers, and devised with them how he might bestow it upon me, inforcing me nothing against my conscience. Who thereupon informed him, that I might doe it by the way of protestation, and so one to be sent to Rome, who might take the othe, and doe every thing in my name. Which when I understood, I sayd, he should doe it *Super animam suam*: and I indeed *bonâ fide* made my protestation, that I did not acknowledge his authoritie anie further, then as it agreeede with the expresse word of God, and that it might bee lawfull for mee at all times to speake against him, and to impugne his errours, when time and occasion should serve mee. And this my protestation did I cause to bee inrolled, and there I thinke it remaineth."

Then both the doctors⁹ confessed it to be true that his protestation was enrolled, but said it was a mere fraud of him. Then the bishop Cranmer asked them what he could do more in the case, who thereunto made him no answer at all. Many marvelled at this declaration of his, that so long ago, in so perillous a time, he had so sincerely proceeded; and that even then, when he most might have advanced himself to honour and rule, which things chiefly men desire in this world, he chose rather to venture the loss of his life and all this glorious pomp, than to do any thing, for ambition sake, that might once spot and distain his conscience. They charged him further, that he had conspired with the duke of Northumberland for the disinheriting of the queen. Whereunto he made answer as is contained in his letter written unto the queen.

They objected to him also that he was married¹: which he con-

⁹ *Both the doctors.*] I gladly avail myself of the example of professor Jenkyns (Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. iv. p. 116), to restore here an important paragraph, which he obtained from Fox's 1st edit. A.D. 1563.

¹ *That he was married.*] "Nowe yf Boniface archbishop of Canterburie had

fessed. Whereupon doctor Martin said, that his children were bondmen to the see of Canturbury. At which saying the archbishop smiled, and asked him if a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her bastards, whether they were bondmen to the benefice or no, saying, "I trust you will make my childrens causes no worse."

After this doctor Martine demanded of him who was supream head of the church of England? "Mary," quoth my lord of Canturburie, "Christ is head of this member, as hee is of the whole body of the universal church." "Why," quoth doctor Martin, "you made king Henry the eight supreme head of the church." "Yea," said the archbishop, "of all the people of England, as well ecclesiasticall, as temporall." "And not of the church," sayde Martin? "No," said he, "for Christ is onely head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The king is head and governour of his people, which are the visible church." "What," quoth Martin, "you never durst tell the king so." "Yes, that I durst," quoth hee, "and did, and in the publication of his stile, wherein hee was named supream head of the church, there was never other thing meant." A number of other fonde and foolish objections were made, with repetition wherof I thought not to trouble the reader.

After he had thus answered to the objections aforesaid, and the publike notary had entred the same, the judges and commissioners, as having now accomplished that wherefore they came, were about to rise and depart: but the bishop of Glocester, thinking it not the best so to dismisse the people, being somewhat stirred with the words of the archbishop, began in his oration in the hearing of the people, thus to declaime.

The oration of bishop Brookes, in closing up this examination against doctor Cranmer archbishop of Canturbury.

"Master Cranmer (I cannot otherwise tearme you, consider a wyfe; Richarde bishop of Chichester had a wyfe; yf Galfride bishop of Ely was avouched before the pope hymselfe to have maryed a wife; yf Robert of Lincolne had his sonne, besydes other that stories make mention of since the conquest: as of archdeacons and priestes, munkes and nunnes, by the popes dispensations, innumerable; howe unadvised be they which write checkyngly, that of all the bishoppes that ever were in Englande, none were maryed before Cranmer? Is nothyng to be proved by storie true, but such as they list to agree unto, or have read?" Archbishop Parker in *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, p. 334, 5.

ing your obstinacie) I am right sorrie, I am right hartily sory to heare such words escape your mouth so unadviselie. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I supposed that this obstinacie of yours came not of a vaine-glorie, but rather of a corrupt conscience, which was the occasion that I hoped so well of your returne. But now I perceive by your foolish babble, that it is farre otherwise. Ye are so puffed up with vain-glorie, there is such a *cauteria* of heresie crept into your conscience, that I am cleane voide of hope, and my hope is turned into perdition. Who can save *that* will bee lost? God would have you to be saved, and you refuse it. *Thy perdition is onelie upon thy selfe, O Israel: onelie in me is thy salvation*, saith the Lord by his prophet. You have uttered so erroneous talke, with such open malice against the popes holinesse, with such open lying against the church of Rome, with such open blasphemy against the sacrament of the altar, that no mouth could have expressed more malitiously, more lyingly, more blasphemously.

“To reason with you, although I would of my selfe to satisfie this audience, yet may I not by our commission, neither can I finde how I may doe it with the Scriptures: for the apostle doth command that such a one should not onelie not be talked withall, but also shunned and avoided, saying, *An hereticall person after once or twice conferring, shunne, knowing that he is perverse and sinneth, being of his owne judgement condemned*. Ye have beene conferred withall not once or twice, but oftentimes; yee have oft beene lovinglie admonished, yee have beene oft secretly disputed with. And the last yeare in the open schoole, in open disputations, ye have been openly convict, ye have beene openly driven out of the schoole with hisses. Your booke which ye brag you made seven yeares ago, and no man answered it, Marcus Antonius² hath sufficientlie detected and confuted, and yet yee persist still in your wonted heresie.

“Wherefore being so oft admonished, conferred withall, and convicted, if ye deny you to be the man whome the apostle noteth, heare then what Origen saith, who wrote above 1300 yeares agoe: and interpreteth the saying of the apostle in this wise (*in Apologia Pamphili*³), *Hæreticus est omnis ille habendus, qui Christo se credere*

² *Marcus Antonius*.] Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. See Jenkins' *Cranmer*, pref. p. xcvi. and vol. iii. p. 25. See also pp. 26, 193, of this volume.

³ *In Apologia Pamphili*.] Pamphilus of Berytus, who was martyred in the

profitetur, et aliter de Christi veritate sentit quam se habet ecclesiastica traditio. Even now ye professed a kind of Christianitie and holines unto us, for at your beginning you fell downe upon your knees, and sayde the Lords prayer (God wote like an hypocrite) and then standing uppon your feete, you rehearsed the articles of your faith; but to what ende I pray you else, but to cloke that inwarde heresie rooted in you, that you might blinde the poore, simple, and unlearned peoples eyes? For what will they say or thinke, if they doe not thus say? Good Lord, what meaneth these men to say that he is an heretike: they are deceived, this is a good Christian, hee beleeveth as we beleeve.

“But is this sufficient to escape the name of an heretike? To the simple and unlearned it is sufficient, but for you that have professed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to recite your beleefe. For unlesse (as Origen saith) yee beleeve all things that the church hath decreede besides, you are no Christian man. In the which because you doe halte and will come to no conformitie; from hence-forth ye are to bee taken for an hereticke, with whome we ought neither to dispute, neither to reason, whome wee ought rather to eschewe and avoide.

“Nevertheless, although I doe not intend to reason with you, but to give you up as an abject and outcast from Gods favour, yet because ye have uttered to the annoying of the people, such pestilent heresies as may doe harme among some rude and unlearned, I thinke meet and not *abs re*, somewhat to say herein: not because I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wish, but that I may establish the simple people which be here present, least they being seduced by your diabolicall doctrine, may perish thereby.

“And first, (as it behooveth every man to purge himselfe first before he enter with any other,) where you accuse me of an othe made against the bishop of Rome, I confesse it, and deny it not, and therefore doe say with the rest of this realme, good and catholike men, the saying of the prophet, *We have sinned with our fathers: we have done unjustly, and wickedly. The sinnes of my*

year 307, wrote an Apology for Origen in five books, to which Eusebius added a sixth. Nothing remains beyond a Latin version by Rufinus of the first book, printed with some editions of Origen and also of St. Jerome, and a few fragments of the other books preserved by Photius.

youth, and my ignorances, O Lord doe not remember. I was then a yong man, and as yong a scholler here in the universitie.

"I knew not then what an othe did meane, and yet to saie the truth, I didde it compulsed; compulsed I say by you maister Cranmer, and here were you the author and cause of my perjurie: you are to be blained herein, and not I. Now where you say I made two othes, the one contrary to the other, it is not so, for the othe I made to the popes holinesse, appertaineth only to spirituall things. The other othe that I made to the king, pertaineth onely to temporall thinges: that is to say, that I doe acknowledge all my temporall livinges to proceede onely from the king and from none else. But all men may see, as you agree in this, so ye agree in the rest of your opinions.

"Now sir, as concerning the supremacie which is onelie due to the see of Rome, a word or two. Although there be a number of places which doe confirme that Christ appointed Peter head of the church, yet this is a most evident place. When Christ demanded of his apostles whom men called him; they aunswered, *some Elias, some a prophet, &c.* But Christ replied unto Peter, and saide: *Whom sayest thou Peter that I am?* Peter answered, *Tu es Christus filius Dei*, and Christ replied, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam.* The doctors interpreting this place, *super hanc petram*, expounded it, *id est, non solum super fidem Petri, sed super te, Petre.* And why did Christ change his name from Simon to Peter, which in Latine is a stone, but onely to declare that hee was onely the foundation and head of the church?

"Againe, where Christ demanded of Peter being amongst the rest of his apostles, three times a rew⁴. *Petre amas me*, he gave him charge over his sheep, *Pasce oves meas*⁵, *pasce agnos meos.* Which place Chrysostome interpreting saith, *Pasce, hoc est, loco mei esto præpositus et caput fratrum tuorum.* To conclude, when they came that required didrachma of Christ, hee commanded Peter to cast his net into the sea, and to take out of the fishes mouth that he tooke, *stateram, hoc est, duplex didrachma, et da inquit pro te, et me, Petre.* Which words do signifie, that when he had payed for them two, hee had payd for all the rest. For as

⁴ Three times a rew.] "Rew vel row, series." Junius in v.

⁵ *Pasce oves meas.*] See Casaubon's dedication of his *Exercitationes contra Baronium.* *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. pp. 58—60.

in the olde lawe there were appointed two heads over the people of Israel, Moyses, and Aaron, Moyses as chief, and Aaron next head under him : so in the new law there were two heads of the church, which were Christ and Peter. Christ is head of all, and Peter next under him. Our saviour Christ (saith saint Augustine) commanding the tribute to be given for him and for Peter, meant thereby the same to be given for all other, for hee appointed him to bee head of them.—What can be more plaine then this ? But I will not tarry upon this matter.

“ Now, as touching the popes lawes, where you say, they be contrary, because the service which should bee (as you say) in English, is in Latine : I answere, whosoever will take the paines to peruse the chapter, which is the 14. of the first to the Corinthians, shall finde, that this meaning is concerning preaching ⁶, and *obiter* onely of praying.

“ Againe, where you say, that the popes holinesse doeth take away one part of the sacrament from the laie men, and Christ would have it under both, ye can say no more but this, *Drink ye al of this* : and what followeth, *And all dranke thereof*. Now if a man would be so proterve with you, hee might say that Christ gave it onlie to his apostles, in whose places succeeded priestes, and not laie men.

“ And admit that Christ commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the church hath authoritie to change that, aswell as other. Yee read, that Christ calling his apostles together, said unto them, *Goe and preach the gospel to every nation, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost*. But the apostles being desirous to publish Christs name every where, did baptize onely in Christs name. Againe, Christ before his last supper washed his apostles feete, saying, *If I have washed your feet being your lord and master, also you ought to wash the feet*

⁶ *Concerning preaching.*] In his letter to the queen, Cranmer fully and satisfactorily disproves this pretence of bishop Brookes ; where after showing that S. Paul speaks not of preaching only, but of praying, singing, praising, and thanksgiving to God, and all other things which the priests say in the churches, whereunto the people say *amen* ; he remarks of the interpretation which he maintained, that “ thus was S. Paule understood of all interpre-tours, both the Greekes and Latins, old and new, schoole authors and others, that I have red, until about thirty yeares past, at which time one *Eckius*, with other of his sort, began to devise a new exposition, understanding S. Paule of *preaching* onely.” Fox’s *Acts*, p. 1715, and *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 6.

one of another. I have given you example. This was a precept, yet hath the church altered it, least the simple people should not think a rebaptization in it. So because saith the apostle, *I have received of the lord the same which I have delivered to you, that our lord the same night in which he was betrayed, &c.* Notwithstanding that this was a precept that the sacrament should bee ministered after supper, the church hath altered it, and commanded it to bee received fasting. And where Christ did breake the bread, wee receive the whole hoste. Christ ministred sitting at the table, we standing at the altar.

“ It was also commanded in the xv. of the Acts that Christian men should abstaine *From strangled and bloud.* But the church perceiving it to bee a precept but for a time, hath altered it. Christ commaunded to keepe holy the Sabbath day, and the church hath altered it to Sunday. If then the church may change things that bee so expressed in the Scriptures, she may also change the form of receiving of lay men under both kindes, for divers occasions.

“ First, because in carrying to the sicke, the bloud may not bee shed, lost, or misused.

“ And next, that no occasion might be given to heretickes to thinke that there is not so much under one kinde, as under both.

“ But why would you have it under both kindes, I pray you else, but onely to pervert and contrary the commandement of the church? For when you had it under both kindes, you beleevved in neither. And wee having but one, belceve both kindes.—Now sir, as concerning the sacrament of the altar, where you say, you have a number of doctors of your side, and wee none of our side, that is to say, to confirme the reall presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, indeede one to stoppe your mouth, I thinke it not possible to finde. Neverthelesse, where your request is to have one shewed unto you, and then you wil recant, I will shew you two.

“ Saint Augustine *super 33. psalm. Ferebatur manibus suis*: I finde not how this is true in David (saith he) litterally, that he was borne in his owne hands, but in Christ I finde it litterally, when he gave his body to his apostles at his last supper.

“ Againe, saint Cyprian *De Cena Domini*, sayth: *Panis quem Dominus noster discipulis suis porrigebat, non effigie, sed natura*

⁷ *Saint Cyprian.*] See Ridley's examination, p. 22.

mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro. What can be more plaine then this? yet to our exposition it is not plaine enough. But give me your figurative, significative and such other like tearms, and I will defend that Christ hath not yet ascended: no nor yet that he was incarnate, &c. Wherefore I can doe no other but put you in the number of them, whome Chrysostome spake of in this wise, saying, Hear, O thou Christian man: wilt thou doe more then Christ could doe? Christ confuted the Pharisees, yet could hee not put them to silence. And art thou stronger then Christ? Wilt thou goe about to bring them to silence that will receive no answer? as who should say, thou canst not.—Thus much have I sayd, not for you maister Cranmer, for my hope that I conceived of you, is now gone and past, but in somewhat to satisfie the rude and unlearned people, that they perceiving your arrogant lying and lying arrogancie, may the better eschewe your detestable and abhominable schisme.”

And thus ended the prelate his worshipfull tale. After whom doctor Storie taketh the matter, and thus inferreth in words, as followeth.

“ Master Cranmer, you have made a goodly processe concerning your hereticall othe made to the king, but you forget your othe made to the see apostolicke. As concerning your othe made to the king, if you made it to him onely, it tooke an ende by his death, and so it is released: if you made it to his successors, well sir, the true successors have the empyre, and they will you to dissolve the same*, and become a member of Christes church againe, and it standeth well with charity.”

To this the archbishop answered againe, saith the reporter :

* *To dissolve the same.*] “ In juramento promissorium: sed et Deo, quatenus est *juramentum*. Ergo dato sed non concesso, praelatum habere potestatem tollendi obligationem, qua homo obligatur homini respectu promissionis, præsumptio tamen non esset ferenda si terra et cinis assumerat sibi potestatem tollendi auctoritate sua obligationem, qua homo obligatur Deo, ut testi et vindici. Denique, quia dispensatio humana res est *fori externi*: obligatio vero *juramenti* est intus in conscientia, quæ uni Deo subest ut judici, et in quam homo non habet imperium: quisquis ergo vendicat sibi jus dispensandi in juramento, assumit sibi *potestatem divinam* erigendo sibi tribunal in *foro interno*, et exercendo dominium in hominum conscientias: et est ipsa dispensatio invalida, et de jure nulla: sicut sententia prolata a iudice in *foro non suo*, quia prolata est a non iudice, est ad omnem juris effectum invalida.” Sanderson, *De Juramenti obligatione*. Prælect. vii. sect. 3. p. 135.

but what his answer was, that he suppresseth, and returneth to the words of D. Story, who imperiously turning his speech againe to the archbishop, sayd as followeth.

“ Hold your peace sir, and so it shall right well become you, considering that I gave you licence before, to say your phansie. Your othe was no othe, for it lacked the three points of an othe, that is to say, *judicium, justitiam, et veritatem*.”

These with the like words to the same effect being uttered by doctor Story, seeking to breake up and make an end of that session, he eftsoones called for witnesses to bee producted, who should be sworne upon the booke, to utter and declare the nexte day, whatsoever they knew, or could remember to bee inferred against doctor Cranmers heresie. The names of the witnesses were these.

Doct. Marshal⁹, commissary, and dean of Christs church.

Doct. Smith¹, under commissary.

Doct. Tresham².

Doct. Crooke³.

M. London⁴.

M. Curtop⁵.

M. Warde⁶.

M. Serles⁷.

After the depositions⁸ of which witnesses being taken, doctor

⁹ *Marshal.*] Richard Marshall, D.D. See Archdeacon Todd's *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 455.

¹ *Smith.*] Richard Smith. See vol. ii. p. 567, and Todd's *Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 454.

² *Tresham.*] Wm. Tresham. See vol. ii. p. 551.

³ *Crooke.*] Richard Croke. See vol. ii. p. 553.

⁴ *London.*] George London, B.D. of Gloucester Hall, Oxford. See Todd's *Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 453.

⁵ *Curtop.*] See vol. ii. p. 568. James Curthop, dean of Peterborough. See Tanner's *Bibl.* p. 214, and Todd's *Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 452.

⁶ *Warde.*] Robert Ward, fellow of Merton Coll. See Tanner's *Bibl.* p. 754.

⁷ *Serles.*] Robert Serles, B.D. See Todd's *Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 450.

⁸ *After the depositions.*] “ I know not what the depositions of these witnesses were, given in against him the next day. For Fox relates nothing thereof, nor any other as I know of.” Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 373. It will be gratifying to those who feel an interest in the ecclesiastical

Story admonished the archbishop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the said witnesses to bee refused. Who then would admit none of them all, being men perjured, and not in Christian religion. For if to sweare, said he, against the pope were unlawfull, they should rather have given their lives, then their othe. But if it were lawfull, then are they perjured, to defend him whom they forswore before. Nevertheless, this answer of the archbishop being lightly regarded, as little to the purpose appertaining, hee was commanded againe to the place from whence he came. Who at his departing out, like as at his first comming in, shewed lowe obedience to doctor Martin, and to doctor Storie, the queenes commissioners. Then doctor Story pointing him to the bishop of Glocester, said, that he ought rather to give reverence unto him. So the reverend archbishop departing without anie obeysance exhibited to the bishop, all the other rose up and departed everie one to his owne. And thus brake uppe the session for that day, about two of the clocke at after-noone.

And thus much hitherto concerning the summary effect of this action or session, with the orations, discourses, and articles commenced against the archbishop of Canturburie, also with the reasons and answeres of the said archbishop to their objections and interrogatories.

Thus after they had received his answeres to all their objections, they cited him^a to appeare at Rome within fourescore

history of their country, to be informed that these depositions are still preserved in a MS. (No. 1136) extant in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. The MS. which has been already more than once referred to above, is bishop Brookes's official report of the whole of this process, transmitted to the cardinal *De Puteo*, (see p. 256, n.) to whom the care of this action against Cranmer had been deputed by the pope, and whose sub-delegate Brookes was.

Since the above note was written, the MS. has been printed entire in the Oxford edition of Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, A.D. 1812. 8vo.

^a *They cited him.*] Not so. But the citation to Rome took place on Saturday, Sept. 7, 1555, before the commencement of this process. See Cranmer's *Letter to the Queen*, subjoined to the second edition of Cranmer's *Answer to Gardiner*, p. 420. Fox, *Martyrs' Letters*, &c. Fox is followed in this mistake by Strype, Burnet, &c. Again: it is not true, that the pope's letters to degrade and deprive Cranmer were dispatched within twenty days after the day of his citation. On the 29th of November, by which time the eighty days were expired, the cardinal *de Puteo* (see p. 256, n.) in consistory moved his complaints against the archbishop, in consequence of which, at another meeting, holden Dec. 4th, he was sentenced to be excommunicated

daies, to make there his personall answeres: which he said, if the king and queene would send him, hee would bee content to doe, and so thence was caried to prison againe, where he continually remained, notwithstanding that hee was commanded to appeare at Rome.

Wherein all men that have eyes to see, may easily perceive the craftie practise of these prelates, and the visored face of their justice, as though the court of Rome would condemne no man before he answered for himselfe, as all law and equity required. But the very same instant time, the holinesse of that unholy father, contrary to all reason and justice, sent his letter executory unto the king and queene to degrade and deprive him of his dignity: which thing hee did not onely before the eighty dayes were ended, but before there were twentie dayes spent. Furthermore, whereas the sayde archbishop was fast detained in streit prison, so that hee could not appeare (as was notorious both in England and also in the Romish court) and therefore had a lawfull and most just excuse of his absence by all lawes, both popish and other; yet in the ende of the saide fourscore daies, was that worthy martyr decreed *contumaz*, that is, sturdily, frowardly, and wilfully absent, and in paine of the same his absence, condemned and put to death¹.

and deprived. And on the eleventh the administration of the see of Canterbury, now vacant by the deprivation, &c. was conferred on cardinal Pole. See *Poli Epist.* vol. v. p. 139—143. *Raynaldi Annales Ecclesiast.*, tom. xxi. p. 126, and *Fox's Acts*, p. 1930.

¹ *Put to death.*] "It were long to shew in particular" (says bishop Jewel) "what lawes M. Harding's friends used, when they sate upon the bench. They caused dead men and women to be digged out of their graves, and so sate upon them solemnly in judgment, and condemned them. Their holy one of Rome burnt that most reverend father Dr. Cranmer at Rome in a mummery, before he ever saw him, or heard him speake: and yet notwithstanding they arraigned him in Oxford, and judged him afterward to be burnt. They first tooke, and imprisoned the innocent, that had broken no law, and afterward devised a law to condemne him. And to passe by many other like disorders, and horrible extremities of that time, first they scattered and forced their masses thorow the realme against the lawes; afterward they stablished the same by a law: last of all, the next yeare following they summoned, and had a solemne disputation in Oxford to try whether their law were good or no.—In order of nature, the disputation should have been first, and then the law, and last of all the execution of the same among the people." *Reply to Harding's Answer*, p. 358, edit. 1609, fol.

Doctor Thurlby³ and doctor Boner comming with a new commission to sit upon the archbishop the 14. day of Februarie.

This letter or sentence definitive of the pope was dated about the first³ day of January, and was delivered heere in England about the middest of February. Upon the receite of which letters another session was appointed for the archbishope to appeare the 14. day of February, before certaine commissioners directed downe by the queene, the chiefe whereof was the bishop of Ely, doctor Thurlby.—Concerning which doctor Thurlby by the way here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the sayde archbishops houshold chaplaine, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearely beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced of him (not like a chaplaine, but rather like a naturall brother) that there was never any thing in the archbishops house so deare, were it plate, jewell, horse, maps, bookes or anie thing else, but if Thurlby did never so little commende it (a subtile kind of begging) the archbishope by and by, either gave it to him, or shortly sent it after him to his house. So greatly was the archbishop inamored with him, that whosoever would obtaine any thing of him, most commonly would make their way before by doctor Thurlby. Which by-matter of the sayde doctor Thurlby, I thought here to recite, not somuch to upbraid the man with the vice of unthankfulnesse, as chiefly and only for this, to admonish him of olde benefits received, whereby hee may the better remember⁴ his olde benefactor, and so to favour the cause and quarrell of him whom he was so singularly bounden unto.

³ *Thurlby.*] “A.D. MDLXX. 28 August, buried Mr. Th. Thurleby, doctor of the civil law, born in Cambridge, and student sometime of Trinity hall there, and sometime bishop of Westminster, afterward bishop of Norwich, and in queen Maries daies bishop of Ely; who in the tyme of the noble king Edward professed the truth of the holy Gospel, and afterward in time of queen Mary returned to papistry, and so continued in the same to his end, and died the queen’s majesties prisoner within my lord grace’s house at Lambeth.” MS. Ashmole, 860, p. 512. Quoted in Tanner’s *Bibl.* p. 709.

³ *About the first.*] The date was (*decimo nono calend. Januar.*) Dec. 14. See Fox’s *Acts*, p. 1931.

⁴ *The better remember.*] Thirlby was still living when these words were written. After his deprivation by queen Elizabeth, he had been confided to the custody of archbishop Parker, who entertained him kindly, and with him

With the said doctor Thurlby bishop of Ely, was also assigned in the same commission doctor Boner bishop of London ; which two comming to Oxforde uppon saint Valentines day, as the popes delegates, with a new commission from Rome, by the vertue thereof commanded the archbishop aforesaid to come before them, in the quier of Christes church before the high altar: where they sitting (according to their manner) in their pontificalibus, first began as the fashion is, to reade their commission ; wherein was contained, how that in the court of Rome all thinges being indifferently examined, both the articles laide to his charge, with the answeres made unto them, and witnessses examined on both partes, and counsell heard as well on the king and queenes behalfe his accusers, as on the behalfe of Thomas Cranmer, the partie guiltie, so that he wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defense, &c. Which foresayde commission, as it was in reading, "O Lorde," saide the archbishop, "what lies be these, that I, being continually in prison, and never could be suffered to have counsell or advocate at home, should produce witnessse and appoint my counsell at Rome ! God must needs punish this open and shamelesse lying." They read on the commission which came from the pope *plenitudine potestatis*, supplying all maner of defectes in law or processe, committed in dealing with the archbishop, and giving them full authoritie to proceede to the deprivation and degradation of him, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power, *omni appellatione remota*.

When the commission was read thus, they, proceeding ther-upon to his degradation, first clothed and disguised him, putting on him a surplesse, and then an albe ; after that the vestiment of a subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to masse.

When they had apparailled him so farre: "What," saide he, "I thinke I shall say masse?" "Yea," sayde Cosins, one of Boners chaplaines, "my lord, I trust to see you say masse, for all this." "Doe you so?" quoth hee ; "that shall you never see, nor I will never doe it."

Then they invested him in all maner of robes of a bishop and

archbishoppe, as he is at his installing, saving that as everie thing then is most rich and costly, so everie thing in this was of canvas and olde cloutes, with a miter and pall of the same suite doone upon him in mockerie, and then the crosier staffe was put into his hand.

This done after the popes pontificall forme and maner, Boner, who by the space of many yeares had borne, as it seemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoyced to see this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleasure at full, began to streatch out his eloquence, making his oration to the assemblie, after this maner of sort.

"This is the man who hath ever despised the popes holines, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who hath pulled downe so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the aultar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the aultar. This is the man that like Lucifer sate in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge other, and now is come before an altar to be judged himselfe."

Whereunto the bishop interrupting him saide that in that he belied him, as hee did in many other thinges: for that which he would now seeme to charge him withall, was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his. "For the thing you meane of, was in Paules church" (saide he) "where I came to sit in commission; and there was a scaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your officers; and whether there were any aultar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once suspected it; wherfore you doe wittingly evill to charge me with it."

But Boner went on still in his rhetorical repetition, lying and railing against the archbishop, beginning every sentence with, "This is the man, this is the man," till at length there was never a man but was weary of the unmannerly usage of him in that time and place: insomuch that the bishop of Elie aforesaide, divers times pulled him by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward when they went to dinner, that hee had broken promise with him: for he had intreated him earnestly to use him with reverence.

After all this done and finished, they began then to bustle toward his degrading, and first to take from him his crosier staffe

out of his hands, which he held fast, and refused to deliver, and withal imitating the example of Martin Luther⁵, pulled an appeale out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying, "I appeale to the next generall councell; and herein I have comprehended my cause and the forme of it, which I desire may be admitted:" and prayed divers of the standers by, by name to be witnesses, and especially M. Curtop, to whom he spake twice, &c.

The copy of which his appellation, because it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibite, as in forme here followeth.

The tenour of the Appeale of the archbishop of Canturbury from the pope, to the next generall councell.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost.

"First, my plaine protestation made, that I intend to speake nothing against one holy, catholicke and apostolicall church, or the authoritie therof (the which authoritie I have in great reverence, and to whome my minde is in all thinges to obey) and if any thing peradventure, either by slippernesse of tongue, or by indignation of abuses, or else by the provocation of mine adversaries be spoken or done otherwise then well, or not with such reverence as becometh me, I am most ready to amend it.

"Although the bishop of Rome (whom they call pope) beareth the roome of Christ in earth, and hath authoritie of God, yet by the power or authoritie hee is not become unsinnable, neither hath he received that power to destroy, but to edifie the congregation: therefore if he shall commaund any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good part, in case he be not therein obeyed. And he must not be obeyed, if he command any thing against the precepts of God: no: rather he may lawfullie be resisted, even as Paule withstoode Peter. And if he being ayded by help of princes, deceived perchance by false suggestion, or with evill counsel, cannot be resisted, but the remedies of withstanding him be taken away, there is neverthelesse one remedie of appealing (which no prince can take away) uttered

⁵ *Of Martin Luther.*] Luther first appealed from cardinal Caietan, the pope's delegate, to the pope himself; and afterwards from the pope to a general council.—Sleidan. *De Statu*, p. 11—17.

by the very law of nature : for somuch as it is a certaine defence, which is meete for every body by the lawe of God, of nature, and of man.

“ And whereas the lawes doe permit a man to appeale, not onely from the greefes and injuries done, but also from such as shall be done hereafter, or threatened to be done, insomuch that the inferiour cannot make lawes of not appealing to a superiour power : and since it is openly enough confessed, that a holy generall counsell, lawfully gathered together in the Holie Ghost, and representing the holie catholicke church, is above the pope, especially in matters concerning faith, and that hee cannot make decrees that men shall not appeale from him to a generall counsell : therefore I Thomas Cranmer, archbishoppe of Canturburie, or in time past ruler of the metropolical church of Canturburie, doctor in divinity, doe say and publish before you the publike notarie, and witnesses here present, with mind and intent to challenge and appeale from the persons and greefes underneath written, and to prefer my selfe in place and time convenient and meet, to proove the articles that followe. And I openly confesse, that I would lawfully have published them before this day, if I might have hadde either libertie to come abroad my selfe, or licence of a notary and witnesses. But further then I am able to doe, I knowe well is not required of the lawes.

1. “ First I say and publish, that James by the mercy of God priest, called cardinall of the pit ⁶, and of the title of our ladie in the way of the church of Rome, judge and commissary specially deputed of our most holy lord the pope (as hee affirmed) caused

⁶ *Cardinall of the pit.*] Cardinal Du Pui. This is another of those translated names and titles (see vol. ii. p. 517, n. ³), in which it is not to be expected that general readers will easily recognize the original. Jacques du Pui in Latin *De Puteo* (see pp. 206. 238. 250.), here Anglicised *of the pit*, was a Frenchman, a native of Nice, who having been long under the protection of cardinal Pietro Accolti, was made at first auditor of the Rota and afterwards archbishop of Bari. In 1551 he was created priest-cardinal by the title of S. Simeone, and by Paul IV. he was translated to the title of Santa Maria in via lata, or, as Fox ludicrously translates it, “ *our lady in the way of the church of Rome.*” It may be as well to state that (with the exception of the six cardinal-bishops) all cardinals are the parochial clergy of Rome, and take their several titles from some one church or basilica in that city, and that “ *our lady in the way of the church of Rome,*” here means nothing else than the church of *Santa Maria in via lata, at Rome* : literally nothing more than *St. Mary's in Broad-street* ! The cardinal was afterwards deputed as papal representative to the council of Trent. He died in 1563.

me to be cited to Rome, there to appeare fourescore dayes after the citation served on me, to make answer to certaine articles touching the perill of my state and life: and whereas I was kept in prison with most streit ward, so that I could in no wise be suffered to goe to Rome, nor to come out of prison; and in so greevous causes concerning state and life, no man is bound to send a proctor; and though I would never so faigne send my proctor, yet by reason of poverty I am not able (for all that ever I had, wherewith I should beare my proctors costes and charges, is quite taken from me) neverthelesse the most reverend cardinall aforesaid doth sore threaten mee, that whether I shall appeare or not, he wil neverthelesse yet proceed in judgement against me. Wherin I feel my self so grieved that nothing can be imagined more mischievous or further from reason.

2. "Secondly, the reverend father James Brooks, by the mercy of God bishop of Glocester, judge and under deputie (as hee affirmed) of the most reverend cardinall, caused mee to be cited at Oxford (where I was then kept in prison) to answer to certaine articles, concerning the danger of my state and life: and when I, being unlearned and ignorant in the lawes, desired counsell of the learned in the law, that thing was most unrighteously denied me, contrary to the equitie of all lawes both of God and man. Wherein againe I feele me most wrongfully grieved.

3. "And when I refused the said bishop of Glocester to bee my judge, for most just causes, which I then declared, he nevertheles went on stil, and made processe against me, contrary to the rule of the lawes of appealing, which say, *A judge that is refused, ought not to proceede in the cause, but to leave off.* And when hee had required of the answeres to certain articles, I refused to make him any answer: I said I would yet gladly make answer to the most renowned kings and queenes deputies or attournies then present, with this condition notwithstanding, that mine answer should be extrajudiciall; and that was permitted me. And with this my protestation made and admitted, I made answer, but mine answer was sodain and unprovided for: and therefore I desired to have a copy of mine answeres, that I might put to, take away, change, and amende them: and this was also permitted me. Neverthelesse, contrarie to his promise made unto me, no respect had to my protestation, nor licence given to amend mine answer, the sayde reverend father bishoppe of

Glocester (as I heare) commanded mine answeres to be inacted, contrarie to the equitie of the law. In which thing againe I feele me much grieved.

4. "Furthermore, I could not for many causes admit the bishop of Romes usurped authoritie in this realme, nor consent to it: first my solemne othe letting me, which I made in the time of king Henry the eight, of most famous memory, according to the lawes of England: secondly, because I knowe the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, which hee usurpeth, to bee against the crowne, customes, and lawes of this realm of England; in so much, that neither the king can bee crowned in this realme, without the most grievous crime of perjurie, nor may bishops enjoy their bishopricks, nor judgements be used according to the lawes and customes of this realme; except, by the bishoppe of Romes authoritie, be accursed both the king and queene, the judges, writers, and executors of the lawes and customes, with all that consent to them: finally, the whole realme shall be accursed.

5. "Moreover, that hainous and usurped authoritie of the bishop of Rome, through reservations of the bishopricks, provisions, annuates, dispensations, pardons, appellations, bulls and other cursed marchandise of Rome, was wont exceedingly to spoyle and consume the riches and substance of this realm, which all things should followe againe by recognising and receiving of that usurped authoritie unto the unmeasureable losse of this realme.

6. "Finally it is most evident by that usurped authoritie, not only the crowne of England to be under yoke, the lawes and customes of this realme to be throwne downe and troden under foot; but also the most holy decrees of counsels, together with the precepts both of the gospell, and of God.

"When in times past the sunne of righteousness being risen in the world, Christian religion, by the preaching of the apostles began to be spread very far abroad and to flourish, in so much that their sound went out into all the world, innumerable people which walked in darknesse, sawe a great light, Gods glory every where published did flourish, the onely carke and care of the ministers of the church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ, the people's to imbrace and followe Christes doctrine. Then the church of Rome, as it were lady of the world, both was, and also was counted worthily the mother of other churches, for as much as then she first begatte to Christ, nourished with the food of

pure doctrine, did helpe them with their riches, succoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable : she rejoyced with them that rejoyced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the bishops of Rome, riches were despised, worldly glory and pompe was troden under foote, pleasures and riot nothing regarded. Then this fraile and uncertaine life, being full of all miseries, was laughed to scorne, whiles thorough the example of Romish martyrs, men did every where presse forthward to the life to come. But after, when the ungraciousnesse of damnable ambition never satisfied, avarice and the horrible enormitie of vices had corrupted and taken the see of Rome, there followed every where almost the deformities of all churches, growing out of kinde, into the maners of the church their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and slipping into foule and hainous usages.

“ For the foresayd and many other griefes and abuses, (which I intend to proove, and doe profer my self in time convenient to proove hereafter) since reformation of the above mentioned abuses is not to be looked for of the bishop of Rome, neither can I hope by reason of his wicked abuses and usurped authoritie, to have him an equall judge in his owne cause : therefore I do challenge and appeale in these writings from the pope, having no good counsel, and from the above named pretences, commissions, and judges from their citations, processes, and from all other thinges that have or shall follow thereupon, and from every one of them, and from all their sentences, censures, paines, and punishments of cursing, suspension, and interdicting, and from all other whatsoever their denouncings and declarations (as they pretend) of schisme, of heresie, adulterie, deprivation, degrading by them or by any of them, in any maner wise attempted, done, and set forward, to be attempted, to be done, and to be set forth heereafter (saving alwayes their honors and reverences) as unequall and unrighteous, most tyrannicall and violent, and from every grieve to come, which shall happen to me, as well for my selfe as for all and every one that cleaveth to mee, or will heereafter bee on my side, unto a free generall councell, that shall hereafter lawfully be, and in a sure place, to the which place I or a proctor deputed by mee, may freely and with safetie come, and to him or them, to whom a man may by the law, priviledge, custome, or otherwise challenge and appeale.

“ And I desire, the first, the second, and the third time, in-

stantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that I may have messengers¹, if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promise of prosecuting this mine appellation, by the way of disanulling, abuse, inequality, and unrighteousnesse, or otherwise as I shall be better able: choyse and libertie reserved to me, to put to, diminish, change, correct, and interpretate my sayings, and to reforme all things after a better fashion, saving alwayes to mee every other benefite of the law, and to them that either be, or will be on my part.

“And touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speake, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy catholike church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach, those thinges only, which I had learned of the sacred Scripture, and of the holy catholike church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs of the church.

“And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwise then I thought, *I may erre, but hereticke I cannot be*, for as much as I am ready in all things to follow the judgement of the most sacred word of God, and of the holy catholicke church, desiring none other thing, then meekly and gently to be taught, if anie where (which God forbid) I have swarved from the truth.

“And I protest and openly confesse, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the sacrament, and of other my doctrine whatsoever it be, not only I meane and judge those things, as the catholike church, and the most holy fathers of old with one accord have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, waies and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing I only am accused for an hereticke, because I allowe not the doctrine lately brought in of the sacrament, and because I consent not to wordes not accustomed in Scripture, and unknowne to the ancient fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of soules, and overthrowing of the pure and old religion. Ye even, &c.”

¹ *May have messengers.*] “Letters of protection and defence.”—Fox, in the margin.

This appeale being put up to the bishop of Elie, he said, "My lord, our commission is to proceed against you, *omni appellatione remota*: and therefore we cannot admit it."

"Why," (quoth he) "then you doe me the more wrong: for my case is not as every private mannes case. The matter is betweene the pope and me *immediatè*, and none otherwise: and I thinke, no man ought to be a judge in his owne cause."

"Well," quoth Ely, "if it may be admitted it shall," and so received it of him.—And then began hee to perswade earnestly with the archbishop to consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time to doe him good, promising to become a suter to the king and queene for him: and so protested his great love and friendship that had been betweene them, hartily weeping, so that for a time he could not goe on with his tale. After going forward, he earnestly affirmed, that if it hadde not beene the king and queenes commandement, whom he could not deny, else no worldly commoditie should have made him to have done it, concluding that to be one of the sorrowfulst things that ever happened unto him. The archbishophe gently seeming to comfort him sayde, he was verie well content withall: and so proceeded they to his degradation.

Here then to be short, when they came to take off his pall (which is a solemne vesture of an archbishop) then sayd he, "Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall?" Which imported as much as they, being his inferiors, could not degrade him. Wherunto one of them said, in that they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges; but, being the popes delegates, they might take his pall: and so they did, and so proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a barbar clipped his haire^a round about, and the bishop scraped the tops of his fingers where he had bin anointed, wherein bishop Bonner behaved himselfe as roughly and unmanerly, as the other bishop was to him soft and gentle. Whiles they were thus doing, "All this" (quoth the archbishop) "needed not: I had my selfe done with this geare long agoe." Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poore yeoman bedles gowne, full bare and nearely worne, and as evill favouredly made as one might lightly see, and a townes mans cap on his head, and so delivered him to the secular power^b.

^a *Clipped his haire.*] See *Life of Taylor*, above, vol. ii. p. 430, n.

^b *Delivered him to the secular power.*] See vol. i. p. 389.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, then spake lord Boner, saying to him, "Now are you no lord anie more:" and so whensoever he spake to the people of him (as hee was continually barking against him) ever he used this tearm, "This gentleman here," &c.

And thus with great compassion and pitie of every man in this evill favored gown was he caried to prison. Whom there followed a gentleman of Glocestershire with the archbishops owne gown, who standing by, and being thought to be toward one of the bishoppes, had it delivered to him; who by the way talking with him, said, "The bishop of Elie protested his friendship with teares. Yet" (said he) "he might have used a great deale more friendship towards me, and never have beene the worse thought on; for I have well deserved it:" and going into the prison up with him, asked him, if he would drinke? Who answered him, saying; if he had a peece of saltfish, that he had better will to eate: for he had been that day somewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, "but now that it is past, my heart," saide hee, "is well quieted." Whereupon the gentleman said, hee would give him money with all his hart, for he was able to do it. But hee being one toward the lawe, and fearing maister Farmers case¹, durst therefore give him nothing, but gave monie to the balifes that stood by, and said, that if they were

¹ *Farmers case.*] "This Farmer had lost all his lands for relieving a priest in the Tower in king Henries time." Fox, in the margin. "Richard Fermour, having been bred a merchant of the staple of Calais, raised a noble fortune, and settled himself at Eston-Neston, juxta Towcester, in Northamptonshire, which together with the hundred and manor of Towcester, he had purchased, as also many fair lands and royalties in that county; at which seat he lived many years with great splendor and hospitality. But being a very zealous Romanist, and not complying with the frequent alterations in religion, introduced by Henry VIII. he changed his hospitality into charity for those of his opinion; and fell under the king's heavy displeasure, for conveying relief to one Nicholas Thayne, formerly his confessor, and at that time a close prisoner in the gaol of Buckingham, although nothing was ever legally proved against him, except that he had sent him 8d. and a couple of shirts. But his great wealth, and Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, the king's vicar general, were powerful incentives to his ruin; and being found guilty of a *præmunire*, his whole estate, both real and personal, was seized on for the king's use; and executed with such strictness and severity, that nothing was left him or his family." Collins by Brydges, iv. 198. Will. Somers, who had been Fermor's jester, interceded with Henry viii., and the remnant of his estates was at a future time restored to Fermor: from him descend the earls of Pomfret.

good men, they would bestow it on him (for my lord of Canterbury had not one peny in his purse to helpe him) and so left him, my lord bidding him earnestly farewell, commending himselfe to his prayers and those of all his friendes. That night this gentleman was staid by Boner and Ely, for giving him this money: and, but by the helpe of friends, he had beene sent up to the councel. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not doe good without punishment.

Heere followeth the recantation of the archbishop with his repentance of the same.

In this meane time, while the archbishop was thus remaining in durance (whom they had kept now in prison almost the space of three yeares) the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves all that ever they could about master Cranmer, to have him recant, assaying by all craftie practices and allurements they might devise, how to bring their purpose to passe. And to the intent they might win him easily, they had him to the deanes house of Christes church in the said universitie, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowles, had his pleasure for walking, and all other thinges that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, secretly and sleightly they suborned certaine men, which when they could not expugne him by arguments and disputation, should by intreatie and faire promises, or any other meanes allure him to recantation: perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the archbishop had stood stedfast in his sentence; and againe on the other side, how great profit they should get, if he as the principall stander bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof the wily papists flocked about him, with threatning, flattering, intreating, and promising, and all other meanes, specially Henry Sydall, and frier John, a spaniard, de Villa Garcina, to the end to drive him to the uttermost of their possibilitie, from his former sentence, to recantation.

First, they set forth how acceptable it would bee both to the king and queene; and especially how gainefull to him, and for his soules health the same should bee. They added moreover, how the councell and the noble men bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignitie, saying, it was but a small matter,

and so easie that they required him to doe, only that he would subscribe to a few wordes with his owne hand, which if he did, there should be nothing in the realme, that the queene would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignitie; or else if hee had rather live a private life in quiet rest, in whatsoever place hee listed, without all publike ministry, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leafe of paper: but if he refused, there was no hope of health and pardon; for the queene was so purposed, that she would have Cranmer a catholike, or else no Cranmer at all: therefore he shuld choose, whether he thought it better to ende his life shortly in the flames and fire-brands now ready to be kindled, then with much honour to prolong his life, untill the course of nature did call him: for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that hee would looke to his wealth, his estimation and quietnesse, saying that hee was not so old, but that many yeares yet remained in this his so lusty age: and if hee would not doe it in respect of the queene, yet hee should doe it for respect of his life, and not suffer that other men should bee more carefull for his health, than hee was himselfe: saying, that this was agreeable to his notable learning and vertues, which being adjoyned with his life, would bee profitable both to himselfe, and to many other; but being extincte by death, should bee fruitfull to no man: that he should take good heed that he went not too farre: yet there was time enough to restore all things safe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they would him to lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, least if hee would now refuse it while it was offered, he might hereafter seeke it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the desire of life did nothing moove him, yet hee should remember that to die is greivous in all ages, and especially in these his yeares and flower of dignitie it were more greivous: but to die in the fire and such tormentes, is most greivous of all.—With these and like provocations these faire flatterers ceased not to sollicite and urge him, using all meanes they could to drawe him to their side: whose force his manly constancie did a great while resist. But at last when they made no ende of calling and crying upon him, the archbishop being overcome, whether thorough their importunitie, or by his owne imbecillitie, or of what mind I cannot tell, but at length gave his hand.

It might be supposed, that it was done for the hope of life, and better daies to come. But as wee may since perceive by a letter of his sent to a lawyer², the most cause why hee desired his time to be delaied, was that hee would make an end of Marcus Antonius³, which hee had already begun: but howsoever it was, plaine it was, to be against his conscience. The forme of which recantation made by the friers and doctors, whereto he subscribed, was this.

The copy and words of Cranmers recantation.

“I Thomas Cranmer late archbishop of Canturbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest, all maner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zwinglius, and all other teachings which bee contrary to sound and true doctrines. And I beleeve most constantly in my hart, and with my mouth I confesse one holy and catholike church visible, without the which there is no salvation: and therof I knowlege the bishoppe of Rome to be supream head in earth, whom I knowlege to be the highest bishoppe and pope, and Christs vicar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

“And as concerning the sacraments, I beleeve and worshippe in the sacrament of the altar, the very body and bloud of Christ, being contained most truely under the formes of bread and wine, the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his bloud.

“And in the other sixe sacraments also (like as in this) I beleeve and hold as the universall church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

“Furthermore, I beleeve that there is a place of purgatorie, where soules departed be punished for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholsomely pray, like as it doth honor saintes and make prayers to them.

“Finally in all thinges I professe, that I doe not otherwise beleve, then the catholike church and the church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am sorie that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech almighty God, that of his mercy hee will vouchsafe

² *To a lawyer.*] See Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 16.

³ *Marcus Antonius*] Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, see notes at pp. 26, 194, and 243.

to forgive mee, whatsoever I have offended against God or his church; and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

“And all such as have beene deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the bloud of Jesus Christ, that they will returne to the unitie of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schisme or division.

“And to conclude, as I submit myselfe to the catholicke church of Christ, and to the supreame head thereof, so I submit my self unto the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, king and queene of this realme of England, &c. and to all their lawes and ordinances, being readie alwayes as a faithfull subject ever to obey them. And God is my witnesse that I have not done this for favour or feare of any person, but willinglie and of mine owne mind, as well to the discharge of mine owne conscience, as to the instruction of other.”

This recantation⁴ of the archbishop was not so soone conceived,

⁴ *This recantation.*] “Other historians speak of this archbishop’s recantation, which he made upon the incessant solicitations and temptations of the popish zealots at Oxford. Which unworthy compliance he was at last prevailed with to submit to, partly by the flattery and terror suggested to him, and partly by the hardship of his own strait imprisonment in Bocardo. Our writers mention only one recantation: and that Fox has set down; wherein they follow him. But this is but an imperfect relation of this good man’s frailty: I shall therefore endeavour to set down this piece of his history more distinctly. There were several recanting writings to which Cranmer subscribed one after another: for after the unhappy bishop, by over-persuasion, wrote one paper, with his subscription set to it; which he thought to pen so favourably, and dexterously for himself, that he might evade both the danger from the state, and the danger of his conscience too; that would not serve, but another was required as explanatory of that. And when he had complied with that, yet either because writ too briefly or too ambiguously, neither would that serve, but drew on a third fuller and more expressive than the former: nor could he escape so; but still a fourth and fifth paper of recantation was demanded of him to be more large and particular. Nay, and lastly a sixth, which was very prolix, containing an acknowledgment of all the forsaken and detested errors and superstitions of Rome, an abhorrence of his own books, and a vilifying of himself as a persecutor, a blasphemer, and a mischief-maker: nay, and as the wickedest wretch that lived. And this was not all, but after they had thus humbled and mortified the miserable man with recantations, subscriptions, submissions, and abjurations, putting words into his mouth which his heart abhorred: by all this drudgery they would not permit him to redeem his unhappy life; but prepared him a renun-

but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted and set abroad in all mens hands. Wherunto for

ciatory oration to pronounce publicly in Saint Mary's church immediately before he was led forth to burning.

"But here he gave his enemies, insatiable in their reproaches of him, a notable disappointment. They verily thought that when they had brought him thus far, he would still have said as they would have him. But herein their politicks failed them: and by this last stretch of the cord all was undone, which they with so much art and labour had effected before. For the reverend man began indeed his speech according to their appointment and pleasure; but in the process of it, at that very cue when he was to own the pope and his superstitions, and to revoke his own book and doctrine of the sacrament, (which was to be brought in by this preface, that *one thing above all the rest troubled his conscience beyond all that ever he did in his life*) he on the contrary, to their great astonishment and vexation, made that preface serve to his revocation and abhorrence of his former extorted subscriptions, and to his free owning and standing to his book wrote against transubstantiation, and the avowing the evangelical doctrines he had before taught."—*Strype's Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 232.

Notwithstanding all the researches of the historians, it cannot, I think, be denied, that this part of Cranmer's story is still involved in great obscurity and uncertainty. That he made some submission and recantation cannot be doubted; but I own, I know not how to reconcile the six several submissions, and the nature of them, their dates, &c., with other circumstances of the narrative. We are not told the precise period at which he was removed to the lodgings of the dean of Christ Church, and plied with the several topics, and arts of seduction, enumerated in Fox. But, let it be observed, the 14th of February was the day of his degradation, at which time, surely, the archbishop's behaviour gave no warnings of his lamentable fall: and yet the *fourth* submission, as published by Bonner (and it should seem that they are ranged *Chronologically*), is dated on the 16th of the same month, only two days after.—There are other very suspicious circumstances accompanying Bonner's publication.—To speak out plainly, I suspect much of it to be matter of base and profligate forgery. But the above remark, I think, is alone sufficient to show, that this part of our martyr's history requires further elucidation.

I subjoin an extract of a letter from H. Zanchius to H. Bullinger, on account of its reference to this important and interesting point of history.

"De Anglia accepimus hæc. Divulgarant Papistæ suis falsis sermonibus, idque procul dubio vel jussu, vel saltem consensu impiæ Jezabelis, Canthuariensem recantasse, et ad Romanam ecclesiam rediisse: et hanc confictam a se recantationem, falsis etiam quorundam testimoniis confirmari et deinde excudi curarunt. Ubi hæc sanctus ille vir rescivit, reclamavit aperte, ac palam toti regno fecit, se prorsus in suo" (*Leg. inscio*) "hanc palinodiam esse confictam; nihil minus, quam talem blasphemam recantationem se unquam cogitasse; quam hactenus in eo Angliæ regno per gratiam Christi docuit et promovit, promoverique curavit doctrinam, eam etiamnum constanti fide se

better credite, was first added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemne subscription, then followed the witnesses of this recantation, Henry Sydall, and frier John de Villa Garcina.— All this while, Cranmer was in no certain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctours: but after that they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen having now gotten a time to revenge her old greefe, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpose to put him to death, she would nothing relent.

Now was Cranmers cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietnes in his owne conscience, nor yet outwardly any helpe in his adversaries.

Besides this, on the one side was prayse, on the other side scorne, on both sides danger, so that neither he could die honestly, nor yet dishonestly live. And whereas he sought profite, hee fell into double disprofite, that neither with good men hee could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evill men the note of dissimulation.

In the meane time, while these things were a doeing (as I said) in the prison amongst the doctors, the queene taking secret counsell, how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way (who as yet knew nothing of her secret hate, and looking for nothing lesse than death) appointed doctor Cole, and secretly gave him in commande-

credere et confiteri, et ad mortem usque suo etiam sanguine defensurum et obsignaturum. Igitur decimo septimo Martii, reiectis illorum impostorum commentis, doctor quidam impiissimus, nomen jam non teneo*, mittitur a regina Oxonium, ad Canthuariensem; in quem finem literæ quæ postea datæ fuerunt Antwerpia ad Dom. Koocum† declarant. Heri itaque literas Antwerpia D. Koocus accepit, sanctum et pium illum Canthuariensem, infracto animo, constanti fide, et perpetua confessione Jesu Christi et evangelicæ doctrinæ combustum, vicesimo primo Martii, migrasse ad Dominum. Sunt hic qui quoniam hæ literæ sunt Antwerpia, et ex Anglia nullæ, non credunt certo mortuum: sed tamen et D. Koocus. et alii permulti Angli, et doctor etiam Petrus noster, quoniam de missione illius doctoris Londino Oxonium, et de commentitia illa palinodia, literas ex Anglia ipsa acceperunt, credunt verum esse quod in iis literis Antwerpia missis scribitur. Habemus, optime vir Dei, pro quo gratias agamus Deo, quod tot tantorumque virorum sanguine, cum alibi, tum præsertim in illo Anglicano regno, sacrosanctum Filii sui evangelium quotidie obsignare dignatur." Zanchii Epist. p. 32. A.D. 1609.

* *Nomen jam non teneo.*] Henry Cole. See also vol. ii. p. 551.

† *Koocum.*] Sir Antony Cook, one of the preceptors of Edward VI.

ment, that against the 21. of March, hee should prepare a fune-
rall sermon for Cranmers burning, and so instructing him orderly
and diligently of her will and pleasure in that behalfe, sendeth
him away.

Soon after, the lord Williams of Tame, and the L. Shandoys ^a,
sir Thomas Bridges ^b, and sir John Browne were sent for, with
other worshipfull men and justices, commaunded in the queenes
name, to be at Oxford at the same day, with their ser-
vantes and retinue, least Cranmers death should raise there any
tumult.

Cole the doctor having this lesson given him before, and charged
by her commandement, returned to Oxford, readie to play his
part, who as the day of execution drewe neer, even the day before, -
came into the prison to Cranmer, to trie whether he abode in the
catholike faith wherein before hee had lefte him. To whom, when
Cranmer had answered, that by Gods grace he would dayly be
more confirmed in the catholick faith; Cole departing for that
time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop againe,
giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared: and
therefore in the morning, which was the 21. day of March,
appointed for Cranmers execution, the said Cole comming to him,
asked if he hadde any moncy. To whom when hee answered that
he had none, hee delivered him fiteene crownes to give the poore,
to whom he would: and so exhorting him so much as hee could
to constancie in faith, departed thence about his busines, as to his
sermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the archbishop began
more and more to surmise what they went about. Then because
the day was not farre past, and the lords and knights that were
looked for, were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish
frier, witnesse of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles,
which Cranmer should openly professe in his recantation before
the people, earnestly desiring him that hee would write the said
instrument with the articles with his own hand, and signe it with
his name: which when he had done, the sayd fryer desired that
he would write another copy thereof, which should remaine with
him, and that he did also. But yet the archbishop being not

^a *L. Shandoys, &c.*] Sir John Bridges, first lord Chandos of Sudeley, lieu-
tenant of the Tower. See vol. ii. p. 390.

^b *Sir Thomas Bridges.*] Brother of Lord Chandos. See p. 15, note.

ignorant whereunto their secret devises tended, and thinking that the time was at hand, in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christs people, he put secretly in his bosome his prayer, with his exhortation, written in another paper, which hee minded to recite to the people, before hee should make the last profession of his faith, fearing least if they hadde heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterward have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soone after about nine of the clocke, the lord Williams, sir Thomas Bridges, sir John Browne, and the other justices, with certaine other noble menne, that were sent of the queenes counsell, came to Oxford with a great traine of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on everie side (as is woont in such a matter) was made a great concourse and greater expectation. For first of all, they that were of the popes side, were in great hope that day to heare something of Cranmer that should stablish the vanitie of their opinion: the other part which were endued with a better minde, could not yet doubt, that he which by continuall studie, and labour, for so many yeares had set forth the doctrine of the gospell, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his part. Brieflie, as every mans will enclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversitie of their desires, every man wished and hoped for. And yet because in an uncertaine thing the certaintie could be knowne of none what would be the end, all their mindes were hanging betweene hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtfull a matter, the more was the multitude, that were gathered thither to heare and behold.

In this so great frequence and expectation, Cranmer at the length commeth from prison Bocardo, unto saint Maries church, because it was a foule and rainie day, the chiefe church in the universitie, in this order. The maior went before, next him the aldermen in their place and degree, after them was Cranmer brought betweene two friers, which mumbling to and fro certaine psalmes in the streetes, answered one another until they came to the church doore, and there they began the song of Simeon, *Nunc Dimittis*, and entering into the church, the psalm-saying friers brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting untill Cole made him readie to his sermon.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eies that beheld him. He that late was archbishop, metropolitane, and primate of England, and the kings privie counsellor, being now in a bare and ragged gowne, and ill favouredlie cloathed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not onelie of his owne calamitie, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pitie his case, and bewaile his fortune, and might not feare his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a counsellor, and of so long continued honour, after so manie dignities, in his old yeares to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painefull a death to end his life, and nowe presentlie from such fresh ornaments, to descend to such vile and ragged apparell ?

In this habite, when hee had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar neere adjoyning thereunto, hee lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, til at the length doctor Cole comming into the pulpit, and beginning his sermon, entered first into mention of Tobias and Zacharie. Whome after hee hadde praised in the beginning of his sermon for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole sermon into three partes (according to the solemne custome of the schooles) intending to speeke first of the mercie of God, secondlie of his justice to be shewed, and last of all, how the princes secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to turne his tale to Cranmer, and with manie hot words reprooved him, that once he being indued with the favour and feeling of wholesome and catholike doctrine, fell into the contrarie opinion of pernicious error, which hee hadde not onelie defended by writings, and all his power, but also allured other men to doe the like, with great liberalitie of giftes, as it were, appointing rewards for error ; and after hee had allured them, by all meanes did cherish them.

It were too long to repeate all thinges, that in long order were pronounced. The summe of his tripartite declamation was, that he said Gods mercie was so tempered with his justice, that he did not altogether require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffered the same altogether to goe unpunished, yea though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden choose of three kinds of punishments which

hee would, and he had chosen pestilence for three daies, the Lord forgave him halfe the time, but did not release all. And that the same thing came to passe in him also to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the canons, seeing he repented him of his errorrs, yet there were causes why the queene and the councell at this time judged him to death; of which, least he should marvell too much, he should heare some.

First that being a traitor, he had dissolved the lawful matrimonie between the king, her father, and mother: besides the driving out of the popes authoritie, while hee was metropolitane.

Secondly, that he had been an heretick, from whom as from an author and onely fountaine, all hereticall doctrine and schismaticall opinions that so many yeeres have prevailed in England, did first rise and spring: of which he had not been a secret favourer onely, but also a most earnest defender even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruine and decay of the catholicke church.

And further, it seemed meet, according to the law of equalitie, that as the death of the duke of Northumberland of late, made even with Thomas More, chauncellour, that died for the church, so there should be one that should make even with Fisher of Rochester: and because that Ridley, Hooper, Ferrar, were not able to make even that man, it seemed, that Cranmer should be joined to them to fill up this part of equalitie.

Besides these, there were other just and waightie causes, which seemed to the queene and the councell, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bade all men beware by this mans example, that among men nothing is so high, that can promise it selfe safetie on the earth, and that Gods vengeance is equally stretched against all men, and spareth none: therefore they should beware and learne to feare their prince. And seeing the queenes majestie would not spare so notable a man as this, much lesse in the like cause shee would spare other men, that no man should thinke to make thereby any defence of his errorr, either in riches or any kinde of authoritie. They had now an example to teach them all, by whose calamitie every man might consider his owne fortune: who from the top of dignitie, none being more honorable than he in the whole realme, and next the king, was fallen into so great miserie, as they might now see,

being a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates in the church, and an archbishop, the chiefe of the councell, the second person in the realme of long time, a man thought in greatest assurance, having a king on his side: notwithstanding all his authoritie and defence to be debased from high estate, to a low degree, of a counsellour to become a caitiffe and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him: briefly, so heaped with miserie on all sides, that neyther was left in him any hope of better fortune; nor place for worse.

The latter part of his sermon, hee converted to the archbishop: whome hee comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture, as with these and such like; bidding him not to mistrust, but hee should incontinentlie receive that the thiefe did, to whom Christ said, *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso*; that is, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." And out of S. Paule he armed him against the terrour of the fire by this, *Dominus fidelis est, non sinet vos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis*; that is, "the Lord is faithfull, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength;" by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seeme like a pleasant dewe; adding also the rejoicing of S. Andrew in his crosse, the patience of S. Laurence on the fire, assuring him, that God, if hee called on him, and to such as die in his faith, eyther would abate the furie of the flame, or give him strength to abide it.

He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to bee onely his worke, declaring what travell and conference had beene with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaime him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talke of him, that while the time (saide he) hee flowed in riches and honour, hee was unworthy of his life: and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But least he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligentlie labour (hee sayd), and also he did promise in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death, there should be diriges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford, for the succour of his soule.

Cranmer in all this meane time, with what great grieve of

minde he stood hearing this sermon, the outward shewes of his bodie and countenance did better expresse, than any man can declare : one while lifting up his hands and eies unto heaven, and then againe for shame letting them downe to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twentie severall times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping downe marvellously from his fatherly face. They which were present, doe testify that they never sawe in any childe more teares, than brast out from him at that time, all the sermon while : but specially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pittie mooved all mens harts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

Cole, after hee had ended his sermon¹, called backe the people that were ready to depart, to prayers. "Brethren," (sayde hee) "least any man should doubt of this mans earnest conversion and repentance, you shall heare him speake before you, and therefore I pray you maister Cranmer, that you will now performe that you promised not long ago ; namely, that you would openly expresse the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion of men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholicke indeed." "I will doe it (saide the archbishop), "and that with a good will:" who by and by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speake thus unto the people.

"I desire you well beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for mee, to forgive me my sinnes, which above all men, both in number and greatnesse, I have committed : but among all the rest, there is one offence, which most of all at this time doth vexe and trouble me, whereof in processe of my talke you shall heare more in his proper place ;" and then putting his hand into his bosome, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the people in this sense.

¹ *Ended his sermon.*] "When Dr. Cole had ended his sermon, he desired all the people to pray for him ; Mr. Cranmer kneeling down with them, and praying for himself. I think there was never before such a number so earnestly praying together. For they that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion, and hope of continuance. They that loved him before could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope encreased devotion on every side." Letter from an eyewitness, *Strype's Life of Cranmer*, p. 386.

The Prayer of doctour Cranmer archbishop.

“Good Christian people, my dearely beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing greeveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof God willing, I intend to speake more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sinnes be, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here, kneeling down, he said :

“O Father of heaven, O Sonne of God redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitife and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can expresse. Whither then may I go, or whither should I flye ? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes ; and in earth I finde no place of refuge or succour. To thee therefore (O Lord) doe I runne : to thee doe I humble my selfe, saying, O Lord my God, my sinnes bee great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mysterie that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Sonne (O heavenly Father) unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sinnes of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole hart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me O God, whose property is alwaies to have mercy, have mercy upon me O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for my own merits, but for thy names sake, that it may bee hallowed thereby, and for thy deare Sonne, Jesus Christes sake. And now therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c.” And then he rising, said :

“Everie man (good people) desireth at the time of their death to give some good exhortation that other may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby : so I beseech God graunt mee grace, that I may speake something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

“First, it is an heavie case to see that so many folke be so

much doted upon the love of this false world, and so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seeme to care verie little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation, that you set not your mindes overmuch upon this glosing world, but upon God, and upon the world to come; and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which S. John teacheth, *that the love of this world is hatred against God.*

“The second exhortation is, that next under God you obey your king and queene willinglie and gladlie, without murmuring or grudging; not for feare of them onelie, but much more for the feare of God: knowing that they bee Gods ministers, appointed by God to rule and governe you: and therefore who soever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

“The third exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For alas, pittie it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortall enemies. But I pray you learne and beare well away this one lesson: to doe good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your owne naturall loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that who-soever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciouslye to hinder or hurt him, surelie and without all doubt God is not with that man, although hee thinke himselfe never so much in Gods favour.

“The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the Scripture. One is of our saviour Christ himselfe, who saith, *It is hard for a rich man to enter in to the kingdom of heaven.* A sore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth. The second is of S. John, whose saying is this: *He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?* The third is of S. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this maner: *Weepe you and houle for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches doe rotte, your cloathes be moth eaten, your golde and silver doth canker and ruste, and their rust shal beare witness against you, and consume you like fire: you gather a hoard or treasure of Gods indignation against the last day.* Let them that be rich, ponder well these three sen-

tences: for if they ever had occasion to shew their charity, they have it now at this present, the poore people being so many, and victuals so deere^{*}.

"And now for as much as I am come to the last ende of my life, wherupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in paine for ever, with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eies presently either heaven readie to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I beleeve, without any colour or dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in time past.

"First, I believe in God the Father almightie, Maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I beleeve every article of the catholicke faith, every word and sentence taught by our saviour

^{*} *Victuals so deere.*] "These two years since king Edwardes death, the earth hath not brought furthe such plentie, as it customably did before. And where before time the countrey fedde London, London contrary wise was and is forced of her former provision to fede the countrie. And where Dantiske and other the north east partes were the barnes and garners of corne, for they had the provision of corne for many yeares before-hand, and nourished all the lowe parts of Germanie, Denmarke, Friesland, Holande, Zelande, Brabaunt, Flanders, Hispaine, and many other; now by reason of their bringing so muche to releve Englande, onles a staie be made in time, they themselves will perishe of famine. And whan were ever thinges so deare in Englande, as in this time of the popish masse and other idolatrie restored? And who ever heard or redde before, that a pound of beefe was at four-pence; a sheepe twenty shillings; a pounce of candelles at four-pence; a pounce of buttur at four-pence; a pounce of chese at four-pence; two eggs a penie; a quarter of wheat sixty four shillings: a quarter of malt at fifty shillings or above; the people driven of hongre to grinde accornes for bread meale, and to drink water in stede of ale? And what? shall this famine awaie before his walking mate and felowe, pestilence, come? No surely. Without your earnest spedy repentaunce, and Goddes exceding miraculous mercie it is not possible." *Treatise* (Ponet's) *of Politic Power*. Signat. K 7, 8. A.D. 1556.

"The scarcity in Oxford was so great, that several societies, being scarce able to live, had leave from their governors to go into the country to their respective homes, to remain there till such time that bread-corn was more plentiful." A. Wood's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 130, edit. i. 1796. Compare Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 292, and *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 311. 320, 1.

See also a striking description (probably by archbishop Parker) in the Preface to the Reader prefixed to *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, 4to. edited by the archbishop; given above in the *Life of Rogers*, vol. ii. p. 345, n.

Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the new and olde Testament.

“And now I come to the great thing, that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or sayde in my whole life, and this is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the trueth: which now here I renounce and refuse, as things, written with my hand, contrary to the trueth which I thought in my hart, and written for feare of deathe, and to save my life if it might bee, and that is, all such billes and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation: wherein I have written many things untrue. And for asmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first bee punished therefore: for may I come to the fire it shall be first burned.

“And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christs enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

“And as for the sacrament, I beleeve as I have taught in my booke against the bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgement of God, where the papisticall doctrine contrarie thereto, shall be ashamed to shew her face.”

Here the standers by were all astonied, marvelled, were amazed, did look one upon another, whose expectation hee had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falshood. Briefly, it was a world to see the doctors beguiled of so great an hope. I thinke there was never crueltie more notable or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a glorious victorie and a perpetuall triumph by this mans recantation. Who as soon as they heard these things, began to let downe their eares, to rage, fret, and fume: and so much the more, because they could not revenge their griepe: for they could nowe no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once: and whereas of necessitie hee must needs dy that day, though the papists had bin never so well pleased; now being never so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. And so when they could do nothing else unto him, yet least they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falshood and dissimulation.

Unto which accusation he answered : “ Ah my masters,” quoth he, “ doe you not take it so. Alwaies since I lived hitherto, I have beene a hater of falshood⁹, and a lover of simplicitie, and never before this time have I dissembled ;” and in saying this, all the teares that remained in his body, appeared in his eies. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacie, some of them began to crie out, yalpe, and baule, and specially Cole cried out upon him ; “ stop the heretickes mouth, and take him away.”

And then Cranmer being pulled downe from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friers, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. “ What madnesse,” say they, “ hath brought thee againe into this errour, by which thou wilt drawe innumerable soules with thee into hell?” To whome he answered nothing, but directed all his talke to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply his booke diligently, saying if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more, he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barker raging and foaming, was almost out of his wits, alwaies having this in his mouth, “ *Non fecisti ?* Did thou it not ?”

But when he came to the place, where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him, for the confessing of the truth, kneeling downe hee prayed to God, and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long down to his feete. His feete were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare that one hair could not be seene upon it. His beard was long and thick,

⁹ *A hater of falshood.*] “ And here being admonished of his recantation and dissembling, he said, ‘ Alas, my lord’ (the lord Williams) ‘ I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth ; which I am most sorry for.’ He added hereunto, that for the sacrament, he believed as he had taught in his book against the bishop of Winchester. And here he was suffered to speak no more.” Letter of an eye-witness, *Strype*, p. 388.

“ His friends sorrowed for love ; his enemies for pity : strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one to another.—Thus I have enforced myself, for your sake, to discourse this heavy narration, contrary to my mind : and being more than half weary, I make a short end ; the 23d of March, yours, J. A.” *Strype*, p. 389.

covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravitie moved the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies.

Then the Spanish friars, John¹ and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afresh, but with vaine and losse labour: Cranmer with steadfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certaine old men, and other that stooode by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand, and refused, saying, it was not lawfull to salute heretikes, and specially such a one as falsly returned unto the opinions that he had forsworne. And if he had knowne before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly; and chid those sergeants and citizens, which had not refused to give him their hands. This Ely was a priest lately made, and student in divinity, being then one of the fellows of Brazen Nose.

Then was an iron chaine tied about Cranmer, whom when they perceived to be more stedfast, then that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn neere him, stretching out his arme, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so stedfast and immoveable (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face) that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame, with such constancie and stedfastnesse, that standing alwaies in one place, without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound: his eyes were lifted up unto heaven, and often times he repeated his "*unworthy right hand,*" so long as his voyce would suffer him: and using often the wordes of Steven, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit*; in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of minde, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when frier John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation, although such manner of examples which are of the like constancie, have been common here in England, ran to the Lord Williams of Tame, crying that the

¹ John.] De Villa Garcina. See p. 263.

archbishop was vexed in minde, and died in great desperation. But he, which was not ignorant of the archbishops constancie, being unknowne to the Spaniards, smiled only (and as it were) by silence rebuked the friars folly.

And this was the end of this learned archbishop, whom lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and lest hee should have lived longer with shame and reproofe, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name, and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man, with this crosse of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert, and doctor Allen, or if there were any other with whose burning and blood his handes had beene before any thing polluted. But especially he had to rejoyce, that dying in such a cause, he was to be numbered among Christ's martyrs, much more worthy the name of saint Thomas of Canterbury, than he whom the pope falsly before did canonize.

THOMAS MOUNTAIN.

THOMAS MOUNTAIN¹.

AND here it may not be amiss to set down what befel one of the London divines about this time; Thomas Mountain by name, parson of St. Michael's the Tower Royal, otherwise called Whittington college; a man of some figure in those days, and that had been with the duke of Northumberland in the business of queen Jane. What troubles he endured from the bishop of Winchester, for performing his function in his parish church according to king Edward's laws, which were then in full force, I will declare; as I have extracted it out of his own MS. relation. Wherein, among other things, two are worthy to be observed, viz. the noble confidence of this man, in speaking the truth before this bloody-minded bishop; and his lofty, scoffing, contumelious carriage towards Mountain.

“Queen Mary was crowned queen of England such a day of the month, being Sunday, [viz. Octob. 1.] The next Sunday after, I, Thomas Mountayn, did minister all kynd of service, according to the godly order then set forth by the most gracious and blessed prince, king Edward the sixth; and the whole parish being than gathered together, did than and there most joyfully communicate together with me the holy supper of the Lord Jesus; and many other godly citizens were then partakers of the same. Who, with bitterness of repentance, did not only lament their former wicked lyves, but also the lack and loss of our most dread sovereign lord, king Edward the sixth, whom we were not worthy of, for our unthankfulness and disobedience

¹ *Thomas Mountain.*] For this interesting narrative I am indebted to Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 67—71, 100—1, and 184—98. Folio edit. Strype derived it from Fox's MSS.

both towards Almighty God and his majestie. Now while I was even a breking of the bread at the table, saying to the communicants these words, *Take and eat this, &c.* and *Drink this, &c.* there were standing by, to see and hear, certayn serving men, belonging to the busshop of Wynchester. Among whom one of them most shamefully blasphemed God, saying, Ye, God's bloud, standest thou there yet, saying, Take and eat, Take and drink? Will not this gear be left yet? You shall be made to sing another song within this few days, I trow, or else I have lost my mark.

"The next Wednesday following [Octob. 11.] the busshop of Winchester sent one of his servants for me, to come and speak to my lord his master. To whom I answered, That I would wait on his lordship after that I had don morning prayer. Nay, saith his man, I may not tary so long for you. I am commaunded to take you wheresoever I find you, and to bring you with me. That is my charge given unto me by my lord's own mouth. Well then, said I, I will go with you out of hand; and God be my comfort, and strengthen me with his Holy Spirit this day, and ever, in the same truth wherunto he hath called me, that I may continue therin to the end.

"Now, whan I came to the great chamber at St. Mary Overies, there I found the bushop standing at a bay window, with a great company about him, and many sutors, both men and women, (for he was going to the court.) Among whom there was one Mr. Sellenger², [or St. Leger,] a knight, and lord deputy of Ireland, being a sutor also to my lord. Then the bushop called me unto him, and said, Thou heretic! how darest thou be so bold to use that schismatical service stil, of late set forth, seing that God hath sent us now a catholic queen? whose laws thou hast broken, as the rest of thy fellows have don: and you shal know the price of it, if I do live. There is such abhominable company of you, as is able to poyson a whole realin with your heresies. My lord, said I, I am none heretic. For that way that you count heresy, so worship we the lyving God: and as our forefathers have don and believed, I mean Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the rest of the holy prophets and apostles; even so do I beleve to be

² *Mr. Sellenger.*] Sir Arthur St. Leger, the same who was sent by Mary immediately on her accession, as ambassador to France, to join Dr. Nicholas Wotton, and to replace sir William Pickering and sir Thomas Chaloner.

saved, and by no other means. God's passion ! said the bushop, did not I tel you, my lord deputy, how you should know an heretic. He is up with his lyving God, as tho' there were a dead God. They have nothing in their mouths, these heretics, but the Lord liveth, the lyving God : the Lord, the Lord, and nothing but the Lord. Here he chafed like a bushop ; and, as his manner was, many times he put off his cap, and rubbed to and fro up and down the fore part of his head, where a lock of hair was always standing up, and that, as some say, was his grace. But, to pacify this hasty bushop and cruel man, the lord deputy said, My good lord chancellor, trouble not your self with this heretic. I think all the world is full of them. God bless me from them. But, as your lordship said even now ful wel, having a Christian queen reigning over us, I trust there wil be shortly a reformation, and an order taken for these heretics. And, I trust, God hath preserved your honourable lordship for the very same purpose. Than said Mr. Sellenger unto me, Submit your self unto my lord, and so you shall find favour at his hands. I thank you, sir, said I : ply your own sute, and I pray you let me alone. For I never offended my lord, neither yet wil I make any such submission as he wold have me to do. Be assured of that, God willing. Well, said he, you are a stubborn man.

“ Then stood there one by, much like unto Dr. Martyn, and said, My lord, the time passeth away : trouble yourself no longer with this heretic : for he is not only an heretic, but also a traitor to the queen's majestie. For he was one of them that went forth with the duke of Northumberland, and was in open field against her grace. And, therefore, as a traitor, he is one of them that are exempt out of the general pardon, and hath lost the benefit of the same. Is it even so ? saith the bushop. Fetch me the book, that I may see it. Than was the book brought him, as one ignorant what had been don, and yet he being the chief doer himself thereof. Than asked he of me, what my name was. I said, My name was Thomas Mountain. Thou hast wrong, saith he. Why so, my lord ? That thou hast not *mounted* to Tyburn, or such like place. Then said I unto him, I beseech your lordship, be so good lord unto me, as to let me know mine accusers, who they be. For I trust, that I have not deserved, nother to be hanged as a thief, nor yet to be burned as an heretic. For I only believe in one God in Trinitie : and as for the laws of the

realm, I trust I have not offended or broken any of them. No, sayd the bushop, I wil make thee to sing a new song or thou and I have don. For these be always linked together, treason and heresy. And thou hast, like a shameless man, offended in both, and that shalt thou know. I wil school thee my self.

"Then he called for the marshal, or some of his men, and there was none of them there. Then called he for one Mr. Hungerford, one of his own gentlemen. Him he rounded in the ear a pretty while; and then openly the bushop sayd with a loud voice, I pray you, Mr. Hungerford, take this traitorous heretic, and have him to the Marshalsea, and remember well what I have said unto you. For this is one of our new broched brethren, that speaketh agaynst al good works. No my lord, said I, I never preached or spake against any of those good works, which be commaunded of God in the holy Scriptures to be don. For in those good works every Christian man ought to exercise himself all the days of his life; and yet not to think himself to be justified therby, but rather to account himself an unprofitable servant, when he hath don the best he can. That is true, quoth the bishop. Your fraternity was, is, and ever wil be altogether unprofitable in all ages, and good for nothing, but for the fire. Tel me, I pray thee, what good works were there don other in king Harry's days, or in king Edward's days? Truly, my lord, said I, there were don in the days of these two notable kings, of most worthy memory, many notable things, most worthy of perpetual memory to the end.

"First, the bushop of Rome was utterly abolished, with all his usurped power and authority over al Christian princes; al idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy suppressed; al false and feigned religious men and women discharged of their long loitring in cloisters, and taught to *serve God in spirit and in truth*, and no longer to worship him in vain; devouring poor widows houses, under the pretence of long prayers. Also, if it like your lordship, they did erect many colleges. Also the universities of Cambridge and Oxford first by wise men were visited, then purged, well furnished with godly learned masters of every house; and last of all, continually releved and maintained, from time to time, by the good and wel disposed people of this citie of London³; that

³ *Citie of London.*] See above, p. 336.

learned men might flourish. *Al these, my lord, were good works.* Further, they did erect many fair hospitals⁴; one for orphans and fatherles children; wherin they may be taught to know their duty and obedience both to God and man: having both a school-master, and also an usher, to teach them their grammar. These, likewise, have also meat, drink, cloth, lodging, lawnders, surgeons, and physicians, with al other necessaries. In the other houses, my lord, there be the blind, the lame, the dumb, the deaf, and all kind of sick, sore, and diseased people. They have always with them an honest learned minister⁵, to comfort them, and to give them good counsil, that they might patiently take in good part God's visitation. This they have, beside meat, drink, lodging, surgeons, physicians. *Are not al these good works, my lord?*

"Then the bushop said unto me, in mockage, sir, you have made a great speke⁶. For wheras you have set up one beggarly house, you have pulled down an hundred princely houses for it: putting out godly, learned, and devout men, that served God

⁴ *Fair hospitals.*] See above, *Life of Ridley*, p. 109, 110.

⁵ *An honest learned minister.*] This great benefit to the unhappy inmates of these and similar institutions, and to society at large through all succeeding generations, owed its origin probably, to a suggestion of honest Latimer, in one of his sermons before king Edward: fol. 63 b. 4to.

"O! I would ye would resort to prisons; a commendable thing in a Christian realme. I would wish that there were curates for prisons, that we might say the curate of Newgate, the curate of the Fleete: and I would have them waged for their labour. It is a holy-day worke to visite the prisoners; for they be kepte from sermons."

⁶ *A great speke*] One who had opportunities of being well acquainted with Gardiner, at least personally, namely Ponet, one of Cranmer's chaplains, and his successor (1551) in the see of Winchester, has given us the following unlovely picture of some of the external features of this fearful scourge of the reformation.

"Albeit this doctor be now (1556), but too late, thoroughly known, yet it shall be requisite that our posterity know what he was, and by his description see how nature hath shaped the outward parts to declare what was within. This doctor hath a swart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, a nose hooked like a buzzard, nostrils like a horse, ever snuffing into the wind, a sparrow mouth, great paws like the devil, talons on his feet like a gripe, two inches longer than the natural toes, and so fixed with sinews, that he cannot abide to be touched, nor scarce suffer them to touch the stones. And nature having thus shaped the form of an old monster, it gave him a vengeable wit." *Treatise of Politic Power*, by D. J. P. B. R. W., edit. 1642.

day and night', and thrust in their place a sort of scurvy and lowzy boyes.

"Wel, to be short with thee, what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? how believest thou in that? My lord, not as you beleve; for I never read in the Scripture of any such sacrament so called, and so unreverently to be hanged up in a rope over a heap of stones: and that same to be worshipped of the people, as God¹. Wo be unto them that so do teach the people to believe! for they be false priests: believe them who will; for, truly, I will not. Thus have I been taught to believe. By whom? saith the bushop. Forsooth, even by Jesus Christ, the high Bushop and Priest of our souls: who, *by the offering up of his own blessed body on the cross once for al*, as St. Paul saith to the Hebrews, *and there shedding his most precious blood, hath cleansed us from al our sins*. And, I trust, by his death, to have everlasting life. But how sayest thou, shameless heretic! unto the holy and blessed mass? My lord, suffer me, I pray you, to speak my conscience. I nother believe it to be holy, nor yet blessed, but rather to be abhominable before God and man, and the same to be accursed. And with that I kneeled down, and held up my hands, looking up unto heaven, and said, in the pre-

¹ *Day and night.*] This passage receives a striking illustration from a sentence or two from William Tindal; which however we give, in no temper of harsh judgment against the piety of the distinguished monarch.

"King Henry V. built Syon, and the Charter-house of Shene on the other side of the water, of such manner that lippe labour may never cease. For, when the fryers of Syon ryng out, the nunnes beginne. And when the nunnes ryng out of service, the monkes on the other side beginne. And when they ring out, the fryers beginne agayne, and vexe themselves night and day, and take payne for God's sake: for which God must geve them heaven." Exposition on the 6th chap. of S. Matthew; *Works*, p. 221. See also vol. i. p. 444, n.

² *As God.*] "The lady Jane" (Gray), "she whom the lord Guilford married, when she was very young, at Newhall in Essex, at the lady Mary's" (afterwards queen), "was by one lady Anne Wharton desired to walke, and they passing by the chappel, the lady Wharton made low curtesie to the popish sacrament *hanging on the altar*: which when the lady Jane saw, she marvelled why she did so, and asked her whether the lady Mary were there, or not. Unto whom lady Wharton answered, No: but she said that she made her curtesie to *Him* that made us all. Why, quoth the lady Jane, how can He be there that made us all, and the baker made him?—This her answer coming to the lady Mary's eare, she did never love her after, as is credibly reported." Fox's *Acts*, vol. iii. 992. edit. 1640.

sence of them all : *O Father of heaven and of earth, I most humbly beseech thee to encrease my faith, and to help my unbelieve, and shortly cast down for ever that shamefull idol, the mass, even for Jesus Christ's sake, I ask it, Amen. God graunt it for his mercyes sake, shortly to come to pas.* I cry you mercy, sir, said the bushop, how holy you are now ! Did you never say mass, I pray you ! Yes, my lord, that I have ; and I ask God mercy, and most heartily forgivenes, for doing so wicked a deed. And will you never say it again ! said the bushop. No, my lord, God willing, never while I live, knowing that I do know, not to be drawn asunder with wild horses. I trust that God will not so give me over, and leave me to my self. Then he cryed, Away with him. It is the stubbornest knave that ever I talked with.

“Then Mr. Hungerford called for three or four of my lord's men to wait upon him to the Marshalsea : and, by the way, as he went, he mightily persuaded with me, that I should give over mine heresies and wicked opinions, as he termed them, and he wold be a mean for me unto my lord, and offered me to go back again. I thanked him for his good wil, and desired him, that I might go forward to the place appointed by my lord. Wel, saith he, and there be no remedy, come on. I am sorry for you. Then came we to the Marshalsea, and the porter, called Brittain, opened the door and let us in, saying, What have you brought here, Mr. Hungerford ? An heretic ? He sayd, Yea, and a traitor too. No, said I, I am none. I am even as true a man both to God and to the crown of England, as any of you both are, or my lord, your master, either. Wel, said the porter, we shal hamper you wel enough. Come on with me. Then the gentleman rounded him in the ear, and so went his ways. Then was I brought unto a great block. Set up your feet here, master heretic, said Brittain the porter ; and let me see how these cramp-rings will become you. I am not too good, said I, to wear these for the truth's sake, seeing that Jesus Christ dyed for my sake. They are welcome unto me with al my heart. For by much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of God. Than he took a great hammer in his hand, and did set them on, and that surely. Then he brought me to my lodging, a place called Boner's colehouse : there he put me in, and locked the door upon me, saying, he was commanded to keep me as a close prisoner, and that no man might speak with me. Content, said I, and yet wil I speak with one, I trust, every day, and ask you no leave.

Who is that? said he: wold I might know him. So wold I, truly: then were you a great deal nearer to the kingdom of God than you are now. Repent therefore your papistry, Mr. Brittain, and believe the gospel; so shal you be sure to be saved, els never. So he shook his head at me, and went his ways."

And here, for a while, we leave this poor minister of Christ a captive in the Marshalsea, where people came in thick and three-fold for religion. To this prison the bishop of Winchester used now and then to send his alms. About ten days after Mountain was committed, Brooks, the bishop's almoner, came hither with his master's alms-basket: but with a charge from the bishop to the porter, that not a scrap of it should be given unto the heretics; and that if he heard they had any share in it, that prison should never have it again as long as he lived. Brooks, departing out of the prison, beheld a piece of Scripture, that was painted over the door in the time of king Edward's reign; What have we here? said he; a piece of heresy? I command you, in my lord's name, that it be clean put out against I come again. For if I find it here, my lord shall know it, by holy mass.

Let us now look again upon Thomas Mountain, whom we left in the Marshalsea. To him and the rest that lay there for religion, Wyat⁹, being in Southwark, sent his chaplain, offering to set them at liberty, (but none else,) if they desired it. But either so ready were they to stand in a good cause, and to maintain the truth, leaving their cause in God's hand, or so unwilling to do any thing that might seem to give countenance to his rebellion, that they sent him a civil refusal with thanks. With which answer they understood Wyat was well pleased, as report was afterwards made to them.

This same Lent there came unto Mountain, Dr. Chadsey¹, Dr. Pendleton, Mr. Udal, parson Pyttis, and one Wakelyn, a petty canon of Paul's. All these laboured Mountain very sore for to recant: "which if he would do, my lord chancellor," said Chadsey to him, "would deliver you, I dare say; and you shall have as good livings as ever you had, and better." To whom he answered, "I would not buy my liberty, nor yet my lord's favour, so dear, as to forsake my good God, as some of you have done:

⁹ Wyat.] In his rebellion, A.D. 1553—4. Jan. and Feb.

¹ Dr. Chadsey.] William Chadsey. See vol. ii. p. 558, n.

the price whereof you are like one day to feel, if you repent not in time. God turn your hearts, and make you of a better mind. Fare you well; you have lost your mark; for I am not he you look for. And so we parted." Dr. Martyn also did one time send for him to come speak with him at the bishop of Winchester's house, offering him many good livings, if he would submit himself unto the said bishop. To which he answered, "If I should go about to please men, I know not how soon my Maker would take me away. For a double-hearted man is unconstant in all his ways. I trust that your sweet balms therefore shall never break my head. And seeing that I have begun in the Spirit, God forbid that I should now end in the flesh." Hearing this, he parted from him in a great fury; and going out of his chamber, he sware a great oath, saying, that he was as crafty an heretic knave as ever he talked with, and that he did nothing but mock at my lord. "Thou shalt gain nothing by it, I warrant thee," said he: "Keeper, have him away, and look straitly to him, I counsel you, till that you know further of my lord's pleasure."

These prisoners had got among them an abusive description of the person of the prince of Spain, and something reflecting also upon the queen and the match: as indeed there were many libels dispersed against it, as going against the grain of the English nation. It was discovered and informed, that a copy of this description was among the heretic prisoners; and Mountain was reported to be the composer of it: whereas he had it from a friend, and one Stonyng transcribed it. Whereupon sir Tho. Baker, sir Tho. Moyl, and sir Tho. Holdcroft, kt. marshal, sat in commission within the Tower, to examine Mountain, and three more, about it. They utterly denied they were the authors of it. Then, sir Rich. Southwel, "To the rack, to the rack with them: serve them like heretics and traitors, as they be:" and suddenly fell fast asleep as he sat at the board. Afterward, upon examination, when one of them had asserted whence he had it, and Stonyng acknowledged he wrote it out; then they were all locked up every man by himself, and Stonyng stayed behind, and was had down to the rack, and laid upon it, and so pulled that he began to crack under the arm-pits, and other parts of his body: and then was taken off, and put in a brake of iron, his neck, hands, and feet, and so he stood all night against a wall, and the next day taken out again. And thus continuing prisoners in the

Tower a quarter of a year, the council ordered them to be sent to the Marshalsea again, where they were before. What afterwards became of Mountain, and of his removal to the gaol at Cambridge, we shall hear under the next year.

We left Mountain in the Marshalsea. But being reported to have been with the duke of Northumberland in Cambridge, when he went to oppose queen Mary, it was thought convenient by chancellor Gardiner to send him to be tried at the assizes there. Of whose journey thither, and what befel him, and his deliverance after much trouble, I had rather the reader should take it from Mountain's own narration, which was as follows :

"There [in the Marshalsea] I remained, until such tyme as my lord chancellor sent a writ to remove me from thence to Cambridge castel. And over night I had warning to prepare my self against the next day in the morning. Short warning I had, but there was no remedy. In the morning, I made me ready betimes, and reckoned with my keeper ; went down and took my leave of all my fellow-prisoners, with the rest of my friends, moving them and exhorting them, as the time did serve, to be constant to the truth, to serve God and fear him, and to be obedient unto the death, and not to resist² the higher powers ; having always with you the testimony of a good conscience ; believing that Jesus of Nazareth was crucified for your sins, letting all other trash and trumpery go : yea, and though an angel should come from heaven, and preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached already in the days of king Edward, believe him not, but hold him accursed. For there is a way which some men think to be right, but the end thereof leadeth unto death. Christ is therefore your only way and mean unto God the Father. He is truth and life. He is alone our mediator and advocate, sitting at the right hand of his Father. It is he, as St. Paule saith, that is our only redemption, salvation, justification, and reconciliation. Take you heed, therefore, my dear brethren,

² *And not to resist.*] "My name I wryte not for causes. You know it well enough. Lyke the letter never the worse. Commend me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers ; that is, in no point, either in hand or tongue, rebell ; but rather, if they command that which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or say. By patience possesse your soules." Bradford in Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 293, 4. edit. 1564.

lest you be abused and led away from the truth by false prophets. Let them not make you to shoot at a wrong mark. For they only labour to make shipwreck of your faith, and to bring you to perdition. You see what a sort of grievous wolves are already entred in among Christ's flock to devour them.

"Stay there, sir, I pray you, and make an end, said the under-marshal; you have talked long enough, I trow, if that be good. To whom I said, sir, I thank you most heartily for your gentleness, in that you have so patiently suffered me freely thus to speak, and to take my leave of this house. I trust I have not spoken any thing here in your presence, that hath offended either God, or any good man. Wel, said he, dispatch, I pray you; for the writ is come, and they tary for you at the door. With that I fell prostrate to the ground, and said, O heavenly Father, if it be thy blessed will and pleasure, deliver me out of this trouble, and suffer me not to be tempted above my strength, I beseech thee; but in the midst of the temptation, make such a way for my deliverance, as shall be most to thy glory, my comfort, and the edifying of my brethren. Nevertheless, thy wil be don, and not mine. Give me patience, O Father, for Christ's sake. To this they al said, *Amen*. So I kissed the earth, and rose up, bidding them al farewell, desiring them to pray for me, and not to forget what I had said unto them, as they would answer afore God.

"Then went I out of the doors, finding there, between the gates, six tal men in blew coats, with swords and bucklers and javelins in their hands. And one of them brought unto me a gelding, desiring me to light on him quickly. For the day is far spent, said he. Content I am so to do; and being on horseback, one, of good wil, brought me a cup of wine to comfort me with. So I took it, and drank to all the people that were present there, and thanked them al heartily for their gentlenes. The under-marshal then took me fast by the hand, and rounded me in the ear, saying thus, sir, I am commanded by my lord chancellor to charge you, in the king and queen's name, that you do keep your tongue as you do ride thorow the city, and quietly to pas the same, as you wil answer to the contrary before the council. And thus much more I say unto you, I fear I shal hear of this day's work for your sake. Nevertheless, God strengthen you in that same truth whereunto he hath called you: for I perceive, and also believe, that you are in the right way. Fare you wel,

for I dare stand no longer with you. Pray for me, and I wil pray for you. And thus we parted at ix. of the clock in the forenoon.

“Then three of them rid afore me, and the other three behind me, till I came to Ware: and then we alighted at the sign of the crown; and I was brought into a fair parlar, a great fire made afore me, and a table covered. They asked me, if that I were not weary and a hungred? Not greatly, said I. Wel, said they, cal for what you wil, and you shal have it, if it be to be gotten for gold; for so are we commaunded; and be of good cheer, for God’s sake: I trust you shal have none other cause. So down I sat at the board, said grace, and made, as I thought, a good meal; and, so far as I remember, the reckoning came to an eight or nine shillings, beside our horsemeat. So grace being said, and the table taken up, the chiefest of these six serving-men said unto me, sir, how are you minded now? any otherwise than you were when you came out of London? No truly, said I: I thank God I am even the same man now that I was then; and I trust in God so to remain unto the end, or els I would be sory, and also ashamed. And I tell you true, that *I am not ashamed of the gospel of Jesus Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to as many as do believe.* And to tel you further, *if this gospel be hid, it is hid from those that shal perish;* for unto the good it is the savour of life unto life, and to the wicked and ungodly it is the savour of death unto death. Take you al heed therefore, dearly beloved, beware in time, lest both you and your teachers have their portion in the fiery lake among the hypocrits, *where there is weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth;* wheras, the worm of conscience shall never dy, but you to dwel in pain so long as God raigneth in glory. O! what should it profit a man to have this whole world at wil, and to leese his own soul? and when it is lost, wherewithal wil you redeem it again? I tel you, this is no massing matter; neither yet wil any pardons, purgatory, or pilgrimages serve your turn. No, and my lord chancellor, or the pope himself should say mas for one of you, and sing trentals for you, it would not go for payment before God: for, as the prophet David saith in the psalm, *there is no man that can make agreement to God for his brother: he must let that alone; for it cost more than so.* And, *if one man sin against another, days-men may be judges; but if a man sin against the Lord, who will be his days-man?* You are dearly bought, saith St. Peter, not with

corruptible gold and silver, pearl or precious stone, but by the most precious and innocent blood-shedding of Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God.

“Then said they one to another, Never let us talk any longer with him. It is but lost labour. You se that he is at a point. There is no good to be don of him. I perceive that he will dy in his opinions. Yea, said I, I trust in God so: for it is written, *Happy and blessed are al they that dy in the Lord*; for they shal be certain and sure of a joyful resurrection. Arise therefore, I pray you, and let us be going. So to horseback we went; a great number of people being in the yard and in the streets, to se and behold me the poor prisoner, that came from London. Every man spake their fancy; and some brought me wine to comfort me with: for the which I gave them most hearty thanks, desiring them al to pray for me, and I would pray for them. And thus, with tears of all hands, we parted from Ware; and so came to Royston to our bed. Wheras they made me great cheer, and spared for no cost.

“Then they once again did assault me, desiring me to write my mind to my lord chancellor, or to some other of the council, whom I would, and they would deliver it with speed: and if that you wil so do, we wil send one of our company to cary the same, and we wil tary here stil, while that he bring word again what the council's pleasure is. To whom I answered, I thank you for your good wil. I intend never to write unto any of the council, while I live, for this matter. And therefore, I pray you, content yourselves, and cease your suite so often attempted, for you do but strive against the stream: for I se that you are not with Christ, but against Christ. You savour of earthly things, and not of heavenly. You go about to hinder my health and salvation laid up in Christ, and to pluck down what God hath builded. You know not what you do: and therefore once again I pray you heartily, leave off, and take in good part what I have said already, and so judge al to the best. Wel, said they one to another, it were good that my lord chancellor did know al his sayings. One of us must tel him by word as well as we can. They were not yet agreed then who should tel the tale. Then desired they me to go up to my lodging; where there was a great fire made ready against I came, and al other things very sweet and clean. So, in the name of God, to bed I went: and al they six watched me that night at the doors, being fast locked upon me, and they

keeping the keys themselves. They might go out, but no man could come in to them without their leave.

"In the morning they called me very early, and willed me with speed to make me ready to horseback ; for, said they, we must ride to the high sheriff's to dinner. Who is that, said I, and where doth he dwel ? Eight miles beyond Huntington, said they, and his name is sir Oliver Leader, a man of much worship, and one that keepeth a good house. The poor shal fair the better therby, said I. So when we came to Huntington, they made me to drink : and we came to the sheriff's house even as the tables were covered. Then they hearing the prisoner was come from London, there was no smal ado. Word was caryed to the church where sir Oliver was at mass : and it was no need to entreat him to come ; for, with speed, both he and my lady his wife departed out of the church, and the parish followed them like a sort of sheep, staring and wondering at me. The sheriff gently took me by the hand, and led me into a fair parlar, desiring me to stand to the fire, and to warm me : for we were al thorow wet with raine, snow, and hayle. Then to dinner we went, and great cheer I had, with many welcomes, and oftentimes drank to, both by the sheriff himself, and the rest, his friends.

"When dinner was done, into the parlar I was called ; and a great sort of gentlemen being there set on the one side, and gentlewomen on the other side, with my lady the sheriff's wife, then Mr. sheriff said unto the knight marshal's men. Where is the writ that you have brought as touching the receit of this prisoner ? Here it is, sir, said one of them. So he received it : and when he had read it, he took me by the hand again, and said, that I was welcome. I thanked him for his gentle friendship. Then called he for a pair of indentures. So they were brought in and read. That don, one of them was given to the knight marshal's man, and the other the sheriff kept.

"Then the knight marshal's man took me by the hand, and said to the sheriff, sir, I do here, in the presence of al these people, deliver this prisoner unto you, and your mastership from henceforth to stand charged with him : and my master, sir Thomas Holdercroft, the knight marshal, doth acquit himself of the said prisoner, called Thomas Mountain. And with that he delivered him both me and the indenture. Then the sheriff said unto him, I do here receive that same prisoner so called, and discharge your master of him ; and so took me by the hand, and

delivered unto him his indenture. All this was done with great solemnity. Then was there a cup of wine called for, and the sheriff began unto me, and willed me to drink to the marshal's men; and so I did. Then they took their leave of the sheriff, and so went their ways; bidding me farewell; saying unto me, There is remedy enough yet, Mr. Mountain, if that you will take heed in time. God be with you al, said I, and I thank you: have me commended, I pray you, unto your master, and to the rest of al my friends. And so we parted.

"Then the sheriff caused four or five horse to be made ready. In the mean time he caused one of his men to make ready the warrant to the keeper of Cambridge castel. Nevertheles, my lady his wife laboured very earnestly to her husband for me, that I might not go to Cambridge castel, being so vile a prison, but that I might remain in their own house, as a prison. Madam, said he, I pray you be contented. If I should so do, I know not how it would be taken. You know not so much as I do in this matter. But what friendship I can shew him, he shal surely have it for your sake, and for his own too; for I have known him long, and am very sory for his trouble. So I thanked him for his gentlenes. By this time al things were in a readiness. Then he himself, and my lady, brought me to the utter gate: he willed me to be set on his own gelding; gave me a cup of wine; took me by the hand, and bad me farewell, desiring me to be of good cheer.

"So to Cambridge I came: and at the town's end there met me one Kenrick, who a little before had been a prisoner in the Marshalsea, as I my self was. But our causes not like: his was plain felony, and so proved; and mine was treason and heresy, as they called it. O! Mr. Mountain, sayd he, with a lowd voice, what makes you here? I perceive now that it is true that I have heard. What is that? said I. Truly, said he, that you be come hither to be burned. This is a sharp salutation, Mr. Kenrick, said I, and it is more than I do know of: and if it be so, God strengthen me in his truth, and his wil be don upon me, for I trust that I am his. Then rid we into the town to an inn called the Griffin, because the keeper was not at home: where I alighted, and went up to a chamber, my head being than somewhat troubled with Kenrick's sodain salutation afore mentioned. I called Mr. sheriff's men, and said unto them, Avoyd the people, I pray you, out of the chamber, and lock the doors, for I have

somewhat to say unto you. When this was done, I sat down, and said unto them, Dear friends, a question I have here to move unto you, wherein I shal desire you to be plain with me, and not to dissemble, even as you wil answer afore God at the last day ; afore whom both you and I shal stand, and there to render up our accounts. Tel me therefore, I pray you, what order hath Mr. sheriff taken with you, as touching the day and time when I shall suffer, and what kind of death it is that I shall die : and in so doing, you shall much pleasure me, and cause me to be in a great readiness whensoever I shall be called. Then one of them, whose name was Calton, said unto me, Sir, you need not to fear ; for if there were any such thing, you should have knowledge of it, as meet it were : but our master willed us, and also commaunded us, that we should gently use you, and also commaunded the keeper to do the same.

“ Then called they for meat and wine ; and when we had wel refreshed us, we went up to the castel, where they called for the keeper ; but he was not within. Then delivered they the warrant unto the keeper’s wife, saying thus, Goodwife Charllys, my master hath sent your husband a prisoner here, and his pleasure is, that you should entreat him wel, and se that he lack nothing, and also to have the liberty of the yard. And so took they their leave of me, and went their ways. Then the keeper’s wife led me up through the sessions hal, and there she locked me up under four or five locks : and at night, very late, the keeper came home, and up he came unto me, I being in bed, and said unto me, Sir, you are welcome hither : are you come to be nursed ? To whom I said, I am sent hither unto this jayl by the queen’s council ; and what you are, I know not as yet : I think that you be the keeper. So I am indeed, said he, and that shal you know or it be long. Wel, I trust, Mr. Keeper, to find favour at your hand ; and I beseech you be good unto me, for I have lain long in prison. What is your name ? said he. My name is Thomas Mountain, said I. Nay, said he, you have another name. Not that I do know of, said I. Then he looked in my purse what mony I had, and took it with him ; also my coat, my boots, and spurs ; and so bad me good night. And I said, Good night, mine host. I am content, said he, to be your host to night, to morrow you shal have a new.

“ Here I called to my remembrance the salutations given unto me at the town’s end by the aforementioned Kenrick. So I rise up,

cast my cloke about me, and kneeled down, crying out unto Almighty God, desiring him of his great infinite mercy and goodness, for Jesus Christ's sake, to comfort me with his holy Spirit in that agony, and not to forsake me in mine old age, being so sore assaulted of the subtil devil, flattering world, and the weak flesh, that I had wel nigh slipt, as David the holy prophet said. And when the dead time of the night came, nature requiring rest, and I feeling in my self in short time so great quietnes, through the mighty mercies of my Lord God, who had sent me so sweet a calm after so cruel and stormy a tempest, said thus, *Soli Deo honor et gloria* : the Lord's name be praised, from the rising up of the sun until the going down of the same ; and into thy merciful hands do I commend my soul, trusting not to dy, but to live for ever in the land of the living. For thy Spirit, O Lord, hath so certified me, that whether I live or dy, stand or fal, I am thine ; and therefore thy blessed wil be don upon me. This don, I layd me down upon my bed, and slept until five a clock in the morning.

"And then the keeper came and opened the door, bad me good morrow, and asked me, And I were ready? Whereunto? said I. To suffer death, said the keeper. What kind of death, said I, and when shal it be? Your time is neer at hand, said he ; and that is to be drawn and hanged as a traitor, and burnt as an heretic : and this must be don even this foornoon. Look wel to your self therfore, and say that you be friendly used. Your friendship, Mr. Charlys, is but hard and scarce, in giving me this Scarborough warning³ : but give me leave, I pray you, friendly to talk with you, and be not offended with what I shal say unto you. This tale that you have told me, is it true indeed? Yea, said he, and that you are like for to know : dispatch therfore, I pray you, with speed. Contented I am with al my heart so to do. Where is the writ of execution? let me se it, I pray you. I have none, said he : this is more than needs ; for I am to be trusted, and it were for a greater matter than this. Sir, I pray you, be con-

³ *This Scarborough warning.*] "That is, no warning at all : but a sudden surprise, when a mischief is felt before it is suspected." Ray's *Proverbs*, p. 272. edit. 1813. If Ray's account be correct, who assigns the origin of this proverb, to the sudden seizure of Scarborough castle in 1557, it would follow, that this narrative was not composed till three or four years, at the least, after the troubles described, or that this particular clause was a subsequent insertion, borrowed from the popular voice of the day.

tented, for in this thing I will not trust you, because it is a matter of life and death it standeth me upon. Is the high sheriff, sir Oliver Leader, come in the town to se execution? No, said he. Is the under-sheriff, his deputy, here to se it? No, said he. Is there any private commandment come from the queen's council, or els any letters sent of late for that purpose? No, said he: but you do al this for no cause els than to prolong the time. No, said I: as I am born to dy, contented I am so to do, when God wil; but to be made away after such slight, I would be very loth. And therefore, if that you have nothing to show for your discharge, according as I have required of you, I tel you true that I will not dy. Take you good heed therfore to your self, and look that I miscary not: for if that ought come unto me but good, you and yours are like to know the price of it; be you wel assured thereof. When did you se any man put to death before he was condemned to dy? That is true, said he; and are you not condemned? No, said I, that am I not, neither yet ever arraigned at any sessions. Then, said he, I have been greatly misenformed. I cry you mercy; for I had thought that you had been both arraigned and also condemned to dy, being sent hither for to suffer in this place, because that you were here against the queen with the duke of Northumberland. Wel, said I, those matters have been already sufficiently answered before your betters.

"But I pray you, sir, and a man might ask you, whose man are you, or to whom do you belong? Mary, said he, I am not ashamed of my master: I would thou shouldst know it, as thou art. My lord chancellor of England is my master, and I am his man. I thought such a matter, said I. The old proverbe is true, I perceive; for *Such a master, such a servant*. And is this my lord of Winchester's livery that you wear now? Yea, said he. And is this the best service you can do my lord your master? Fy, for shame! Fy! Wil you follow now the bloudy steps of that wicked man your master; who is unworthy, before God I speak it, both of the name and place that he hath, and is called unto? What should move you for to handle me after this sharp sort, as you have don; so spitefully, being here not yet three days under your keeping? Wil you become a tormentor of God's people and prophets? Wil you now cease from killing of bullocks, calves, and sheep, which is your occupation, being a butcher, and give over your self most cruelly to serve your master's turn in shedding of innocent bloud? O man! with what a heavy heart

may you lay yourself to sleep at night, if that God of his great mercy do suffer you to live so long, in this your so wicked attempt and enterprize ! I speak not this of any hatred that I bear unto you, as God knoweth my heart ; but I speak it of good wil, that you might be called unto a better remembrance and knowledge of your duty, both towards God and your Christian brother.

“ Let it therfore repent you, dear brother keeper, and know how dangerous a thing it is for a man to fal into the hands of the living God, and how it is said, that blood requireth blood. And if you wil not believe me, set that terrible example of cursed Cain before your eyes, who slew his own dear brother Abel most unnaturally, like a beastly man ; and afterward wandered up and down like a vagabond on the face of the earth, seeking rest, peace, and quietnes, and could never attain unto it : so that at the last, in most desperate words, he burst forth and said, O ! wretch that I am ! I said unto the Lord, when he called me to account for my brother’s death, and answered, that I was not his keeper. But shortly after I perceived that the shedding his blood cryed to God for vengeance to fal upon me for so doing : and now I perceive that my sins be greater than the mercy of God is able to forgive. If this wil not move your hard and stony heart to repentance, then think of that traitor Judas, which, for lucre sake, betrayed his own master, as he confessed himself, when the worm of conscience troubled him, saying to the high priest, *I have betrayed the innocent blood, take, there is money, for I will none of it.* And then it was too late : so to shorten his own days, he most desperately went and hung himself ; so that he burst asunder in the midst, his bowels hanging about his belly. O most terrible examples ! left written in the holy Scriptures, that we therby might take heed and beware never to do the like, lest we speed in reward as they did. From the which God defend us, for Jesus Christ’s sake.

“ *Amen*, said the keeper, with weeping tears. And, sir, I beseech you once again, even for God’s sake, to forgive me ; and I ask God heartily mercy for the great mischief that I purposed in my heart against you. I perceive that you, and such other as you, be other maner of men than we and our betters take you to be. I perceive that the blind doth eat many a fly. God, and it be his blessed will, make me one of your sort ; and look that what I can do for you, you shall be assured of it. Come down with

me, I pray you, into the yard. So I went with him ; and when he came down, al the yard was ful of people. What meaneth this people ? said I to the keeper. Al these are come, said he, to se you suffer death. There be some here that are come as far as Hengston ; but I trust their coming shal be in vain : be you of good cheer. Then go your way, said I, and gently desire them for to depart, and tel them, it is no reason any man should suffer death before that he be condemned ; and so you shall easily avoyd them, and I wil go up again til you have done.

“ When they were al gon, the keeper called me down to dine with him at his own table. And dinner being ended, we fell in talk again ; and so, from time to time, had many conferences together ; and I began to grow in great credit with him ; inso-much, that whensoever he rid forth about any business, he committed al the charge of the whole house unto me, prisoners and al ; and laboured unto the high sheriff for me, that I might be delivered. Notwithstanding, I remained there prisoner half a year in much misery, having sometime meat, and sometime none : yea, and many times glad, when I might get a peny loaf and my glas ful of fair water up to my lodging, being fast locked up every night. And at midnight alway, when they searched the prisoners’ rooms, then one should come and knock at my door, and ask me if I were within. To whom I answered always, Here I am, Mr. keeper. Good night then, said he : and so they would go their ways.

“ Now on a certain day, being mery, he brought home with him to se me divers honest men of the town ; among whom there was one that I never saw before, nor he me, called Mr. Segar, a beer-brewer, dwelling at Magdalen-bridg ; whose heart God had opened above the rest to shew mercy unto me : for he knew that the keeper would do much at his request. So that, or ever he went away, he promised him payment for my diet, desiring him to shew me favour for his sake, and I wil be bound for him he shal be true prisoner. Al this pleased Charlys the keeper wel : and it was no grief at al to me, to hear this bargain made between them : for otherwise, said I, it was not unlike, but that I should have perished here for lack of comfort. And here is not to be forgotten of my part, the mighty and fatherly providence of God, who never faileth any man that truly puts his trust in him. Who can kil him, Mr. Charlys, whom God wil keep alive ? may I say now : and who can deliver him whom God wil destroy ? His great

power delivered me once out of the lions' den, as he did his holy prophet Daniel: so I trust that he wil deliver me here out of al my troubles, if he so se it good; if not, his wil be don. And thus we parted for that time; my keeper being glad of these good assurances; I taking patiently mine indurance and my surety, hoping for my deliverance.

"After this, within short time, the high sheriff sent for me home to his house beyond Huntington, to se whether I would relent or no; telling me, that he had written up to the council for me, and that it was their pleasure that I should be delivered, if that I would be a conformable man to the queen's proceedings, and forsake heresy, or els to remain in prison until the next sessions of gaol delivery. For your good-will do I thank your mastership most heartily; and wel contented I am so to remain as a prisoner, rather than to give over my faith for this vain life, which is but short. Wel, said he, I perceive that you are no changeling: you shal therfore return to the place from whence you came, and there abide your trial. So we took our leave of him, and came our ways back again to Huntington; and there we lay al that night, I having upon one of mine armes a great braslet of iron, of four fingers broad, fast locked on, and a fine chain of three yards long joyned thereunto. And being bid to supper of one Thomas Whype, merchant of London, with others, my keeper was desired to ease me for the time, and they would be bound for me, and he to be wel recompenced for so doing. This desire of my friends was scarce wel liked of my keeper, because they were Londoners; and graunt it he would not in no wise. So when supper was don, to our chamber we went; and anon comes in a smith, with a hammer and a great staple. Make you ready, said the keeper, I pray you, and go to bed. So I layd me down upon my bed. Then he called the smith unto him, and said, Make fast the staple and the chain together, and drive them fast in to some part of the bedsted: for I have heard saide, *Fast bind, fast find*. Then he looked behind al the painted cloths, to se if there were any no doors into the chamber than one. That don, he locked the door, and cast the key out of the window to the good man of the house, desiring him to keep it safe til the morning. Smal rest I took that night: I was so sore wrung about my wrist, that the blood was ready to spin out at my fingers ends. So, early in the morning we rise, and took our horse, and came to

Cambridge castel to dinner : and then my braslet was taken off mine arme.

“ In August following was the sessions. Unto the which came my lord chief justice of England ; one that before was recorder of London, and called Mr. Brook. With him there sat sir Thomas Dier, sir Clement Higham, sir Oliver Leader, high sheriff, Mr. Griffin, the queen’s solicitor, Mr. Burgain, and a number of gentlemen mo. Now when they were come to the sessions hal, and there set, the keeper was commaunded to bring in his prisoners. I being first called for by name, then on went my braslet again ; and there a priest, called Thomas Willyard, vicar of Babram, was fast locked unto me. We twain went foremost, and stood at the bar. Then said my lord chief justice unto me, sir, what make you here ? Are you not a Londoner ? Yes, and it like your lordship. How long have you been prisoner ? Half a year, my lord. Who sent you hither ? Forsooth, my lord, that did the council. Then said the high sheriff, My lord, this is the man that I told your lordship of. I beseech you be good lord unto him, for he hath been as quiet a prisoner as ever came within this jayl, and hath used himself as honestly towards his keeper. You speak wel for him, said my lord. Stand aside a while, till you be called. In the mean time Mr. Griffin had a cast at me, saying thus, Thou art both a traitor and an heretic. No, and it like your worship, I am neither of both. Is not thy name Mountain ? Yes, forsooth, I will never deny it. And art not thou he that my lord chancellor sent hither with a writ ? I am the same man. Wel, said he, if thou be not hanged I have marvel : thou wilt scape narrowly, I believe. Sir, I perceive that thou are my heavy friend : I beseech you be good master unto me : I have layn this three [quarters of a] year in prison, in irons. Never was there any man that laid any thing to my charge. Then he called for the writ : to whom the high sheriff said, that he had forgotten to bring it with him. O ! wel, said sir Oliver, you are a good man, I warrant you. This man was not brought hither for building of churches, I dare say, nor yet for saying of our lady-psalter. Indeed, sir, these be things that I cannot wel like of.

“ Then my lord chief justice called me to the bar again, and caused proclamation to be made, that whosoever could lay ought to my charge, to come in, and he should be heard, or els the prisoner to stand at his deliverance. This was don thrice, and

no man came in to give evidence against me. Then said my lord chief justice unto the whole bench, I se no cause why but that this man may be delivered upon sureties, to be bound to appear at the next sessions, here holden, of gaol delivery: for you se that there is no man cometh in to lay any thing to his charge. We cannot but by the law deliver him, proclamation being once made, and no man coming in against him. What say you, Mr. Mountain, can you put in sureties here before the queen's justices to appear before us here at the next sessions? And if that you can so do, pay the charges of the house, and God be with you. If not, then must you needs remain still, until the next sessions. What say you? have you any sureties ready? No, and it like your lordship, I have none ready: but if it please you to be so good lord unto me as to give me leave, I trust in God to find sureties. Wel, said my lord, go your ways; make as good speed as you can, for we must away. Then he commanded the keeper to strike off my irons. That don, I was turned out of the gate to seek my venture, without any keeper at al, go where I would. And when I came abroad, I was so sore amazed, that I knew not where to become. At last I took the way into the town, and there I met a man unknown to me, who was not a little joyful when he saw me at liberty, saying unto me, Are you clean discharged from your bonds? No, said I, I lack two sureties. Truly, said he, I will be one, God willing: and I wil se if that I can get another to be bound with me. So we met with another honest man, called Mr. Blunt.

"And having these twain, I gave thanks to God for them, and with speed returned back again to the castel. And as I went, there met me two Essex men, which came to seek me themselves, to enter into bonds for me. I gave them most hearty thanks for their gentle offer, and told them that God had raised up a couple for me already. We are glad of it, said they; yet we will go with you, lest you do lack. And as I entred into the castel-yard, the judges were arising; and they seing me coming, sat down again. Then said my lord chief justice, Have you brought in your sureties? Yea, and it like your lordship: here they be. Let me se them, said he. Then they al four stood forth, and shewed themselves unto my lord. He said unto them, Are you contented to enter into bonds for this man? Yea, my lord, said they, if it please you to take us. Wel, said he, two of you shal serve. There were standing by two brethren, and they hearing my lord

say that two would serve, went with speed to him that writ the bond, and caused him to put in their names in *iii*l. *iiii*d. for each of them: saying thus the one to the other, Let us not only bayl him out of bonds, but also relieve him with such part as God hath lent us. And so they did; I praise God for it.

“And when the people saw and understood that I was clearly discharged out of bonds, there was a great shout made among them; such joy and gladnes was in their hearts, as might right wel appear, for my deliverance. Then came Mr. Segar, of whom I have spoken a little before, and he payd al maner of charge that could be desired of the keeper for the time of my being there: and that don, had me home to his own house, wheras I had good entertainment. And after that I had remained there a fortnight, I took my leave, and so came to London.”

Having thus far told the stories of this good man's sufferings, and brought him unto his delivery out of them, and shewn the kindness of the common people towards him, who generally loved the reformation, and the preachers of it, I cannot leave him till we have heard what further befell him, and have shewn the unsatiable malice of bishop Gardiner against him; relating, withal, his great dangers, and his escape beyond sea, and what course he took there for a livelihood. And all this I shall pursue out of his own commentaries, as I have done before.

Mountain, being newly arrived in the city, had the satisfaction of seeing king Philip and queen Mary, the cardinal, and the chancellor, ride in great state through the streets, placing himself at Soper-lane end in Cheapside: where some of the said bishop's servants espied him; which created him new troubles, as we shall see by and by.

“When al this sight was past,” (for we now use his own words,) “I went my ways: for as yet I durst not go home to mine own house. And at night, when the bishop came home, one of his spials told him that he saw me stand in Cheapside, when the queen rid through the city. Here he fel into such a great rage, as was told me by one of his own men, as was unseeming for a bishop; and with great speed sent for the knight marshal. And when he came, he said unto him, Mr. Holcroft, how have you handled your self in your office? Did not I send unto you one Mountain, that was both a traitor and an heretic, to this end,

that he should have suffered death? And this day the villain knave was not ashamed to stand openly in the street, looking the prince in the face. Mine own men saw him. I would counsel you to look him up, and that there be diligent search made for him this night in the city, as you wil answer afore the council. Al this shal be don, and it like your honour; and I trust there shal be no fault found in me. Away then, said the bishop, about your business.

“Then came there one that was secretary unto the knight marshal, who willed me with speed to depart out of the city. For this night, saith he, shal the city be searched for you: and if you be taken, surely ye dy for it. Thus fare you wel. God deliver you out of their hands, if it be his wil. Then went I over into Southwark, and there lay al night. In the morning I rose early, took a boat, and went to Limehouse; and so from thence to Colchester; and there took shipping, thinking to have gon into Zealand, and so up to the High Country: but we were so weather-beaten, that of force we were glad to return back again. And this voyage was thrice attempted, and always put back. And, at the last time, we were cast aland at St. Osith’s: wheras I durst not long tary, because of my lord Darcy, who lay there, having a strait commission sent to him from q. Mary, to make diligent search for one, called, *Trudge over the World*, and for all such like as he was. So that I was fain to fly to a little parish called Hemsted, thinking there for to have had some rest; but the search was so strait, that at midnight, I having almost too short warning, was fain with great speed to fly unto Dedham Heath, and to take my coat in my neck, having an honest man with me, who had a forest bil on his back; and with the same he cut down a great sort of brakes, and that was my bed for a time. And whensoever I might get into an hayloft, I thought my self happy, and wel to be lodged.

“At the last I was housed, I thank God, with an honest man; but having a wicked servant, not loving the gospel, the said servant went and complained of his master to the bailif and constables; saying unto them, that there was an heretic in his master’s parlor. How know you that, said they? Take heed of what thou sayst: thy master is an honest man; and thou seest how troublesome a time it is; and if we, upon thy report, should go search his house, and not find it so, what art thou worthy to have for slaundering thy master? Tush, saith he, I am sure it is so;

for the house is never without one or other; and most chiefly when there is a fire in the parlor. And therefore I know by the smoak, that there is one indeed. So the officers willed him to go about his business. For, said they, we wil prove it at night. In the mean time, they did his master to understand what his man had said unto them, and friendly bad him take heed, for they would search his house that night: and so they did indeed, but the birds were flown. The next day the officers took his man, and set him in the stocks, to teach him to speak good of his master, and not to accuse him, and bring the smoke for a witness against him.

"Now while I was seeking a corner to hide my head in, justice Brown, that dwelleth beside Burntwood, cometh me down to Colchester, and there played the devil, by the counsil of one Mr. Tyrrel and Mr. Colson, inholder of the same town, and Gylbert the lawyer: who caused divers honest men to be sent for before the said justice, and sworn upon a book, to bring in the names of al those that were suspected of heresy⁴, as he termed it: and also gave unto the officers a great charge, that from time to time diligent search should be made in every house for al strangers, and

⁴ *Suspected of heresy.*] The queen had issued a commission (Westm. Feb. 8, 3 & 4 Phil. and Mary,) to the bishops of London and Ely, the lord North, secretary Bourne, sir Thos. Pope, Cole, dean of St. Paul's, with several more, civilians, alleging that divers false rumours, seditious slanders, and divers heresies, and heretical opinions were very rife, &c., "that therefore they, the commissioners, or any three of them, were to inquire into those, either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other politic way they could devise. And to search after all heresies; the bringers in, the sellers, or readers of all heretical books. They were to examine and punish, all misbehaviours, or negligences, in any church or chapel; and to try all priests that did not preach of the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish-church to service, that would not go in procession, or did not take holy bread, or holy water. And if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them in the hands of their ordinaries, to be proceeded against according to the laws: giving them full power to proceed, as their discretions and consciences should direct them; and to use all such means as they could invent, for the searching of the premises: empowering them also to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after."—This commission I have put in the collection. It will shew how high they intended to raise the persecution, when a power of such a nature was put in the hands of any three of a number so selected. Burnet's *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 323. edit. 1715. Compare Fox, vol. iii. p. 781. edit. 1640.

to take them and bring them before a justice. For this town, said he, is an harbourer of all heretics, and ever was. So when he had bound them all in recognisances, he willed them to depart every man home to his house.

“Then, upon their return, with speed was I conveyed away to Londonward forthwith. And when I came there, I went over into Southwark again; and there lay two days and two nights. And the third night, when it was somewhat darke, I entred into a ship of Antwerp, and so we went down to Gravesend. There they cast anchor, and went al a land, and left me aboard with a man and a boy. I fearing the searchers, that they would have had me to shore, and there being so wel known as I was, I knew it was the next way to bring me afore a justice to be examined, and so to be returned back again to London; and then sure I am, that I had dyed for it: I looked in my purse, and there were three pistolets. I took one of them, and gave it unto the man that was aboard with me, and desired him to go ashore to the master of the ship, and he to be a mean unto the searchers for me, when they came a shipboard to search. And truly it pleased God so to work in their hearts, that I found great favor at their hands. For when one of them had examined me, and that very straitly, he asked of me, what my name was; Thomas Mountain is my name, said I. I wil never deny it, nor never did, I praise God for it. Nay, said he, that is not your name; for I knew him wel enough. His father and I were servants to k. Harry the VIII. and also to k. Edward. And I am sure that Richard Mountain's son was burnt since this q. Mary came in. Sir, credit me, I pray you, for I am the very same man, that now talk with you. Indeed, God hath mightily dealt with me, and most mercifully hath delivered me from the cruel hands of bloudy men. And, now, behold! my life is in your hands. I may not resist you, nor wil not; but gently submitting my self unto you, desire your lawful favour, that I may pass this port, and God, I trust, that is the high searcher above, and knoweth the secrets of al mens hearts, shal one day reward you openly, according as he hath promised.

“Then began he to water his plants; saying unto me, sir, I thought once never to have seen you again: you are grown out of my knowledg. And seing that it is the will of God, that you should not dy by their cruelty, I trust that your bloud shall never

be required at my hands. I wil not molest you : but this I warn you of in anywise, that you keep yourself as close as you can. For here is one of the promoters, that goeth in the same ship that you go in. Who is that? said I. It is one Mr. Beard, said he, dwelling in Fleetstreet, a merchant tayler. I know him well, said I, and he me. Wel, said he, God be with you, for yonder he cometh, and al the passengers with him, and so we parted, and I went into the master's cabbिन ; and there I lay, til that we were entred the main sea. Then came I forth to refresh my self: and Beard seeing me, began to blush, saying unto me, Sir, what make you here? Truly, said I, I am of the same mind that you are of. You know not my mind, said he. Whatsoever yours is, I mean to go to Antwerp, God willing, said I. And so do you, I trow. What will you do there? said he: you are no merchant-man, as I am, and the rest that be here. Mr. Beard, what the rest are that be here, I know not; but as for your merchandize and mine, in some points I think they be much alike. But when that you and I shall meet in the English burse together, you shall see what cheer I can make you. In the mean time let us as friends be mery together, I pray you. Nay, said he, I would I had met you at Gravesend, that I might have made you some good cheer there; but it was not my fortune so to do; and I am very sorry for it, believe me and you will. Sir, I thank God, it is better as it is: I know your cheer wel enough. And then away I went.

“ With that he went down under the hatches, and told al the passengers what a rank heretic I was. For it is marvel, said he, that the ship doth not sink, having so wicked a man in it as he is. And therefore, good gentlemen, I pray you heartily, take heed, and beware of him. I had rather than my velvet coat, that he and I were together at Gravesend again. Then came the merchants up to me, and called for meat and wine, having good store there of their own provision. And they made me great cheer, bidding me in any wise to take heed of Beard. These were merchants of Danske, and had to do here in London with most of the aldermen, unto whom they gave a good report.

“ Now I, thinking to prevent Beard of further trouble, that by him, and his procurement, might hap unto me, upon my arrival at Antwerp, whispered the master in the ear, and desired him heartily to land us at Dunkirk. For I will ride the rest by

waggon, God willing : and so shall I be rid of Mr. Beard's company. I am content, saith the master of the ship ; I am weary already, saith he, of his company. *The whorson pape shall come no more in mine schepes.* So to Dunkirk we came, and Beard went first a land, and bad us al welcome. For, said he, I wil be your steward, and we wil fare wel, if there be any good cheer in the town. Then came we to our hoste's house ; supt al-together. That being don, we went to our lodging : and so it fel out, that Beard and I should ly together ; and so did. But before he went to bed, he kneeled him down at the bedside, and made upon his body, as I think, forty crosses, saying as many Ave-Marias, but nother creed not pater-noster. Then he shewed us what mony he had. The which was both gold and silver, and that plenty.

“ At midnight the master of the ship took his tyde, and went his way. Mr. Beard up in the morning betime, went down to the waterside to look for the ship, and when he saw it was gon, he came and told us, swearing and chafing like a madman, saying, that king Philip should know it, how he was used. Then sent he al about to know, if any went at the next tyde following. In the mean time I took my waggon, and went my ways ; and that was the last time that ever I saw him. But afterwards I was informed, by credible persons, that he had spent all his mony, both his velvet coat, and also his livery coat, that he had of queen Mary : and so came home poor and bare, being very sick and weak, and in Holbourn dyed most miserably full of lice. Behold his end ! God grant he dyed his servant, *Amen.*

“ Now when as I came to Antwerp, being never there afore, I was amazed, and knew not where to become that night. At last I found out the English house ; and there I was received for a time. After that, I took an house in the Ox-mart of a merchant, called Adam Raner, who shewed me much favor. And there I taught a school for the space of a year and a half quietly : and then comes over Mr. Hussy, being then governor of the English nation ; and it was given out, that he would suddenly ship, and send away into England, al such as were come over for religion, he naming me himself for one. So with as much speed as I could make, I took waggon and went up to Germany, and there was, at a place called Duisburgh, a free city, being under the duke of Cleveland, and there remained until the death of queen Mary.

And then came back again to Antwerp. And there, when I set all my doings in order, I returned home again with joy into England, my native country. In the which God grant his gospel to have free passage, and by the same our lives to be amended, *Amen.*"

BISHOP JEWEL.

Spite of Nabuchodonosor's beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miserable Jewes must come home againe, and have their citie and temple builded up againe by Zorobabel, Esdras and Nehemias: and the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruine, and be taken of strangers, the Persians and Medes—So shall the dispersed English flocke of Christ be brought againe into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent king Edwards daies.—JOHN ROGERS, *the Martyr*; written by him in the year 1555.

We hold, profess and maintain so entire and full consent with the ancient and catholic Fathers, in all things necessary to the being, or well-being of the church, to the rule of faith, and substance of religion, to the right service of God, and the salvation of man, that whatever herein they teach and deliver with consent (*assertivè*), by way of averring of doctrine, and avouching of truth (*tanquam ex fide*), as a matter of faith, grounded in their judgment on God's word, we willingly receive, embrace and observe.

Neither have we in the public reformation of our church, its doctrine and service, changed or purged out any thing, *thus* taught and approved by the fathers; but only such errors, superstitions and abuses, as *beside* and *contrary* to this rule have since crept into the church; by adding of things that formerly were not, or detracting of them that were: or by otherwise altering and perverting them from the right sense, meaning and use, wherein they were instituted, taken and used by the said godly fathers.—BISHOP OVERALL, in *his Dedication to the works of Jewel*.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Life of Bishop Jewel is printed intire from a small octavo volume intituled, "The Apology of the Church of England; and an Epistle to one Seignior Scipio" ¹ a Venetian gentleman, concerning the Council of Trent; written both in Latin, by the right reverend Father in God, John Jewel Lord Bishop of Salisbury, made English by a Person of Quality: To which is added the Life of the said Bishop, collected and written by the same hand. London, printed by T. H. for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1685."—This title will sufficiently explain the opening, and the date will illustrate several other parts of the insuing Preface: which displays that earnestness of zeal against non-conformists, as well as papists, by which, from the memory of recent evils, and the perilous state of the times, the reigns of Charles the second, and James the second were distinguished.

¹ *Seignior Scipio.*] Probably Scipione Biondi, the son of Michel-Angiolo Biondi.

THE
PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE ensuing discourses are all designed for the good and service of the religion by law established ; and two of them are so excellently adapted to that end by their author, that if I have not spoiled them by an ill version, there can be no doubt made, but they will be of great use. Of the third I beg leave to give somewhat a larger account, because I am a little more concerned in it.

The life I have collected, 1. from Mr. Humfrey's, who wrote bishop Jewel's life at large in quarto. 2. The English life put before his works which was penned about the year 1609. 3. Mr. Fuller's Church History. 4. Dr. Heylin's *Ecclesia Anglicana restaurata*, and others who wrote any thing that related to those times, and fell into my hands in that short time I had to finish it in. Mr. Humfrey's alone would have been sufficient, if he had observed an exact method in writing this life ; or been altogether free from affections. But tho he tells us bishop Jewel kept a diary of his life, and that he had assistance from Dr. Parkhurst¹ bishop of Norwich, Ægidius Lawrence, Mr. John Jewel the bishop's brother, and one Mr. John Garbrande and others ; and printed his piece in the year 1573, which was not much above two years after the death of bishop Jewel, yet he has not observed any exact order or method in the history of his life : and he no where tells us in what year he was made a fellow, or received orders, nor from whom ; only he tells us Mr. Harding took his orders at the same time. Nor has he acquainted us when Mr. Harding published his first or second Antapologies,

¹ Parkhurst.] See p. 332.

nor when the bishop went to Padua, nor how long he staid there, nor who were his partners in his visitation for the queen. Nor has he marked almost any of the principal actions of his life when they were done; and tho he mentions a sermon at Paul's Cross, and a conference with the dissenters not long before his death, yet he neither tells us the time or occasion of either of them; but instead of these, runs out into discourses against Harding and others of that perswasion, which were nothing, or very little to his purpose.

The English life before his works, is only an extract out of Mr. Humfrey's Latin work, but yet was helpful to me in many particulars, being done by a wise man², and who doth not seem to have been biassed as the former was; who makes it his business to represent both the church of England and bishop Jewel as wondrous friends to the churches of Switzerland, that is, to the Calvinists, because he, good man, was one himself³, tho not so mad as those that followed; and upon this very account I do suspect he has left out many things that he might have related, and would have afforded great light to the church history of those times, and especially to bishop Jewel's life.

Fuller is barren in his relations of those times, the bishop lived after his consecration, tho he afforded me some good helps. Dr. Burnet has continued his history but a little way in queen Eliza-

² *Done by a wise man.*] The writer was Daniel Featly. "If any desire to be more familiarly acquainted with Jewel, let him read the story of his life at large in doctor Humfrey, or at least the abridgment thereof, which I drew in the year of our Lord 1611, being then student in Corpus Christi College, at the command of archbishop Bancroft; which as soon as it was sent up, was suddenly printed, and prefixed to Jewel's works."—Featly in Fuller's *Abel redivivus*, p. 313, edit. 1651.

³ *Was one himself.*] Humfrey, it is certain, though president of a college, and regius professor of divinity, was, at least till his later years, a very zealous puritan; and was more than once in some trouble on that account. Indeed, what wonder that he was unmoved by the arguments and the threats of the theologians, when his flinty breast could withstand the condescending and courtly flatteries of a virgin queen? In the year 1566 Elizabeth visited Oxford; and she, in return to the dutiful reception given to her upon her arrival, offering her hand to kiss, to the vice-chancellor, doctors and masters; while Humfrey was receiving that honour, the queen said, "Dr. Humfrey methinks *this gown and habit becomes you very well*: and I marvel you are so straight-laced in this point—but I come not now to chide." Wood's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 156, edit. 1796.

beth's time ; and Dr. Heylin ended his with the beginning of the year 1566, which was about five years before the death of bishop Jewel : and I have neither time nor leisure, nor interest to search the records of those times, and compare the editions of books and other things by which this life might have been put into a better method, as to the timing of things.

And besides all this, it were perhaps indecent to put a long life before two such small tractates as I am to entertain my reader with ; but yet I hope the life, such as it is, will give some light to the discourses, and raise a venerable idea of this good bishop in the reader's mind ; which were the things I chiefly aimed at in the writing of it.

As to the pieces, the first of these, the Apology, was written in Latin in the beginning of the year 1562, or the latter end of the foregoing year, and was occasioned by pope Pius the fourth calling the council of Trent, and sending his nuncio Martinigo to invite the queen to it ; and the interposition of most of the greatest princes of Christendom, who wrote to the queen to entertain the nuncio and submit to the council. Whereupon it was thought but reasonable to give the world an account of what we had done in the preceding parliament, and the reasons of it, and to retort the many accusations brought against our church by the papists. And therefore it was but reasonable that it should be in Latin, that being the most common language, and understood by the learned men of all nations ; and accordingly it found entertainment in all places, and was read in them : which is more perhaps than can be said of any other book written for our church since the Reformation.

Mr. Harding had a great quarrel against it, because it was not inscribed neither to the pope nor to the council. But there being no reason to make them our judges, and they having no right to claim that authority over us, it had been a great oversight to have made any such inscription, which would have been a kind of making them what they had neither right nor reason to expect to be, and from whom we could expect no justice.

The natives had without doubt a great desire to see what was in this book which then made so great a noise in the world ; and the learned men being then otherwise employed, a lady who was one of the most learned of the age, undertook that task, and made a very faithful and perhaps elegant version of it for the time when it was made.

She was then wife to sir Nicholas Bacon lord keeper of the great seal of England, second daughter to Sir Anthony Cooke knight, one of the tutors to king Edward the sixth, who being an excellent scholar, had taken care to improve his five daughters (Lloyd's *State-worthies*, p. 374) so much in learning, that they became the wonders of the age, and were sought in marriage by great men, more for their natural and acquired endowments and beauty, than for their portions, tho they did not want that neither. Mildred the eldest married William Cecil lord treasurer of England ; Anne the second was this lady Bacon ; Katherine the third married sir Henry Killegrew ; Elizabeth the fourth married sir Thomas Hobby ; the fifth, whose name is lost, married sir Ralph Rowlet, all three knights and men of great estates and esteem.

This version was made soon after the piece was first printed, tho I cannot tell precisely in what year⁴, for Mr. Humfrey tells us Mr. Harding answered the English book, and it is so well done, that I profess I could never have made so good a version as I have, if I had not been assisted by it ; but then our language is so much refined and exalted since that time (which is above an hundred years,) that it was perhaps necessary to put it into a more modish dress, in order to recommend it to the reading of those who do not much admire excellent sense in a harsh and obsolete stile, and for this reason only have very many books of late been new turned : and they of France who put out the elegant Mons version⁵ of the New Testament, give no other reason for it than this.

The epistle to seignior Scipio was written soon after the Apology, and to a private Venetian gentleman in a more free and friendly way, as not being at all intended for the publick. It was first printed in English and Latin at the end of the Council of

⁴ *In what year.*] It was sent to Parker, abp. of Canterbury, in *manuscript* ; and after a diligent revisal by him, and by bishop Jewel, he returned it *printed*, to the translator, with a very handsome introductory letter, in the year 1564. See Strype's *Parker*, p. 178, 179.

But, if we may believe bishop Tanner, and Mr. Strype, there had been already published another translation in 4to, in the year 1562. See Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britan. Hibern.* p. 427. Strype's *Parker*, p. 179.

⁵ *Mons version.*] The Jansenist version by the Port-Royalists, begun by Antoine Le Maître and finished by his brother J. L. Le Maître de Sacy and others. It was first *published* at Mons, whence its name, though *printed* at Amsterdam by the Elzevirs.

Trent⁶. Who made that version I know not, but it is a very good one, and if I might have had so much liberty, I would only have altered a very few words in it, and so have re-printed it again. But not daring to take that liberty with what belonged to other men, I have done it over again as well as I could, and perhaps the reader will not be displeased to see it in the same stile with the Apology, in English as well as Latin.

But now, who can enough deplore the blindness, pride and partiality of those men, who, being led by interest, and hood-winked by ignorance, did at first imploy all the disingenuous arts that spite and prejudice could furnish them with, to ruine this most excellent, apostolical, and primitive church ; or force her to return back to the state of corruption, out of which with so much labour, difficulty, and danger, she was then rising ?

But there is some allowance to be made for the misinformation of strangers, who being separated from us by the ocean, were forced to take such accounts as were given them by others ; and 1. being too apt to believe the reports of their own priests, whose interest it was to blacken her what they could ; and 2. those of our own fugitives, who made the case much worse than they themselves thought it, that they might obtain the more pity, and consequently the better relief and provision abroad, which is wont to be afforded to all those that fly for religion, amongst those of the same faith ; 3. And also suspecting the fidelity of the relations made by our ministers in foreign courts ; 4. And of all our travellers who stuck to, and embraced the religion established by law.

But then what can be said for those Roman Catholics (as they will needs be called) who living at home here in England, and consequently having better means of informing themselves concerning the truth of things, cannot pretend to excuse themselves by those topics strangers may ? It was both their duty and interest to inform themselves of the affairs of their own country, and to submit to the laws and customs of it, whilst strangers that are not under those obligations, may excuse themselves if they do not make so diligent an inquiry into things, or happen at last to be mistaken in them. Besides in the settlement under queen Elizabeth, all the care imaginable was taken to unite the whole

⁶ *Council of Trent.*] i. e. of the English translation of father Paul Sarpi's work, by sir Nathan. Brent.

nation in one religion, if it were possible ; and whatever was in the former liturgy that might exasperate or offend them ⁶, was taken out, by which compliances, (they are the words of the learned Dr. Heylin ⁷) and the expunging of the passages before remembred, the book was made so passable among the papists, that for ten years they generally repaired to their parish churches, without doubt or scruple, as is affirmed not only by sir Edward Coke in his speech against Garnet, and his charge given at the assizes held at Norwich, but also by the queen her self in a letter to sir Francis Walsingham, then being her resident or leiger ambassador in the court of France. The same is confessed by Sanders also in his book *de Schismate*. And there is a report recorded by Camden ⁸, that the pope offered by his envoy Parapalia to the queen, *Liturgiam Anglicam sua autoritate confirmaturum, et usum sacramenti sub utraque specie Anglis permissurum, dummodo illa Romanæ Ecclesiæ se aggregaret, Romanæque cathedræ primatum agnosceret, &c.* “That he would confirm the English liturgy by his authority, and grant the English the use of the sacrament under both kinds, provided the queen would unite her self to the church of Rome, and acknowledge the primacy of the Roman see.” Since that time nothing has been added that might in the least offend them. Why then do they act contrary to their ancestors ? Why do they pretend more conscience than either their fore-fathers or the pope ? Ten years was a sufficient time for them to have found out the heresie in, if there had been any in the establishment. And we all know their separation was not upon any scruple of conscience they had, but in obedience to the popes bull ⁹. The pope in the mean time did what he did

⁷ *Or offend them.*] Herbert held that “the sophism used to make people hate the church prayers was a solid reason to make men of understanding love them : namely, because they were taken out of the mass-book ; *taken out*, but as gold from dross, the precious from the vile. The wise reformers knew Rome would cry “Schism, schism,” and therefore they kept all they could lawfully keep, being loath to give offence ; as our blessed Saviour, being loath to offend the Jews at the great reformation, kept divers old elements, and made them new sacraments and services : as the frequent washings he turned into one baptism, and the service of the passover into the Lord’s supper.”—Barnabas Oley’s *Life of Herbert*, signat. L. 6.

⁷ *Dr. Heylin.*] [*Hist. of the Reformation*, p. 283.] or part 2d. p. 111. (2nd edition.)

⁸ *Recorded by Camden.*] Compare also Fuller’s *Church History*, p. 68, 9, and particularly Twisden’s *Hist. Vindication*, p. 175—9.

⁹ *In obedience to the popes bull.*] A.D. 1569. 13 Eliz. c. 2. “This year

purely out of worldly interest and policy, to advance his own grandeur and wealth at their cost and trouble. If he could have

(1570) Pius V. caused a bull (more privately sent about 1569) to be publicly set up in London against the queen; which was daringly done by one Felton, upon the bishop of London's palace gates. In which bull the pope deprived her of all title to her kingdoms, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and charged them not to obey her upon pain of his curse and excommunication." Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 610. This bull was at the time thoroughly examined and confuted by bishop Jewel, and by Henry Bullinger: and afterwards by Barlow bishop of Lincoln in his *Brutum Fulmen*, Jewel's "View, &c." opens in the following manner:

"Whiles I opened unto you the words of the apostle, *That day shall not come, except there come a departing first, and that man of sinne be disclosed, even the son of perdition*, &c. (2 Thess. c. ii.), there came to my hands a copy of a bull lately sent into this realme by the bishop of Rome. I read it, and weighed it thorowly, and found it to be a matter of great blasphemy against God, and a practise to work much unquietnesse, sedition and treason against our blessed and prosperous government. For it deposeth the queenes majesty: (whom God long preserve) from her royall seat, and teareth the crown from her head: it dischargeth all us her naturall subjects from all due obedience: it armeth one side of us against another: it emboldeneth us to burne, to spoile, to rob, to kill, and to cut one another's throat: it is much like that box which Pandora sent to Epimetheus, full of hurtful and unwholesome evils. Are you desirous to heare it? It greeveth me to disclose, and your godly eares will hardly abide his unseemly speeches." And then he proceeds to expose the malice and falsehoods of which the bull is composed, running through the whole in a very animated and masterly strain of indignant eloquence.

The facts of the conformity of the generality of the Roman catholics who then remained in England, till the æra of the publication of this bull, and that from thenceforth they began to cease to repair to their parish churches, are admitted on all hands.—But perhaps there were other causes which contributed to this unhappy event, besides the thunders of the Vatican; the declension for example, of that zeal among the Protestants which blazed out on the re-establishment of their religion at the accession of Elizabeth; the lamentable divisions amongst themselves, occasioned by the puritanical controversy, which now began to turn aside the heads and hearts of so great a portion of the best men of the nation, from real and unfeigned religion, to the agitation of the merest trifles, in which the folly and the deceitfulness of man's heart ever led him to be zealously engaged; and the uncharitable and unreasonable intolerance in which the Puritans indulged themselves against every thing which bore any relation to the Romish religion.

The reader will not be displeased to see here a virtual confession by a zealous Roman catholic, of the general attendance at the reformed service previously to the promulgation of the papal anathema, even of those who were still considered to retain an attachment to the *old* religion, as they called it: and he will see at the same time, what the spirit and temper was in which their

secured this, the liturgy and doctrine of the church of England should have been owned for catholic, and have been confirmed by

preachers and controversialists sought to second the effects on the minds of the people of the pope's denunciations. The authority cited is the famous treatise of Richard Bristow, entitled *A brief Treatise of divers plain and sure ways to find out the truth in this doubtful and dangerous time of heresie*: or (running title), *Motives to the Catholic Faith*. It was written in 1574, four years after the issuing of the bull. Had it not been for this bull, seconded by efforts such as these, it may fairly be presumed, that in a generation or two the papal schism in England would have been almost, or altogether extinguished. This was discerned at Rome, and from these forebodings the Vatican gave out its thunder.

"And here doth charity compel me, to admonishe certain priestes of their duetie, who will of us be counted catholiks, and yet doe for the penny give themselves to the *ministerie* of this new service, and flatter themselves therein, as though it were no sin. But that in so doing they damnably deceive themselves, they may consider by this little which I have said of such as come only to heare that service. For the *hearers* sin being so grievous, who can thinke how detestable is the sin of the *ministers*? If they lived under Turkes or Jewes, and should there either for worldly feare, or filthie lucre, doe as they now doe living under heretikes, would they thinke that they did not sinne? And most certainly no reason nor colour there is to excuse them more in this than in the other.

"Howsoever therefore they flatter themselves, or also be flattered of others, one, or two, or three, that seeme learned, who having a singular opinion in this matter, contrary to all truth and reason, and learned catholikes of all nations, and to themselves also, we doubt not, if they lived in the free and open aire of the catholike churches practice, doe speake *placencia* unto them, (Isai. xxx.) doing themselves as they may doe, and yet telling there that they should doe otherwise, to the heavy judgment both of the counsel-givers, and the counsel-takers; yet no doubt for all this, as the lay ministers were figured in the prieste of Jeroboam, of whom it is written, *Fecit fana in excelsis, et sacerdotes de extremis populi, qui non erant de filiis Levi*; He made loft-houses, and priests of the rascall people, who were not of the house of Levi; (1 Kings xiii. 33.) so were these ministering priests plainly figured in that covetous worldly Levite (Judges xvii. 18), that first for a little monie served new found idoles in the house of Michas, and afterward for more lucre and honour did the same in the tribe of Dan. Plaine it is that our Saviour in the Gospel maketh but three kinds of ministers: two, that minister after the *right manner*, one for God's glorie, the other for his owne commoditie, which are there called *pastor*, and *mercenarius*, the shepherd and the hireling: the third, whose ministration is *wrong* and the shepes destruction, which is there termed *lupus, fur, et latro*, the wolfe, the stealer, and the robber.

"Whereby these flatterers of themselves of whome I speake, who seeing the wolfe come, did neither stand constantly in the right ministration, until they should have been thrust out of all by the wolfe; or cleane forsaken of the sheepe, as the shepheard; nor did not forsake the sheep and runne away,

his holinesses authority. But what is this to them? Are they bound to promote his temporal interest with their ruin, and the

as the hireling; but did, and doe abide still, and joyne with the wolfe, and minister after his tradition, may see most evidently, in what part of our Saviours just division they have placed themselves: and therefore if they list, unsensibly, desperately and damnably to holde on with the wolfe, as they doe, and to take no charitable holesome warning, the sheep must notwithstanding mark well this foressaid division made by the good shepherd, and prince of shepherds, and consider that what he hath said of wolves, the same hee hath said of these also

"By which admonition of our Saviour, the doubt also of certaine shepe is answered, who thinke it lawful for them to heare the wolves *sermon*, though not his *service*. But our Saviour telleth them, that the true shepe know not neither the *voice* of the wolfe, but that they will flee from him. . . .

"And besides that admonition, and this ensample, also very good *reason* there is so to do: because those sermons are, as no catholike will denie, most blasphemous against all persons and thinges most holy and most honorable, both in earth and heaven . . . and therefore solemnly to heare such sermons must needes be horrible sinne

"Good folke which love Christ, when they see so much as one word about to be spoken against him, will be readie to swound and to die for feare. What then are they which will go to the place, where they know that he is blasphemed, there to stand so quietly, so long, *so often*, to heare such blasphemies? Certainly they are more senselesse and more dead, than was that foressaid Lazarus. I pray Christ to call them likewise forth of their stinking graves, *Lazare veni foras*, Lazarus, come forth; and so to give them to his ministers, to be loosed; *Solvite eum, et sinite abire*; Loose ye him, and let him goe."

"And againe, let them tell me, whether a sermon be not part of the service? which is so evident, that they see the puritans have no other service but a sermon. And therefore, looke for what causes it is unlawful to heare their service, for the same unlawful it is also to heare their sermons! . . .

"No man is so mad, as to let poison into his *bodie*, be it never so little. These then that goe to the places where *most soules* are poisoned, and *all in danger* to be poisoned, unlesse they thinke themselves more safe and sure than was our mother Eve in paradise itselfe, do playnly shew, that they care lesse for their soules than for their bodies; and therefore lesse for the world to come, than for this world; lesse finally for God, than for ourselves

"Much more might be here said to this purpose, in commendation of catholike and detestation of heretical, both *service* and *sermons*. But for my brevite thus much shall suffice.—Proceed we therefore to other *motives*." fol. 136—41. edit. 1599. 12mo.

With respect to the facts of the Roman catholics frequenting the Protestant service, see also *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 251 and n.

Lastly: on the authority of sir Robert Naunton, we may here date the origin and usage of the term "*Recusant*."

"The name of *recusant*, began *then* first to be known in the world. Till then, the catholics were no more than church-papists; but were commanded (now) by the pope's expresse letters to forbear church-going, as they tender

disquiet of their country? Or how come they to be more obliged to separate from the church, than to rebel against the crown, seeing the same pope commanded both, and for the same ends, and is as infallible in the one as in the other?

But this is not our only calamity. About the same time another sort of men separated too upon direct contrary pretences. Why, it is our antiquity, our decency, our too great resemblance to the church of Rome that offends them. We are not sufficiently purged for these pure men to join with: we have too little of the primitive church cries the one, too much says the other; too few ceremonies, too much simplicity say the papists; too many of the first, too little of the latter cry the dissenters. Thus was truth ever persecuted on both sides, Christ crucified betwixt two thieves, the primitive church persecuted by the Pagans on one side, and the Jews on the other. I venerate thy truth and moderation, O dear and holy mother, who dost so exactly resemble thy God and saviour, and the primitive church, both in thy truth and piety, and in thy sufferings too, which are thy glory!

But what shall I say for our dissenters, who have run into such horrible crimes as schism and rebellion, only on pretence to avoid that popery, that superstition that was only in their own fancies and prejudices? How can one and the same church be persecuted justly for being too much and too little reformed? Why have you separated from her liturgy and rites, who pretend to imbrace her doctrines? Or if you must needs separate, why yet should you imbrue your hands in the blood of your sovereign and fellow subjects on that account? Supposing you were in the right, this would not justify you. Christ never propagated his church by blood and treason, but by sufferings and obedience.

The truth is, this church hath been persecuted because she alone of all the churches in Europe, has had the blessing and singular favour of God to reform with prudence, moderation, and an exact and regular conduct, after great and wise deliberations, by the consent of our bishops, convocations, states, and princes,

their holy Father, and the holy catholic church their mother. So that, it seems, the pope had then his aim to take a true muster of his children. But the queen had the greater advantage; for she likewise (thus) took tale of her apostate subjects, their strength, and how many there were that had given up their names unto Baal." *Fragmenta Regalia*; Observations on q. Elizabeth, her times, and favourites. *Phoenix*, vol. i. p. 195.

without tumults or hasty counsels; and accordingly here was nothing changed but upon good advice, after the most irresistible conviction that it was contrary to the word of God, the sentiments of the holy fathers and councils, and the practice of the truly primitive and apostolical church. So that the papists themselves do even envy our primitive doctrine, government, and discipline; and both fear and hate us more than any other of the reformed churches. *I could be contented* (said a great man of that perswasion) *there were no priests* (i. e. popish priests) *in England, so there were no bishops there.* This, and our excellent liturgy, our decent ceremonies, and our excellent order, moves their envy. They are the same things that have raised the spleens and animosities of the other side, with whom whatever is older than Zuinglius and Calvin, is presently popery, and must be destroyed. Tell them that episcopacy was settled in all churches in the days of the very apostles, and by them; and they reply the mystery of iniquity began then to work, intimating if not affirming, that this holy order was a part of it. So that they will rather traduce these holy men, who sacrificed their blood for Jesus Christ and his church, of pride, ambition, and a too great love of rule, than allow the establishments of our church. Nay they will rather root out the monarchy, because supported by, and upholding episcopacy, than shew any the least reverence to the church, in obedience to our laws and princes.

So that leaving these implacable self-condemned enemies, give me leave, O ye loyal and religious sons of this holy and ever persecuted church, to make my last address and application to you. You see by whom the church has been ever persecuted; you see the reason of it; you cannot but know also what she has suffered on both sides; you have read the one, and your eyes have seen the other; rouse up then, and take effectual care of this innocent, this persecuted spouse of Christ. Stretch out your hands to heaven by humble and fervent prayers, and implore the assistance of the most holy God, for her safety and protection against all her enemies.

Let the virtue, piety, and holiness of your lives, assure the world that you profess this holy religion in good earnest, and that you do not dissemble either with God or man in it, but are sincere and resolved to live and die in this profession.

Put those laws we now have in execution duly and regularly, and with discretion and mercy, not out of bitterness and passion,

but out of conscience and a true fear of God, and care of his church ; that all the world may see it is nothing but a sense of your duties, and a zeal for God, that makes you active and prudently severe.

And as far as you shall have opportunity, take further care by new laws, to secure this great and inestimable blessing to your posterity and the generations to come, that they may rise up and bless God for you ; and remember your names with eulogies and honour for ever.

And if any thing in these papers may in any degree be serviceable to, and promote these good ends, I shall for ever be thankful to God and man for the favour.

BISHOP JEWEL.

THOUGH truth and reason may justly claim the privilege of a kind reception, whoever brings them ; yet such is the nature of mankind, that the face of a stranger is ever surveyed with a little more than ordinary attention, as if men thought generally that in it were the most lively characters of what they seek to know, the soul and temper of a man. Now because this is not to be expected at the first sight in books where yet it is most eagerly desired, men have attempted to supply that defect with pictures ; and (which affords much more satisfaction) by premising the lives and characters of the authors, which gives the reader a truer and more lasting *idea* of men, than it is possible for pencils and colours to attain to.

The author of the ensuing *Tracts* ought to be so well known to all *English* men, that his name alone should have given a sufficient commendation to any thing that can claim a descent from him : but it being now above an hundred years since his death, and his works which were for a long time chained up in all churches¹, being now superannuated or neglected, it may not be an unseasonable piece of service to the church, to revive the memory of this great man, the stout and invincible champion of the church of *England* ; who losing the opportunity of sacrificing his life for her in the reign of queen *Mary*, did it with more advantage to us, and pains to himself, under her glorious successor, when he so freely spent himself in her service, that having wasted his

¹ *In all churches.*] “Three great princes successively,” (viz. queen Elizabeth, king James I., and king Charles I.) “the one after the other, and four archbishops of very eminent parts,” (Parker, Grindall, Whitgift, and Bancroft,) “have been so satisfied with the truth and learning of this book, that they have imposed it to be chained up and read in all parish churches throughout England and Wales.”—*Holy Table, Name and Thing* (Abp. Williams’s), p. 208. 1637.

thin body by excessive labour and study, he died young, but full of good works and glory.

He was born the 24th of May, in the year of our Lord 1522, at Buden in the parish of Berinber in the county of Devon; and tho a younger brother, yet inherited his father's name. His mother was a Bellamie, and he had so great an esteem for it and her, that he engraved it on his signet, and had it always imprinted in his heart; a lasting testimony both of her virtue and kindness to him.

His father was a gentleman, descended rather of an ancient and good, than very rich family. It is observed that his ancestors had enjoyed that estate for almost two hundred years before the birth of this great man. And yet such was the number of his children, that it is no wonder if this, when young, wanted the assistance of good men for the promoting of his studies; for it is said that his father left ten children, between sons and daughters, behind him.

This John Jewel proving a lad of pregnant parts, and of a sweet and industrious nature and temper, was from his youth dedicated to learning²; and with great care cultivated by his parents and masters, which he took so well, that at the entrance of the thirteenth year of his age, about the feast of St. James, he was admitted in Merton College in Oxford, under one Mr. Peter Burrey, a man neither of any great learning, nor much addicted to the reformation, which then (in the reign of Henry the eighth) went on but slowly, and with much irregularity in its motions. But we are yet beholding to his first tutor for this, that he committed this Jewel to Mr. John Parkhurst a fellow of the same college, and afterwards first minister of Cleave, and then bishop of Norwich, who was a man both of more learning and of a better faith; and prudently instilled³ together with his other learning,

² *Dedicated to learning.*] "*Literis grammaticalibus apud Branton, Southmoulton, et Barnstapliam institutus sub auspiciis Walteri Bowen: Oxoniamque missus mense Julio anno 1535.*"—Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 427. Compare Humfrey's *Life of Jewel*, p. 17.

³ *Prudently instilled.*] Master Parkhurst being desirous besides all other wholesome learning, to season his tender yeares with pure religion, tooke occasion often before him to dispute with Master Burrey about controversial points: and intending to compare the translations of Coverdale and Tindal gave him Tindal's translation to reade, himselfe overlooking Coverdale's. In the which collation of translations Jewel oft smiled: which master Parkhurst observing, and marvelling that in those yeares he could note barba-

those excellent principles into this young gentleman, which afterwards made him the darling and wonder of his age.

During his continuance in this college, a plague happening in Oxford, he removed to a place called Croxham⁴, where being lodged in a low room, and studying hard in the night, he got a lameness by a cold which attended him to his grave. Having spent almost four years in this college, the 19th of August anno Domini 1539, the one and thirtieth of Henry the eighth, in the seventeenth year of his age, he was, by the procurement of one Mr. Slater, and Mr. Burrey and Mr. Parkhurst his two tutors, removed into Corpus Christi college in the same university, where I suppose, he met with something of an encouragement; but it is much more certain he met with envy from his equals, who often suppressed his ingenious exercises, and read others that were more like their own.

The twentieth day of October in the following year, he took his first degree of batchelor of arts, with a great and general applause; when he prosecuted his studies with more vigor than before, beginning them at four in the morning, and continuing them till ten at night, so that he seemed to need some body to put him in mind of eating.

Being now attained to a great reputation for learning, he began to instruct others, and amongst the rest Anthony Parkhurst⁵ was committed to his care by Mr. John Parkhurst his tutor, which was a great argument of his great worth and industry.

Being thus employed, he was chosen reader of humanity and rhetoric of his own college, and he managed this place seven

rimes in the vulgar translations, brake into these words, *Surely Paul's Crosse will one day ring of this boy*, prophecyng as it were of that noble Sermon of his at Paul's Crosse (ann. 1560), which gave such a blow to the superstitions of the popish masse, or rather to the whole masse of popish superstitions, that all the defenders of them have ever since staggered." Jewel's *Life*, prefixed to his works, § 4.

⁴ Called *Croxham*.] [In the English life before his works it is called Witney.]

⁵ *Anthony Parkhurst*.] But Robert Serles, vicar of St Peter's Oxford, a zealous enemy to the new opinions in religion and literature, succeeded, we are not told through what influence, in dissolving this relation: being filled with alarm at Jewel's design of instructing his young pupil in the Greek tongue, the study of which at that time in both our universities, was considered as little better than synonymous with heresy. See Humfrey's *Life*, p. 27.

years with great applause and honor. His example taught more than any precepts could; for he was a great admirer of Horace and Cicero, and read all Erasmus' works, and imitated them too, for it was his custom to write something every day; and it was his common saying, that men acquired learning more by a frequent exercising of their pens, than by reading many books. He affected ever rather to express himselfe fluently, neatly, and with great weight of argument and strength of reason, than in hunting after the flowers of rhetoric, and the cadences of words; tho he understood them, no man better, and wrote a dialogue in which he comprehended the sum of the art of rhetoric.

The ninth of February 1544, he commenced master of arts, the charge of it being born by his good tutor Mr. Parkhurst, who had then the rich rectory of Cleve in the diocess of Gloucester, which is of better value than some of our smaller bishopricks. Nor was this the only instance wherein he did partake of this good mans bounty, for he was wont twice or thrice in a year to invite him to his house, and not dismiss him without presents, money, and other things that were necessary for the carrying on his studies. And one time above the rest, coming into his chamber in the morning, when he was to go back to the university, he seised upon his and his companions purses, saying, What money, I wonder, have these miserable, and beggarly Oxfordians? And finding them pitifully lean and empty, stuffed them with money, till they became both fat and weighty.

Edward the sixth succeeding his father the 28th of January 1546, the reformation went on more regularly and swiftly, and Peter Martyr being by that prince called out of Germany, and made professor of divinity at Oxford, November 1548, Mr. Jewel was one of his most constant hearers; and by the help of characters which he had invented for his own use, took all his lectures almost as perfectly as he spoke them.

About this time one Dr. Richard Smith', predecessor to Peter Martyr in that chair at Oxford, and who was more a sophister than a divine, made an insult upon Peter Martyr, and interrupted him publickly and unexpectedly in his lecture. The German^a was

^a *All Erasmus'.*] "*Chiliadas Adagiorum imprimis, et volumen Epistolarum.*" Humfrey's *Life*, p. 24.

⁷ *Richard Smith.*] See vol. ii. 567, n.

⁸ *The German.*] Peter Martyr was not a *German* but an *Italian*, a native of Florence. His vernacular name was Pietro Martire Vermigli, but by his

not to be baffled by a surprize, but extempore recollected his lecture, and defended it with a great presence of mind, the two parties in the schools being just upon the point of a tumult, the protestants for the present professor, and the papists for the old one.

Peter Martyr nettled with this affront, challenged Smith to dispute with him publickly, and appointed him a day : but Smith fearing to be called in question for this uproar, fled before the time to St. Andrews in Scotland. But then ¹ Tresham ¹ and Chadsey ², two popish doctors, and one Morgan entered the lists against Peter Martyr, and there was a very sharp but regular dispute betwixt them concerning the Lord's-supper. And Mr. Jewel having then a large share in Peter Martyr's affections, was by him appointed to take the whole disputation in writing ³, which was printed in the year 1549. For the regulating this disputation, the council sent to Oxford, Henry bishop of Lincoln ⁴, Dr. R. Cox chancellor of that university, Dr. Simon Haines, Richard Morrison Esq. and Dr. Christopher Nevison commissioners and moderators.

In the year 1551, Mr. Jewel took his degree of bachelor of

family name, though it was of some distinction at Florence, he is rarely known. He was born in 1500, entered the Augustin order at Fiesole, studied for some years at Padua, and after holding various preferments at Spoleto, Naples, and Lucca, and also the post of visitor-general of his order, he retired in 1542 to Zurich and joined the reformers. He came to England in 1547 at Cranmer's invitation.

The same fate, that of losing his family name, has attended another well-known author, also an Italian, and having the same Christian names, viz. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera. As both men were living partly at the same time, Anghiera dying in 1526 and Vermigli in 1562, it may not be useless here to notice the distinction which has not always been observed : their separate histories and works have been sometimes confounded under the general name of Peter Martyr. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, of an illustrious Milanese family, was born in 1455 at Arona on the Lago Maggiore. He is the author of the "*De rebus oceanicis et orbe novo decades*."

¹ *But then.*] [This dispute began the 28th of May, anno Christi 1549, and lasted five days.]

¹ *Tresham.*] William Tresham ; see vol. ii. p. 551, n.

² *Chadsey.*] William Cheadsey ; see vol. ii. p. 558, n.

³ *In writing.*] He was also one of the notaries attendant upon Cranmer and Ridley in their famous disputation holden at Oxford, previously to their condemnation. See Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 337.

⁴ *Henry, bishop of Lincoln.*] Henry Holbeach, who had shortly before been translated from the see of Rochester.

divinity, when he preached an excellent Latin sermon, which is extant⁶ almost perfect; taking for his text the words of St. Peter, Ep. 1. cap. 4. v. 11. *If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God, &c.* Upon which words he raised such excellent doctrines, and made such wise and holy reflections in so pure and elegant a stile, as satisfied all the world of his great ability and deserts.

In the same time Mr. Jewel took a small living near Oxford called Sunningwell, more out of a desire to do good, than for the salary which was but small, whither he went once a fortnight on foot, tho he was lame, and it was troublesome to him to walk; and at the same time preached frequently both privately in his own college, and publicly in the university.

Besides his old friend Mr. Parkhurst, amongst others, one Mr. Curtop⁷, a fellow of the same college, afterwards canon of Christchurch, allowed him forty shillings a year, which was a considerable sum in those days; and one Mr. Chambers⁸, who was entrusted with distributing the charity of some Londoners to the poor scholars⁹ of Oxford, allowed Mr. Jewel out of it six pounds a year for books.

⁶ *Which is extant.*] See Humfrey's *Life*, p. 49—66.

⁷ *Mr. Curtop.*] James Curtop or Courthop. See Tanner's *Bibl.* p. 214.

⁸ *Mr. Chambers.*] Richard Chambers; see p. 341, and 344.

⁹ *To the poor scholars.*] It may be worth while to annex a notice or two respecting this good practice by old Latimer. The first is from his sermon of the Plough, preached Jan. 18, (or, whether the 8th, *Plough Monday* ?) 1548.

"In times past, when any rich man died in London, they were wont to helpe the poore schollers of the universities with exhibition. When any man dyed, they would bequeath great summes of money toward the reliefe of the poore. When I was a scholer in Cambridge myselfe, I heard very good report of London, and knew many that had reliefe of the rich men of London, but now I can heare no such good report, and yet enquire of it, and harken for it; but nowe charitie is waxen colde, none helpeth the scholer, nor yet the poore. And in those dayes what did they when they helped the scholers? Marry, they maynteyned and gave *them* livinges that were very papists and professed the popes doctrine; and now that the knowledge of Gods word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labor to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maynteyn them." Fol. 18.

Again, from the fifth sermon before king Edward.

"There be few doe study divinity but so many as of necessity must furnish the colleges: for there livinges be so small, and victayles so deare, that they tarry not there but go otherwhere to seeke livinges, and so they go

Edward the sixth dying the sixth of July, anno Domini 1553, and queen Mary succeeding him, and being proclaimed the seventeenth of the same month, Jewel was one of the first that felt the fury of this tempest, and before any law was made, or so much as any order given by the queen, was expelled⁹ out of the college by

about. . . . It is not *that*, I wis, that will keepe out the supremacy of the byshop of Rome.—Here I wyll make a supplication; that ye would bestow so much to the finding of scholers of poore mens sons to exercise the office of salvation, in relieving of scholers, as ye were wont to bestow in pilgrimage matters, in trentalles, in masses, in pardons, in purgatory matters. . . . It is a reasonable petition; for Gods sake looke upon it: I say no more. There be none nowe but great mens sonnes in colleges, and their fathers looke not to have them preachers: so every waye this office of preachyng is pinched at." *Sermons*, fol. 63.

It must not be dissembled however, that we have, in their time of ascendancy, very similar complaints from Roman catholic writers, of the zeal and bounty of the protestants in this department of charity and piety, and of the neglect and languor of their own party. Thus Christopherson, in a work published in the reign of queen Mary, A.D. 1554.

"Then was there meanes founde, that there shuld be many such ministers. For exhibition was begged by certain," (he may allude perhaps in part to these very supplications of Latimer) "to be bestowed in the universities. Which once gotten, they bestowed it only upon such, as eyther were infected with heresy, or elles in whom men had good hope, that they would in tyme be heretikes. And thus was folkes hyred to forsake Christes catholyke fayth, and not only to deceave themselves, but many other beside. Would to God that men were as willing nowe to give exhibition to set forward godly learninge and virtue, as they were then to set forth vice and heresy." *Exhortation against rebellion*, signat. Y 5.

It appears also, that the merchant Chambers, who allowed Jewel six pounds a year for books (a large sum in those days), imparted his bounty only to those "*qui sana dogmata manus subscriptione approbarent*," Humfrey, p. 32. Compare also Brokes's (afterwards bishop of Gloucester) *Sermon at Paul's Cross*, Nov. 12, 1553. Signat. D 7, 8.

I may mention finally that the crafty Gardiner, in a work published soon after the accession of king Edward, takes credit to himself for his freedom from a proselytizing spirit. "I have not kepte one scoler at Cambrdyge or Oxforde, syne I was bysshop to be brought up in the catholique opinion, which is also myne. I have not gone about to allure by any worldly entisement any man to it: but have followed therein the admonition of the worde of Scripture. I write *Vana salus hominis*." *Declaration of such true articles as George Joye hath gone about to confute as false*. Fol. 4. 4to.

⁹ Was expelled.] [Fuller, in his Church History, saith he was expelled for refusing to be present at mass.]

the fellows upon their private authority, who had nothing to object against him, but, 1. His following Peter Martyr; 2. His preaching some doctrines contrary to popery; 3. And his taking orders according to the laws then in force: for as for his life, it was acknowledged to be angelical and extremely honest, by John Moren a fellow of the same college; who yet at the same time could not forbear calling him Lutheran, Zuinglian, and heretic. He took his leave of the college in these words, as near as I can render them in English¹.

“In my last lectures I have (said he) imitated the custom of famished men, who when they see their meat likely to be suddenly and unexpectedly snatched from them, devour it with the greater haste and greediness. For whereas I intended thus to put an end to my lectures, and perceived that I was like forthwith to be silenced, I made no scruple to entertain you (contrary to my former usage) with much unpleasant and ill dressed discourse. For I see I have incurred the displeasure and hatred of some, but whether deservedly or no, I shall leave to their consideration; for I am perswaded that those who have driven me hence, would not suffer me to live any where if it were in their power. But as for me, I willingly yield to the times, and if they can derive down to themselves any satisfaction from my calamity, I would not hinder them from it. But as Aristides, when he went into exile and forsook his country, prayed that they might never more think of him; so I beseech God to grant the same to my fellow collegians, and what can they wish for more? Pardon me my hearers, if grief has seized me, being to be torn from that place against my will, where I have passed the first part of my life, where I have lived pleasantly, and been in some honor and imployment. But why do I thus delay to put an end to my misery by one word? Woe is me, that (as with my extreame sorrow and resentment I at last speak it) I must say farewel my studies, farewel to these beloved houses, farewel thou pleasant seat of learning, farewel to the most delightful conversation with you, farewel young men, farewel lads, farewel fellows, farewel brethren, farewel ye beloved as my eyes, farewel all, farewel!”

Thus did he take his leave (saith the author of the English life before his works) of his lecture, fellow-ship and college; and was

¹ *In English.*] For the Latin, see Humfrey, p. 74, 5.

reduced at one blow to great poverty and desertion : but he found for some time a place of harbour in Broadgates-Hall, another college in the same university. Here he met with some short gleams of comfort ; for the university of Oxford more kind than his college, and to alleviate the miseries of his shipwrecked estate, chose him to be her Orator, in which capacity he curiously penned a gratulatory letter or address (as the term now is) to the queen, on the behalf and in the name of the university : “ Expressing in it the countenance of the Roman senators in the beginning of Tiberius’s reign, exquisitely tempered and composed, to keep out joy and sadness, which both strove at the same time to display their colours in it ; the one for dead Augustus ; the other for reigning Tiberius. And upon the assurance of several of her nobles, that the queen would not change the established religion, expressing some hopes she would so do ; which was confirmed then to them by the promise the queen had made to the Suffolk and Norfolk gentry, who had rescued her out of the very jaws of ruin.” Fuller saith, that the writing this letter was put upon him with a design to ruin him, but there is not the least colour for this surmise ; he being so very lately, seasonably and kindly chosen Orator, when he was so injuriously expelled out of his own college ; but it is much more probable the sweetness, smoothness and briskness of his stile, was both the reason why he was chosen Orator first and then employed to pen this letter. The sum of heads of which are in Mr. Lawrence Humfrey’s life² of Jewel : but there is no entire copy extant.

It is observed by the last mentioned author, that whilst Jewel was reading this letter to Dr. Tresham, Vice-chancellor, the great bell of Christ-Church (which this doctor having caused to be new run a few days before, had christened by the name of Mary) tolled, and that hearing her pleasant voice now call him to his beloved mass, he burst out into an exclamation. “ O delicate and sweet harmony ! O beautiful Mary, how musically she sounds, how strangely she pleaseth my ears ;” so Mr. Jewel’s sweet pen was forced to give way to the more acceptable tinkling of this new lady³. And we may easily conjecture how the poor man took it.

² *Humfrey’s life.*] See p. 79, 80.

³ *This new lady.*] About this time, the same Dr. Tresham, “ supplying the room of the sub-dean in Christ Church, after hee had called all the students of the college together, with great eloquence and art persuasorie, began to

Being thus ejected out of all he had, he became obnoxious to the insolence and pride of his enemies, which he endeavoured to allay by humility and compliance, which yet could not mitigate their rage and fury; but rather in all probability heightened their malice, and drew more affronts upon the meek man. But amongst all his enemies, none sought his ruin more eagerly than Dr. Martial⁴, dean of Christ-church, who had changed his religion now twice already; and did afterwards twice or thrice more in the reign of queen Elizabeth: he having neither conscience nor religion of his own, was wonderous desirous to make Jewel's conscience or life a papal sacrifice.

In order to this, he sends to Jewel by the inquisitors a bead-roll of popish doctrines, to be subscribed by him upon pain of fire and faggot, and other grievous tortures. The poor man having neither friend nor time allowed him to consult with, took the pen in his hand, and saying, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write?" subscribed his name hastily, and with great reluctance⁵.

But this no way mitigated the rage of his enemies against

commend the dignitie of the masse unto them, declaring, that there was stufte in Scripture enough to prove the masse good. Then to allure them to the catholick service of the church, he used these reasons, declaring that there were a goodlie companie of copes, that were appointed to Windsore, but he found the queene so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ Church. Now if they, like honest men, would come to church, they should weare them on holie daies. And besides all this, hee would get them *the Ladie bell of Bampton*; and that should make the sweetest ring in all England. And as for an holie-water sprinkle, he had already the fairest that was within the realme. Wherefore he thought that no man would be so mad to foregoe these commodities.

"Which things I rehearse, that it may appeare what want of discretion is in the fathers of popery, and into what idle follies such men do fall: whome, I beseeche the Lord, if it be his pleasure, to reduce to a better truth, and to open their eyes to see their owne blindness." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1341.

But the follies here mentioned are nothing comparable in magnitude to those, deserving indeed a much more solemn name, which took place at the baptizing of their bells; an ample account of which, taken from authentic sources, may be found in Becon's *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 233, 4. A.D. 1564. See also Staveley's *Hist. of the Churches in England*, p. 225—31. Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 118, 19. Discourse, edit. 2. *Sacra Institutio, juxta usum Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis*, p. 159—62. edit. 1604.

⁴ Dr. Martial.] Richard Marshall, see vol. ii. p. 664, and p. 249 of this vol.

⁵ The place in which he subscribed was at St. Mary's Church, Oxford. See Dering's *Sparing Restraint*, part i. p. 95. A.D. 1567.

him. They knew his great love to, and familiarity with Peter Martyr, and nothing less than his life would satisfy these blood-hounds, of which turn-coat Martial was the fiercest: so being forsaken by his friends for this his sinful compliance, and still pursued like a wounded deer by his enemies; but more exagitated by the inward remorse and reproaches of his own conscience, he resolved at last to flee for his life.

And it was but time; for if he had staid but one night longer, or gone the right way to London, he had perished by their fury. One Augustin Berner⁶ a Switzer, first a servant to bishop Latimer, and afterwards a minister, found him lying upon the ground almost dead with vexation, weariness (for this lame man was forced to make his escape on foot) and cold, and setting him upon an horse, conveyed him to the lady Ann Warcupps a widow, who entertained him for some time, and then sent him up to London, where he was in more safety.

Having twice or thrice changed his lodgings in London, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a great minister of state in those times, furnished him with money for his journey, and procured him a ship for his transportation beyond the seas. And well it had been if he had gone sooner; for his friend Mr. Parkhurst hearing of the restoring of the mass fled forthwith; and poor Mr. Jewel knowing nothing of it, went to Cleave to beg his advice and assistance, being almost killed by his long journey on foot in bitter cold and snowy weather, and being forced at last to return to Oxford, more dejected and confounded in his thoughts than he went out; these miseries were the occasions of his fall, as Gods mercy was the procurer both of his escape and recovery.

For being once arrived in Frankfort in the beginning of the second year of queen Mary's reign, he found there Mr. Richard Chambers his old benefactor⁷, Dr. Robert Horne afterwards bishop of Winchester, Dr. Sands⁸ bishop of London, Sir Francis Knowles a privy counsellor, and afterwards lord treasurer, and his eldest son⁹, &c. These received Jewel with the more kindness, because he came unexpectedly and unhopd for; and advised

⁶ *Augustin Berner.*] See vol. ii. p. 544, and p. 615, n., and pp. 59, 71, and 78 of this volume.

⁷ *His old benefactor.*] See p. 336.

⁸ *Dr. Sands.*] Edwin Sandys, afterwards, viz. in 1559, bishop of Worcester; in 1570, bishop of London; and in 1576, archbishop of York.

⁹ *His eldest son.*] William Knollys, created Baron Knollys of Grays, 13

him¹⁰ to make a public recantation of his subscription ; which he willingly did in the pulpit the next Lords-day in these words. "It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart that made my weak hand to commit this wickedness." Which when he had uttered as well as he could for tears and sighs, he applied himself in a fervent prayer, first to God Almighty for his pardon, and afterwards to the church ; the whole auditory accompanying him with tears and sighs, and ever esteeming him more for his ingenuous repentance, than they would (perhaps) have done if he had not fallen.

It is an easy thing for those that were never tried, to censure the frailty of those that have truckled for some time under the shock of a mighty temptation ; but let such remember St. Paul's advice, *Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall*. This great mans fall shall ever be my lesson, and if this glistening Jewel were thus clouded and foiled, God be merciful to me a sinner !

Mr. Jewel had not been long at Frankford, before Peter Martyr hearing of it, often solicited him to come to Strasburgh, where he was now settled and provided for ; and all things considered, a wonder it is that he did not perish in England ; for there was¹¹ no person more openly aimed at than he, because none of them had given wider wounds than he to the Roman catholic cause. One Tresham¹ a senior canon of Christ church, who had held some points against him at his first coming thither, now took the benefit of the times to be revenged on him, and incited those of Christ church and of other houses to affront him publicly. So that not finding any safety at Oxford, he retired to Lambeth to Cranmer, where he was sure of as much as the place could afford him. A consultation had been held by some of the more fiery spirits, for his commitment into prison. But he came thither (as was well known) on the public faith, which was not to be violated for the satisfaction of some private persons. It was thought fit therefore to discharge him of all further employ-

May, 1603, Viscount Wallingford, 14 Nov. 1616, and Earl of Banbury, 18 Aug. 1626. Both father and son were Knights of the Garter.

¹⁰ *Advised him.*] Jewel himself, in the papers which passed in controversy between him and Dr. Cole, speaking of the submission which he had made at Oxford says, "But I have confessed it openlie, and *unrequired*, in the midst of the congregation."—*Works*, p. 30.

¹¹ *For there was.*] Heylin's *Ecclesia Restaurata*, p. 196.

¹ *One Tresham.*] William Tresham. See p. 335.

ment, and to license him to depart in peace²: none being more forward to furnish him with all things for his going hence, than the new lord chancellor, bishop Gardiner, whether in honour to his learning, or out of a desire to send him packing, shall not now be questioned; but less humanity was shewed to him in his wife, whose body having been buried in the church of St. Frideswide, was afterwards by public order taken out of the grave and buried in a common dunghill: but in the reign of queen Elizabeth it was removed, and her bones mixed with St. Francis. And the truth is, the queen (who was a bigotted papist, and too much priest-ridden) breaking not only her promise to the men of Suffolk, who had stood by her in her greatest necessity, and treating them with extream severity for but challenging the performance of her promise; (one Dobbe who had spoken more boldly than the rest, being ordered to stand three days in the pillory;) but also her more solemn engagement made the twelfth of August 1553, in the council; "That altho her conscience was staid in matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or strain others, otherwise than as God should put into their hearts a perswasion of that truth she was in; and this she hoped should be done by the opening his word to them, by godly, vertuous, and learned preachers:" I say, considering how ill she kept her promise to her own subjects, it is a wonder she should keep the faith given to this stranger in her brother's reign, and not by her; and I conceive no reason can be given for this, but the over-ruling providence of God, who governs the hearts of princes as he thinks fit.

But well it was for Mr. Jewel that there he was; and as much of Mr. Jewel's sufferings in England had been occasioned by his great respects he had shewn to Peter Martyr whilst he lived at Oxford; so now Peter Martyr never left solliciting him (as I said) to come to him to Strasburgh till he prevailed, where he took him to his own table and kept him always with him. And here Mr. Jewel was very serviceable to him in his edition of his commentaries upon the book of Judges, which were all transcribed for the press by him: and he used also to read every day some

² *Depart in peace.*] [Peter Martyr also helped himself, for he would not goe without the queens passport and leave, and when he had it, concealed himself fourteen days on the English coast, then privately took ship and arrived at Antwerp in the night, and before day took coach, and so got safe to Strasburgh, the 30th of October, 1553.]

part of a father to him, and for the most part St. Augustin, with which father they were both much delighted.

At Strasburgh Mr. Jewel found J. Poynt late bishop of Winchester, Edmund Grindal archbishop³ of York, Edwin Sands, sir J. Cheeke, and sir Anthony Coke, kt. and several other great men of the English nation, who were fled thither for their religion. And with these he was in great esteem, which opened a way for his preferment upon his return into England after the storm was over.

Peter Martyr having been a long time solicited by the senate of Zurick to go thither and take upon him the place of professor of Hebrew and interpreter of the Scriptures, in the place of Conrad Pellican, who was almost the first professor of Hebrew in Christendom, and died about this time near an hundred years of age; at last accepted the office, and carried Mr. Jewel (July 13, 1556,) with him to Zurick, where he lived still with Peter Martyr in his own family. Here he found James Pilkington bishop of Durham, and several others who were maintained by the procurement of Richard Chambers, but out of the purses of Mr. Richard Springham, Mr. John Abel, Mr. Thomas Eton, merchants of London, and several others; till at last Stephen Gardiner finding who were their benefactors, threatened "he would in a short time make them eat their fingers ends for hunger:" and it was sore against his will that he proved a false prophet, for he clapt up so many of their benefactors in England, that after this there came but a small, if any, supply out of England to them. But then Christopher prince of Wittenberg, and the senators of Zurick, and the foreign divines were so kind to them, that they had still a tolerable subsistence; and Mr. Jewel stood in need of the less, because he lived with Peter Martyr till his return into England.

So saith Mr. Humfrey, p. 90, in his life; but it is apparent by the first lines of his epistle to signior Scipio⁴, that he studied some time at Padua, and there being no mention of his travelling at any time before his exile, nor indeed any possibility of it, I suppose that whilst he was thus with Peter Martyr at Zurick, he made a step over the Alps to Padua, which was not very distant,

³ *Grindal archbishop.*] This should have been written, "*Grindal afterwards archbishop,*" &c. A similar error is committed above, where Sandys is called bishop of London; and below, where Pilkington is styled bishop of Durham.

⁴ *Signior Scipio.*] See p. 317 (Advertisement).

and there studied some time, and contracted his acquaintance with the said Venetian gentleman; for this journey is no where mentioned by any other author that I have seen, and I can find no time so likely for it as now.

During all the time of his exile, which was about four years, he studied very hard, and spent the rest of his time in consoling and confirming his brethren; for he would frequently tell them that when their brethren indured such bitter tortures and horrible martyrdoms at home, it was not reasonable they should expect to fare deliciously in banishment, concluding always: "*Hæc non durabunt ætatem*," These things will not last an age. Which he repeated so very often⁵, and with so great an assurance of mind that it would be so, that many believed it before it came to pass, and more took it for a prophetic sentence afterwards.

When the English left their native country, they were all of a piece⁶; but some of them going to Geneva and other places which had imbraced the model of reformation settled by Calvin, they became fond of these foreign novelties, and some of them at Frankford, in the year 1554, began an alteration of the liturgy, and did what they could to draw others to them; and to these men Knox, the great incendiary of Scotland afterwards, joined himself; and not long after one Whitehead a zealous calvinist, but of a much better temper than Knox. Not contented with this alteration, the fifteenth of November 1554, they writ letters

⁵ *So very often.*] There seems to have existed, especially among the exiles, a very firm persuasion, that the dominion of popery and cruelty, upon this its revival in England under queen Mary, would not be of long duration. "I dare neither affirm, that master Fox foresaw this sudden change of public affairs, nor yet will I take from him the testimony of the reverend and famous divine, Dr. Elmore (*Aylmer*), sometime bishop of London; who, in presence of many yet living, was wont to say, that he was himself at a sermon, wherein master Fox, among many things which he preached, to comfort the banished English, did with confidence tell them; *that now was the time come for their return into England, and that he brought them that news by commandment from God.* For which words he was then sharply reproved by the graver divines there present; but excused afterwards, by the event; when, by comparing of times, it was found that queen Mary died but the day before master Fox had thus presaged."—*Life of John Fox*, the Martyrologist, purporting to be written by his Son.

⁶ *All of a piece.*] [English Life. Dr. Peter Heylin saith the contrary, and that Wittingham, Williams, and Goodman were Zuinglians before they left England, who were the chief promoters of the disorder at Frankford.—*Ecclesia Restaurata*, p. 228.]

in open defiance of the English liturgy to them of Zurick, who defended it in a letter of the 28th of the same month.

Grindal and Chambers were sent from Strasburgh to Frankford to quiet these innovators, but to no purpose ; so returning back again, the English at Strasburgh wrote to them the thirteenth of December, all which procured no other regard for them, but only to obtain Calvin's judgment of it, which being suitable to their own, as there was no wonder it should, things continued thus till the thirteenth of March following, when Dr. Richard Cox entered Frankford, drove Knox out, and resettled the liturgy there. Whereupon in the end of August following, Fox with some few others went to Basil ; but the main body followed Knox and Goodman to Geneva their mother city (as Dr. Heylin styles it), where they made choice of Knox and Goodman for their constant preachers ; under which ministry they rejected the whole frame and fabric of the reformation made in England in king Edward's time, and conformed themselves wholly to the fashions of the church of Geneva, &c. Thus far Dr. Heylin.

Mr. Jewel being then at Zurick, used his utmost endeavour to reclaim these men, and put a stop to this rising schism ; exhorting them as brethren to lay aside all strife and emulation, especially about such small matters ; least thereby they should greatly offend the minds of all good men : which thing (he said) they ought to have a principal care of. And doubtless this good man thought that their gratitude to God for restoring them to their native country under the auspicious reign of queen Elizabeth of blessed memory, had for ever put an end to this dispute, and he seems to speak as much⁷ in his Apology for the Church of England ; but within a few years this fury broke loose again, and just about the time of Jewel's death became more troublesome than ever before ; and just about an hundred years after its rise, by a dismal rebellion overturned at once the church and monarchy of Great Britain.

But to return to Mr. Jewel and our exiles ; the seventeenth of November 1558, God remembered the distressed state of the church of England, and put an end to her sufferings, by removing that bigotted lady : the news of which flying speedily⁸ to our

⁷ *Speak as much.*] Near the end : "Postremo, nos inter nos de omnibus dogmatis, et capitibus religionis Christianæ convenire ; et uno ore, unoque spiritu colere Deum et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi."

⁸ *Flying speedily.*] Her death was known at Rome the ninth day after it

exiles, they hasted into England again, to congratulate the succession of queen Elizabeth of ever blessed memory.

His good benefactor and tutor Mr. Parkhurst, upon the arrival of this news, made him a visit in Germany; but fearing Mr. Jewel had not chosen the safest way for his return to England, left him and went another way, which seeming more safe, in the end proved otherwise. Mr. Jewel arriving safely in England with what he had, whilst the other was robbed by the way; and so at his landing in England, Mr. Jewel (who was here before him) very gratefully relieved his great benefactor.

The time of Mr. Jewel's arrival in England, is no where expressed⁹ that I can find, but he being then in Zurick, in all probability was for that cause none of the first that returned; so that when he came back, he had the comfort to find all things well disposed for the reception of the reformation; for the queen had by a proclamation of the thirteenth of December 1558, ordered that "no man, of what quality soever he were, should presume to alter any thing in the state of religion, or innovate in any of the rites and ceremonies thereunto belonging, &c. until some further order should be taken therein. Only it was permitted, and withall required, that the litany, the lords-prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, should be said in the English tongue, and that the epistle and gospel should be read in English at the time of the high mass, which was done (saith Dr. Heylin) in all the churches of London, on the next Sunday after, being New-years-day; and by degrees in all the other churches in the kingdom. Further than this, she thought it not convenient to proceed at the present, only she prohibited the elevation of the sacrament at the altar of the Chapel Royal; which was likewise forbore in all other churches: And she set at liberty all that had been imprisoned for religion in her sisters time, and ordered the liturgy to be revised with great care, and that a parliament should be summoned to sit at Westminster the 25th of January 1559."

happened. See Parker's *Antiquitat. Britann.* Life of Parker, at the beginning. [The news of the queen's death came to Zurick the last of November. *Martyr's Letters.*]

⁹ No where expressed.] But we may approximate to it pretty nearly. He was at Strasburgh Jan. 26, 1559; and his first letter to Peter Martyr after his return to England is dated March 20th in the same year. See Burnet's *Reformat.*, vol. iii. p. 264 and p. 268. Records.

All this I suppose at least was done before Mr. Jewel returned into England: for whether he was here at the coronation is uncertain. He was entertained first by Mr. Nicholas Culverwell for almost six months; and then falling into a sickness, was invited by Dr. William Thames, to lodge at his house; but this was after the parliament.

The liturgy being then reviewed, and whatever might give the popish party any unnecessary exasperation or discontent purged out¹; in order to the facilitating the passing an act of parliament for the settling it, and the establishment of other things that were necessary, a publick disputation was appointed on the thirtieth of March following, to be holden in the church of Westminster in the English tongue, in the presence of as many of the lords of the council, and of the members of both houses, as were desirous to inform themselves in the state of the questions. The disputation was also to be managed (for the better avoiding of confusion) by a mutual interchange of writings upon every point; each writing to be answered the next day, and so from day to day till the whole were ended. To all which the bishops at first consented, tho they would not afterwards stand to it. The questions

¹ *Purged out.*] "Great care was taken for expunging all such passages, as might give any scandal or offence to the popish party, or be urged by them in excuse for their not coming to church, and joining with the rest of the congregation in Gods publick worship. In the litany first made and published by king Henry the 8th, and afterwards continued in the two liturgies of king Edward the 6th, there was a prayer *to be delivered from the tyrannie and all the detestable enormities of the bishop of Rome*, which was thought fit to be expunged, as giving matter of scandal and dis-affection to all that party, or such as otherwise wished well to that religion. In the first liturgie of king Edward, the sacrament of the Lord's body was delivered with this benediction, that is to say, *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for the preservation of thy body and soul to life everlasting: The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.*, which being thought by Calvin and his disciples to give some countenance to the grosse and carnal presence of Christ in the sacrament, which passeth by the name of transubstantiation in the schools of Rome, was altered into this form in the second liturgie; that is to say, *Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving. Take and drink this, &c.* But the revisors of the book now joined both forms together, lest under colour of rejecting a carnal, they might be thought also to deny such a *real presence* as was defended in the writings of the antient fathers. Upon which ground they expunged also a whole rubrick," &c. &c.—Heylin's *Hist. of the Reformation*, part ii. p. 111, second edit. Compare also Fuller's *Moderation of the Church of England*, p. 430, &c.

were three, concerning prayers in the vulgar tongue, the power of the church for the changing rites and ceremonies, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass for the living and the dead.

The first use that was made of Mr. Jewel after his return, was the nominating him one of the disputants for the reformed party ; and tho he was the last in number and place, yet he was not the least either in desert or esteem, having made great additions to his former learning in his four years exile and travel : which is a great improvement to ingenious spirits. But this disputation was broken off by the popish party, who would not stand to the order appointed ; so that Mr. Jewel in all probability had no occasion to shew either his zeal or learning.

The parliament ended the eighth of May 1559 ; and by virtue of an act passed in this parliament, soon after midsummer the queen made a visitation of all the diocesses in England, by commissioners, for rectifying all such things as they found amiss, and could not be redressed by any ordinary episcopal power, without spending of more time than the exigencies of the church could then admit of. And this was done by a book of articles printed for that purpose ; and the inquiry was made upon oath by the commissioners. Here Mr. Jewel was taken in again, and made one of these commissioners for the west. When he visited his own native country, which till then perhaps he had not seen since his return from exile ; when also he preached to and disputed with his country-men, he indeavoured more to win them to imbrace the reformation by good usage, civility, and reason, than to terrify or awe them by that great authority the queen had armed him and his fellow commissioners with.

Returning back to London, and giving the queen a good and satisfactory account of their visitation, the 21st of January following, Mr. Jewel who was then only batchelor of divinity, was consecrated bishop of Salisbury, which he at first modestly declined, but at last accepted, in obedience to the queens command. This see had been void by the death of John Capon his immediate predecessor, who died in the year 1557, now near three years. And here the Divine Providence again gave him the advantage in point of seniority over his tutor Mr. John Parkhurst, who was not consecrated bishop of Norwich till the fourteenth of July after ; but then his tutor had the advantage of him in point of revenue, for Mr. Jewel's bishopric had been miserably impoverished by his predecessor ; so that he complained afterwards,

that there was never a good living left him that would maintain a learned man ; for (said he) the Capon has devoured all : because he hath either given away or sold all the ecclesiastical dignities and livings. So that the good bishop was forced all his life-time after to take extraordinary pains in travelling and preaching in all parts of his diocess, which brought him to his grave the sooner : whereas his tutor had a much richer bishopric, and consequently, more ease, and out-lived his pupil Jewel three years.

The Sunday before Easter of this year, bishop Jewel preached, at Paul's Cross, his famous sermon upon the 1 Cor. xi. v. 23. *For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread, &c.* This sermon gave a fatal blow to the popish religion here in England, which was become very odious to all men, by reason of the barbarous cruelty used by those of that perswasion in the reign of queen Mary ; but the challenge which he then made, and afterwards several times and in several places repeated, was the most stinging part of this sermon, and therefore tho I am concerned to be as short as I can, I will yet insert this famous piece at large.

“ If any learned man of our adversaries, (said he) or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor, or father, or general council, or holy Scripture, or any one example in the primitive church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved during the first six hundred years, 1. That there was at any time any private masses in the world. 2. Or that there was then any communion ministred unto the people under one kind. 3. Or that the people had their common-prayer in a strange tongue that the people understood not. 4. Or that the bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal church. 5. Or that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally or naturally in the sacrament. 6. Or that his body is or may be in a thousand places or more at one time. 7. Or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head. 8. Or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour. 9. Or that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy. 10. Or that in the sacrament after the words of consecration, there remained only the accidents and shews without the substance of bread and wine. 11. Or that then the priests divided the sacrament into three

parts, and afterwards himself received alone. 12. Or that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been adjudged for an heretic. 13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in the same church in one day. 14. Or that images were then set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them. 15. Or that the lay people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue. 16. Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, or in private to himself. 17. Or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father. 18. Or to communicate and receive the sacrament for another, as they do. 19. Or to apply the virtue of Christs death and passion to any man by the means of the mass. 20. Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that mass, *ex opere operato* (that is, even for that it is said and done) is able to remove any part of our sin. 21. Or that any Christian man called the sacrament of the Lord, his God. 22. Or that the people were then taught to believe, that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament, as long as the accidents of bread and wine remain there without corruption. 23. Or that a mouse or any other worm or beast, may eat the body of Christ, (for so some of our adversaries have said and taught.) 24. Or that when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, the word *hoc* pointed not to the bread, but to an *individuum vagum*, as some of them say. 25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or shews of bread and wine be the sacraments of Christs body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself. 26. Or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it. 27. Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion: The conclusion is, that I shall then be content to yield and subscribe²."

² *Yield and subscribe.*] With this famous challenge the reader may compare the following, given, about the year 1624, by another very learned and eminent divine, Dr. Richard Montague, afterwards bishop of Chichester, &c.

1. "If any papist living, or all the papists living, can prove unto me, that the present Roman church, is eyther the catholique church, or a sound member of the catholique church, I will subscribe.

2. "If any papist living, or all the papists living, can prove unto me, that the present church of England is not a true member of the catholique church, I will subscribe.

[3. "If

"This challenge" (saith the learned doctor Heylin, *Eccles. Restaurat.*, p. 301.) "being thus published in so great an auditory, startled the English papists both at home and abroad, but none more than such of our fugitives as had retired to Lovain, Doway, or St. Omers, in the low-country provinces belonging to the king of Spain. The business was first agitated by the exchange of friendly letters betwixt the said reverend prelate and Dr. Henry Cole the late dean of St. Pauls; more violently followed in a book of Rastal's³, who first appeared in the lists against the challenger; followed herein by Dorman and Marshall, who severally took up the cudgels to as little purpose; the first being well beaten by Nowel, and the last by Calphill, in their discourses writ against them: but they were only velitations, or preparatory skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved for the reverend challenger himself, and Dr. John Harding, one of the divines of Lovain, and the most learned of the college. The combatants were born in the same county, bred up in the same grammar-school, and studied in the same university also:—both zealous Protestants⁴ in the time of k. Edward, and both relapsed to popery in the time of queen Mary; Jewel for fear, and Harding upon hope of favour and preferment by it. But Jewel's fall may be compared to that of St. Peter, which was short and sudden, rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his faith than before he was: but Harding's like to that of the other Simon, premeditated and resolved on, never to be restored again (so much was there within him of the gall of bitterness) to his former standing. But some former differences had been between

3. "If any papist, &c. can prove unto mee, that all those points, or any of those points which the church of Rome maintaineth against the church of England, were, or was, the perpetual doctrine of the catholique church: the concluded doctrine of the representative church in any general council, or nationall, approved by a generall: or the dogmatical resolution of any one father, for 500 years after Christ, I will subscribe." *Gagg for the New Gospel*. Address to the Reader. Another elaborate challenge, on the topics of the pope's pretended temporal and spiritual monarchy, given by Dr. Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, may be found in the *Prefatory Epistle to his Brutum Fulmen*; or the Bull of pope Pius V. against queen Elizabeth, &c. 1681. 4to. Signat. C 1—3.

³ *Of Rastal's.*] [Rastal was a common lawyer, and published his book in 1563.]

⁴ *Zealous Protestants.*] See Jewel's *Answer to Master Harding's Conclusion*; Works, signat. (R r) 5.

them in the church of Salisbury, whereof the one was prebendary⁵ and the other bishop, occasioned by the bishops visitation of that cathedral; in which as Harding had the worst, so it was a presage of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter. Who had the better of the day, will easily appear to any that consults the writings, by which it will appear how much the bishop was too hard for him at all manner of weapons. Whose learned answers as well in maintenance of his challenge, as in defence of his Apology, (whereof more hereafter) contain in them such a magazine of all sorts of learning, that all our controversors since that time, have furnished themselves with arguments and authority from it."

Thus far that learned man has discoursed the event of this famous challenge with so much brevity and perspicuity, that I thought it better to transcribe his words, than to do it much worse my self.

When queen Mary died, Paul the fourth was pope, to whom queen Elizabeth sent an account of her coming to the crown which was delivered by sir Edward Karn⁶ her sisters resident at Rome; to which the angry gentleman replied, "That England was held in fee of the apostolick see; that she could not succeed being illegitimate; nor could he contradict the declarations made in that matter by his predecessors Clement the seventh, and Paul the Third: he said it was a great boldness in her, to assume the crown without his consent; for which in reason she deserved no favour at his hands; yet if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer her self wholly to him, he would shew a fatherly affection to her, and do every thing for her that could consist with the dignity of the apostolick see." Which answer being hastily and passionately made, was as little regarded by the queen. But

⁵ *Was prebendary.*] [Harding was then prebendary when Mr. Jewel was elected, and gave his vote for him. *Humf.* p. 140.]

⁶ *Sir Edward Karn.*] Or Carne, who never returned to England, but died a papist at Rome.

"Sir Edward Carne, the queen's leiger at Rome, doctor of civil law, knighted by the emperor Charles V., pretended that as the queen would not suffer the pope's nuncio to come into England, so the pope would not permit him to depart Rome, whereas, indeed, the cunning old man was not detained, but detained himself, so well pleased was he with the place and his office therein; where soon after he died, the last leiger of the English nation to Rome publicly avowed in that employment." *Fuller's Church History*, book ix. § 45.

he dying soon after, Pius the fourth an abler man succeeded ; and he was for gaining the queen by arts and kindness ; to which end he sent Vincent Parapalia, abbot of St. Saviours, with courteous letters to her, dated May the fifth 1560, with order to make large proffers to her under hand : but the queen had rejected the pope's authority by act of parliament, and would have nothing to do with Parapalia, nor would she suffer him to come into England. In the interim the pope had resolved to renew the council at Trent, and in the next year sent abbot Martinigo his nuncio to the queen, to invite her and her bishops to the council, and he accordingly came to Bruxells, and from thence sent over for leave to come into England : but though France and Spain interceded for his admission, yet the queen stood firm, and at the same time rejected a motion from the emperor, Ferdinando, to return to the old religion as he called it. Yet after all these denials given to so many and such potent princes, one Scipio a gentleman of Venice, who formerly had had some acquaintance with bishop Jewel when he was a student in Padua, and had heard of Martinigo's ill successes in this negotiation, would needs spend some eloquence in labouring to obtain that point by his private letters, which the nuncio could not gain as a public minister ; and to that end he writes his letters of expostulation to bishop Jewel his old friend, preferred not long before to the see of Sarisbury. Which letter did not long remain unanswered ; that learned prelate (saith my author, Dr. Heylin, *Eccl. Rest.*, p. 349.) was not so unstudied in the nature of councils, as not to know how little of a general council could be found at Trent : and therefore he returned an answer to the proposition so elegantly penned, and so elaborately digested, that neither Scipio himself nor any other of that party durst reply upon him. Which letter⁷ the reader will find in this small piece new translated. But this was written some time after the Apology was printed in England.

In the year following⁸ bishop Jewel put out The Apology of the Church of England in Latin ; which though written by him, was published by the queens authority, and with the advice of some of the bishops, as the public confession of the Catholic and

⁷ Which letter.] It is valuable ; and ought to find a place in any future edition of Jewel's Works.

⁸ In the year following.] [A. D. 1562. Humfrey in the *Life of Jewel*, p. 177.] Peter Martyr's Letter to Bishop Jewel concerning this book is dated Aug. 24, 1562.

Christian faith of the church of England, &c. and to give an account of the reasons of our departure from the see of Rome, and as an answer to those calumnies that were then raised against the English church and nation, for not submitting to the pretended general council of Trent then sitting.

So that it is not to be esteemed as the private work of a single bishop, but as a publick declaration of that church whose name it bears. Mr. Humfrey seems in this place to confound this and the epistle together, as if they had been written at the same time, which it is apparent they were not.

This Apology being published during the very time of the last meeting of the council of Trent, was read there, and seriously considered, and great threats made that it should be answered; and accordingly two learned bishops, one a Spaniard and the other an Italian, undertook that task, but neither of them did any thing in it¹.

But in the mean time the book spread into all the countries in Europe, and was much applauded in France, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden and Scotland; and found at last a passage into Italy, Naples, and Rome itself; and was soon after translated into the German, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch, and last into the Greek² tongue; in so great esteem this book was abroad: and at home it was translated into English by the lady Bacon, wife to sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal of England.

It very well deserves the character Mr. Humfrey has given of it, whose words are these. (Page 187.) "It is so drawn, that the first part of it is an illustration, and as it were a paraphrase of the twelve articles of the Christian faith (or creed): the second is a short and solid confutation of whatever is objected against the church. If the order be considered, nothing can be better distributed; if the perspicuity, nothing can be fuller of light; if the stile, nothing more terse; if the words, nothing more splendid; if the arguments, nothing stronger."

The good bishop was most encouraged to publish this Apology

¹ *Any thing in it.*] "Which two notwithstanding, these five whole yeeres, have yet done nothing, nor, I beleeve, intend any thing to do. Indeed certaine of your brethren have been often gnawing at it; but such as care nothing (not is cared) what they write."—Jewel's *Defense of the Apology*. Works, p. 27. fol.

² *Into the Greek.*] And also into Welch, by M. Kyffin, Oxford, 1571. 8vo.

by Peter Martyr (as appears by Martyr's letter of the 24th of August) with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time in exile. But Martyr only lived to see the book which he so much longed for, dying at Zurick, on the twelfth day of November following, after he had paid his thanks for, and expressed his value of this piece in a letter which is subjoined to this book in all the following prints. And Mr. Camden also in his *Annals* expressly saith, this Apology was printed first in the year 1562.

In the year 1564, Mr. Harding put out a pretended answer to bishop Jewel's famous challenge at Paul's Cross, mentioned above, to which in the year following the bishop made a very learned reply, the epistle before which bears date at London the 27th of October of that year. The bishop is said to have spent two years³ in that piece. The same year the university of Oxford gave him (tho absent) the degree of doctor of divinity; and certainly he well deserved to have that extraordinary respect and honour shewn him, who was so eminently employed then in the service and defence of the church.

He had no sooner brought this to a conclusion, but Harding was again upon him, and put out an Antapology, or answer to his *Apology for the Church of England*. A defence of which the bishop forthwith began, which he finished, as appears by his epistle to Mr. Harding at the end of it, the 27th of October 1567.

The next year after Mr. Harding put out another piece, which he entitled, *A detection of sundry foul errors, &c.* which was a cavilling reply to some passages in his defence of the Apology, which not seeming to deserve an answer by it self, he answered rather by a preface to a new impression of his former defence, which he finished the eleventh of December 1569, and dedicated his works to the queen; Harding having told the world that

³ *Spent two years.*] This could hardly be, if Harding's *Answer* came out first in 1564. But in fact the privilege prefixed to that book bears date Jan, 15, 1563. The epistle prefixed to Jewel's *Reply* is not dated 27th Oct. 1565, but 6th August, 1565. The writer has also committed another mistake, where, a little below, it is said that the *Defence* was finished Oct. 27, 1567; that is the date of the Epistle prefixed to the *second* edition. Humfrey, p. 194, has given occasion to part of these errors. Harding's principal work against the Apology, intitled, *Confutation of a Book called an Apology, &c.* came out in 1565, and not, as bishop Tanner and others have said, in 1563. The privilege prefixed is dated April 12, 1565. See also Jewel's Letter to Bulinger, in *Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 81. Records.

she was offended with bishop Jewel for thus troubling the world.

The same year pope Pius the fourth having published a bull of excommunication and deprivation against the queen, bishop Jewell undertook the defence of his sovereign, and wrote a learned examination and confutation of that bull; which was published by John Garbrand an intimate acquaintance of his, together with a short treatise of the holy Scriptures, both which, as he informs us, were delivered by the bishop in his cathedral church in the year 1570.

Besides these he writ several other large pieces; as 1. A paraphrastical interpretation of the epistles and gospels throughout the whole year. 2ly. Divers treatises of the sacraments, and exhortations to the readers. 3ly. Expositions of the Lord's prayer, the creed and ten commandments. And also 4ly. An exposition upon the epistle to the Galatians; the first of St. Peter, and both the epistles to the Thessalonians; which I suppose were his sermons: for he was of opinion (Humfrey, p. 111) that it was a better way of teaching, to go through with a book⁴, than to take here and there a text; and that it gave the people a more clear and lasting knowledge.

In the beginning of the next year (April 5, 1571) was a parliament, and consequently a convocation; when Thomas Cartwright and others of that faction, having alarmed the church by their oppositions to the established religion, it was thought fit to obviate their bold attempts; and thereupon command was given by the archbishop, That all such of the lower house of convocation, who had not formerly subscribed unto the articles of religion agreed upon anno 1562, should subscribe them now: or on their absolute refusal, or delay, be expelled the house: which occasioned a general and personal subscription of those articles. And it was also farther ordered, that the book of articles so approved, should be put into print, by the appointment of the right reverend doctor John Jewel then bishop of Sarum; which shews he was there, and in great esteem.

It was in some part of this year also, that he had his conference, and preached his last sermon at Paul's Cross about the ceremonies and state of the church, which he mentioned on his death-bed. But I cannot fix the precise time of either of them,

⁴ *With a book.*] See above, *Life of Colet*, vol. i. p. 437, and n. (3).

or give any further account with whom that conference was. But, however, this holy man sought nothing but the peace and welfare of the church, by these gentle and mild ways of correction; the dissenters of those times treated him for it with as little respect as Mr. Harding and his confraternity had before, as bishop Whitgift assures us. His words are these. "They" (the dissenters) "will not stick" (saith he) "in commending themselves, to deface all others yea even that notable JEWEL, whose both labour and learning they do envy; and amongst themselves deprave, as I have heard with mine own ears, and a number more besides. For further proof whereof, I do refer you to the report, that by this faction was spread of him after his last sermon at Paul's Cross, because he did confirm the doctrine before preached by a famous and learned man touching obedience to the prince and laws. It was strange (saith he) to me, to hear so notable a bishop, so learned a man, so stout a champion of true religion, so painful a prelate, so ungratefully and spitefully used by a sort of wavering, wicked and wretched tongues. But it is their manner, be you never so well learned, never so painful, so zealous, so virtuous, all is nothing with them, but they will deprave you, rail on you, back-bite you, invent lies of you, and spread false rumours, as though you were the vilest person in the whole earth."

Thus writes⁵ that venerable archbishop in his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, p. 423, upon occasion of a paper written also about this time by bishop Jewel, upon certain frivolous objections against the government of the church of England, made by Thomas Cartwright, which the bishop had confuted; and Cartwright writing against him, Whitgift defended them in this place; and by the by shews how ill the good bishop was treated for his last sermon at Paul's Cross, by this generation of vipers; which extorted from him that protestation he made on his death-bed, of which I shall give an account hereafter.

Being naturally of a spare and thin body, and thus restlessly trashing it out with reading, writing, preaching and travelling, he hastened his death, which happened before he was full fifty years of age; of which he had a strange perception⁶ a con-

⁵ Thus writes.] Compare also Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 37, 8.

⁶ A strange perception.] See Humfrey's *Life*, p. 36.

siderable time before it happened, and wrote of it to several of his friends, but would by no means be persuaded to abate any thing of his former excessive labours, saying, *A bishop should die preaching.*

Though he ever governed his diocese with great diligence, yet perceiving his death approaching, he began a new and more severe visitation⁷ of it; correcting the vices of the clergy and

⁷ *A new and more severe visitation.*] Dr. Thomas James, in his learned and very valuable *Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councils and Fathers for maintenance of Popery*, speaking of a passage of Pope Gregory's Epistles (lib. 4, epist. 38) says, "The Roman edition with sundry others read most absurdly, contrary to the faith of the manuscripts, and the circumstance of the place, *sacerdotum est pręparatus exitus*" (instead of *exercitus*) "as if this did betoken king Henry the eighth which first put priests to death."—By occasion of citing these words truly, according to St. Gregory's meaning, and the antient copies, a very worthy and learned prelate (bishop Jewel) was heretofore traduced and slandered among the papists. I will relate the story, as it was told me by one that is yet living*, and knoweth it to be true; that you may see how the good bishop was used amongst them. It happened, that in his visitation, he preached at Abingdon a religious town in Barkshire, not far from Oxford; whither went many to hear him from all parts of the country round about; and many came from the university of Oxford; of which number, some were scholars, that stood not so well affected in religion. In his sermon, as his text led him, he inveighed sharply against the pope, his pride, his attendance, priests and clergy: and amongst other places, of which he had great store, he urged this out of Gregory. The sermon being done, home they come. And such as were popishly given, seeing that the bishop insisted upon that place of Gregory, examined it with the printed books: and finding it not there, presently it is noised about the town, that the bishop had made a foolish and untrue sermon, built upon weak and false authorities; as might appear plainly by this one place of S. Gregory. For, he had turned cat into pan; alleaged the words otherwise than they were read in S. Gregory. He read *exercitus sacerdotum* an army of priests; where it was indeed in true Gregory, *exitus sacerdotum*, the killing and murdering of priests, which should argue the coming of anti-christ; an argument, said they, of his false and untrue dealing in all points of doctrine. The words were spoken; they could not be denied. At hearing of these words, the protestants were much dismayed, the papists triumphed: but it was before the victory; as shortly after appeared. For this party of whom I received this information, being now a gentleman of good place in the commonwealth, and ever known to be honest of his word, and very religious, presently bethought himself of some course to stop their mouths, if it were possible. He turned divers editions, but still found *exitus*. In the end, it so pleased God, to put into his mind, to seek it in the *manuscripts*: and remembering that they had

* Mr. Fr. Mille, one of the clerks of the signet to his majesty, at that time of good standing in All-Souls' College, fellow.

laity more sharply; injoining them in some places tasks of holy tracts to be learned by heart, conferring orders more carefully, and preaching oftener.

Having promised to preach at Lacock in Wiltshire, a gentleman who met him going thither, observing him to be very ill by his looks, advised him to return home, assuring him it was better the people should want one sermon, than to be altogether deprived of such a preacher. But he would not be persuaded, but went thither and preached his last sermon out of the fifth to the Galatians, *Walk in the Spirit*, &c. which he did not finish without great labour and difficulty.

The Saturday following being the 22d of September 1571, he piously and devoutly rendered up his soul into the hands of God, having first made a very devout and Christian exhortation to those that were about him, and expressing much dislike of one of his servants who prayed for his recovery. He died^a at Monke-

one in the library, of good antiquity, in that college (All-Souls) whereof he then was fellow, he did so; went up into the library, found the words there as bishop Jewel had reported them: which was no small comfort unto him. He stayed not long, went to his chamber, caused a note to be set up in public view, whereby he gave the whole university to understand, that whereas such a reverend bishop, for a sermon by him lately preached was defamed and traduced, and namely for a sentence by him falsely alleaged, as was given forth, out of Gregory's Epistles: that this report of theirs was utterly untrue; the authority not changed by the bishop, but by them into a sinister sense; for, so it was found in an antient *manuscript* in All-Souls College. Which, if it pleased not them to credit his report, if they would come and see, they should have one ready to attend them, with the book. And upon this many came, were satisfied, and the papists had not a word to say for themselves. This story, I have presumed to rehearse, that you may see the custom of hereticks; which is, to charge others with corruptions, when themselves are most guilty." P. 230, edit. 1688.

^a *He died*] "Unto the end he ceased not to continue in the faith which he before professed. For, as I, one of many yet living, can testifie, in the day and night before his departure out of this world, he expounded the Lords Praier, and gave short notes upon the 71st Psalm, to such as were by him. He thought good to say somewhat at that time, of his bookes written by him, and set forth in print, and also of his preaching. In both which services done by him to the glory of God, and thy" (*the reader's*) "comfort, he made protestation of his good conscience, which even then, as he declared, witnessed and should witnesse with him before God, that hee dealt simply and plainly, having God only before his eyes, and seeking the defense of the gospel of Christ, and that the truth thereof might be opened and maintained. And further gave thanks to God that made him his servant in so great a worke; and then visited him by this messenger of death, while hee was doing

tón Farla, when he had been a bishop almost twelve years ; and was buried almost in the middle of the quire of his cathedral church, and Ægidius Lawrence preached his funeral sermon. He was extreemly bewailed by all men ; and a great number of Latin, Greek and Hebrew verses were made on this occasion by learned men, which are collected and printed by Mr. Lawrence Humfrey, regius professor of divinity at Oxford, in the end of his life written in Latin by the order of that university ; nor has his

the message of God, in visiting his diocese : that then he called him to rest from his labours, when his weake body was spent and worne out in setting forth the glory of God, for which he many times praied, it would please God to let him be offered in sacrifice.

“ Hee was at that time very fervent in praier ; which he poured out before the Lord abundantly, and in great faith, crying often : *Lord let thy servant now depart in peace. Lord let thy servant now come to thee. I have not so lived, that I am ashamed to live : neither am I afraid to die, for we have a gracious Lord. There is laid up for mee a crowne of righteousness. Christ is my righteousness. Thy will be done O Lord, for mine is fraile* : with many other such godly speeches. In the extremitie of his disease he shewed great patience, and when his voice failed that he lay speechlesse, he lifted up his hands and eyes, in wnesse of his consent to those praiers, which were made. Thus being virtuously occupied, and wholly resting himselfe upon the mercies of God through Jesus Christ our Saviour, he rendered up his soule to God, the 23 of September 1571.

“ Be thou thankfull to God, for giving his church so worthy an instrument of his glory : and be careful to follow the good doctrine, which he left behinde him.” Garbrand’s Preface to Jewel’s *View of a seditious Bull*, &c. A.D. 1582. Compare Humfrey’s Life, p. 254—7.

That the memory of this mighty champion of the reformed faith should be infested by popish calumnies will not be wondered at by those who have a moderate knowledge of the degree to which such practices have been carried in similar circumstances, for the purpose of discrediting the protestant, and upholding the tottering cause of the Romish religion. Sometimes it was said, that at the hour of death he retracted his heresies, and returned to the Roman catholic faith. (Humfrey, p. 259.) At other times, having in his devotions in his last sickness “ used the versicle of the hymn *Te Deum, O Lord, in Thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded*, hereupon, suppressing the rest, they published, that the principal champion of the heretics in his very last words cried he was confounded.” Lord Bacon’s *Works*, vol. i. p. 356. But the most absurd story of all was, (as they told of Bucer, who walked often into the fields at Cambridge to visit a favourite cow, which had been presented to him by the dutchess of Suffolk, that he derived his learning from her,) that Jewel had a favourite and familiar cat, or a devil in that shape, from which he was inspired with all the powers of eloquence and argument, of which he was so largely possessed, to the bane of so many good and sound catholics. Humfrey’s *Life*, p. 259.

name been since mentioned by any man, without such eulogies and commendations as befitted so great, so good, so learned and laborious a prelate.

Having thus brought him to his grave, my reader may be pleased to permit me to collect some particular things which could not so well be inserted into the history of his life, without breaking the thread of it.

He had naturally a very strong memory, which he had strangely improved by art. Mr. Humfrey gives several examples of this, but I will instance in two only. John Hooper bishop of Gloucester, who was burnt in the reign of queen Mary, once to try him, writ about forty Welsh and Irish words; Mr. Jewel going a little while aside, and recollecting them in his memory, and reading them twice or thrice over, said them by heart backward and forward exactly in the same order they were set down. And another time he did the same by ten lines of Erasmus's paraphrase in English, the words of which being read sometimes confusedly without order, and at other times in order by the lord keeper Bacon, Mr. Jewell thinking a while on them, presently repeated them again backward and forward, in their right order and in the wrong, just as they were read to him⁹; and he taught his tutor Mr. Parkhurst the same art.

Though his memory were so great and so improved, yet he would not intirely rely upon it, but entered down into common place books, whatever he thought he might afterwards have occasion to use; which, as the author of his life informs us, were many in number, and great in quantity, being a vast treasure of learning, and a rich repository of knowledge, into which he had collected sacred, profane, poetic, philosophic and divine notes of all sorts; and all these he had again reduced into a small piece or two, which were a kind of general indexes, which he made use of at all times when he was to speak or write any thing; which

⁹ *Read to him.*] The accounts of Jewel's tenacious memory, remarkable as they are, do not equal what is told, of the same faculty, in others; and, for instance, of Fuller, the ecclesiastical historian, it is said that he could repeat five hundred unconnected words, after hearing them only twice: and that he would preach a sermon *verbatim*, which he had heard only once. Also, that in passing to and fro, from Temple-bar to the furthest end of Cheap-side, he once undertook to tell at his return every sign, as it stood in order, on both sides of the way, repeating them either backwards or forwards; and performed it exactly. *Life of Dr. Thomas Fuller*, 1661.

were drawn up in characters for brevity, and thereby so obscured, that they were not of any use, after his death, to any other person. And besides these, he ever kept diaries, in which he entered whatever he heard or saw that was remarkable; which once a year he perused, and out of them extracted what ever was more remarkable.

And from hence it came to pass, that whereas Mr. Harding in that great controversie they had, abounded only in words, bishop Jewel overwhelmed him with a cloud of witnesses and citations out of the ancient fathers, councils, and church historians; confirming every thing with so great a number of incontestable authorities, that Mr. Harding durst never after pretend to a second perfect and full answer, but contented himself with snarling at some small pieces: the truth is, as Dr. Heylin observes, all the following controversies were in this point beholding to the indefatigable industry of this great leader.

Yet he was so careful in the use of his own common place books, that when he was to write his Defence of the Apology, and his Reply, he would not trust intirely to his own excerpts or transcriptions, but having first carefully read Mr. Hardings books, and marked what he thought deserved an answer, he in the next place drew up the heads of his intended answer, and resolved what authorities he would make use of upon each head, and then by the directions of his common place book, read and marked all those passages he had occasion to make use of, and delivered them to some scholars to be transcribed under their proper heads, that he might have them together under his eye, when he came to write; which care and diligence of his speaks at once both his industry, fidelity, and modesty, in that he would not trust his own transcripts, and is a just reprehension of the falshood of those who knowingly make false citations, and of the supine negligence of those who take them up upon trust from other men, and use them without any examination; by which means great mistakes are made, and controversies spring up to the disturbance of the world. The truth is, a man ought to re-examine his own thoughts: for what may seem very pertinent at a first reading to any purpose, may prove otherwise upon second thoughts, and a close observation of what goes before, or follows after in the author: and few men are so exact in their first excerpts, but through hast, inadvertence or mistake, they may more or less err and be deceived; not to say that a mans inten-

tion of mind is much exalted by the fixing it upon one particular object, and the expectation of a conviction from his adversary, in case he make the least mistake. This account of our venerable bishop was given by one Mr. John Garbrand, who was intimately acquainted with him, in an epistle dedicatory before some of his sermons, printed in octavo, in the year 1583.

He was an excellent Grecian, and not unacquainted with the Italian tongue; and as to the Latin, he wrote and spoke it with that elegance, politeness, purity and fluency, that it might very well be taken for his mother tongue: and certainly he took the right course to be master of it, having made himself in his youth, perfectly master of Horace, (upon whom he writ a large commentary) Tully and Erasmus, all whose voluminous and excellent works he read over, excerpted and imitated every day he lived, especially during his continuance at Oxford; and he was then wont also to declaim¹ extempore to himself in Latin, in the woods and groves as he walked.

And when the lady Bacon wrote him a letter in Greek, he replied in the same language. He was excellently read in all the Greek poets, orators and historians, especially in the ecclesiastical historians, and above all other, loved Gregory Nazianzen, and quoted him on all occasions.

His learning was much improved by his exile, in which, besides his conversation with Peter Martyr and the other learned men at Strasburgh and Zurick, and his society with Mr. Sands afterwards archbishop of York, who was his bedfellow almost all the time they were in exile, his curiosity led him over the Alps into Italy, and he studied some time in Padua, and by the acquaintance he contracted with seignior Scipio² a great man, seems to have been very much esteemed there.

He was of a pleasant debonair humour, extreamly civil and obliging to all; but withal of great gravity, and of so severe a

¹ *To declaim.*] “Fertur æstate in sylvam Shotoverianam Oxoniæ proximam, aut in alium aliquem secessum proficisci consuevisse, ibique in solitudine quasi in theatro declamitasse, auditores candidissimos oratione Græca, Latina, sua, aliena, Ciceroniana, Demosthenica compellasse: gestum, pronunciationem, vocem, vultum, omnia ad gravitatem et decorum attemperasse; ut non Juellum sed alterum Demosthenem in antro rhetoricantem, et literam caninam sonare conantem fuisse affirmares. Curiosam et affectatam eloquentiam in concionatoribus semper damnavit, et ipse devitavit. Rhetor esse quam haberi maluit.” *Humfrey’s Life*, p. 24.

² *Seignior Scipio.*] See note, p. 317 (Advertisement).

probity and virtue, that he extorted from his bitterest enemies a confession that he lived the life of an angel : and tho he were lame, yet till his being a bishop, he travelled for the most part a-foot, both at home and beyond the seas. He was contented in every condition, and endeavoured to make all others so, by telling them when he was in exile, that neither would their calamity last an age, neither was it reason they should bear no share of the cross of Christ, when their brethren in England fared so much worse.

He was so extremely grateful to all that had done him good, that when he could not express his gratitude to Mr. Bowin his school-master, he paid it to his name, and did good to all that were so called for his sake, though they were not related to that good man.

He was a most laborious preacher, always travelling about his diocese, and preaching where-ever he came ; wherein he laboured to speak to the apprehensions of the people, hating all light gingling discourses and phrases, as beneath the dignity of that sacred place ; yet he was carefull here too in the choice of his words, and endeavoured to move the affections of his auditory by pathetic and zealous applications, avoiding all high-flown expressions, and using a grave and sedate, rather than sweet way of speaking, and never venturing in the meanest auditory to preach extempore ³.

Mr. Humfrey, who was himself a Calvinist, (as Mr. Camden informs us in his *Annals*,) has done what he could, (p. 111) to

³ *To preach extempore.*] This, it should seem, is affirmed on insufficient authority, unless by preaching extempore the author means preaching *without premeditation*. His famous sermon at Paul's Cross A.D. 1560, purports in the title, to be "set forth, as neere as the author *could call it to remembrance*, without any alteration or addition."

"Nam quamvis *extemporalis* facundiæ, et multiplicis doctrinæ, et egregiæ memoriæ adminiculis confusus, subito ad concionandum *potuisset* exilire, et velut Gorgias alter de quovis themate ultra consuetam clepsydram declamare: tamen ita studiose, ita religiose in hac sacra functione versatus est, ut *nunquam nisi meditate dixerit*. Imo sive in ecclesia sua, sive ruri in parochiis, sive in suggestu Paulino Londini, sive in aula regia, sive in academia, sive alibi concionaretur, vel longius vel brevius spatium ad deliberandum sumsit: et dictanda populo *laboriose excerptis*, et *observationes locorum*, et *rerum ipsarum quædam capita* prius in charta delineavit; quæ et disposuit apte, et statim memoriæ commendavit, et leni ac dulci voce, et idoneis verbis pronuntiavit. P. 109, 10.

represent bishop Jewell as a favourer ⁴ of our English dissenters : but it is certain he opposed them in his exile, when they began the stirs at Frankford ; and the last public act he did in all his life, was to reprehend them severely, in a sermon preached at Pauls Cross, which I take to be the last sermon, printed in the collection of his works in 1609 ; and to defend the rites and ceremonies of the church against them ; both which he mentioned on his death-bed in these words. “ My last sermon at Pauls Cross in London, and the conference I held with some brethren concerning the ceremonies and present state of our church, was not undertaken to please any mortal man, or to exasperate or trouble those that thought otherwise than I did ; but least either party should prejudice the other, and that the love of God, through the operation of the Holy Ghost which is given to us, might be shed abroad in our hearts.” To which he wisely subjoins his opinion, that these contentions were kindled and fomented by the popish party ; as is well known now. The truth is, the schism was then in its rise : and those great impostures Coleman, Button, and Hallingham, which were nothing but popish priests ⁵ in the masquerade of puritan preachers, being severely corrected in the year 1568, there was no great motion made by that party, till the parliament held in the thirteenth year of the queen, April 2, 1570, had confirmed the articles of the church by act of parliament : and subscription thereupon being more severely urged than before, many dissenters kept their private meetings in woods, fields, their friends’ houses, &c. as Fuller from Tho. Cartwrights *Second Reply*, p. 38, informs us. These disorders in all probability occasioned the sermon at Pauls Cross, and the conference at London, which happened not long before his death, and probably after this session of parliament, which the bishop survived but six months. So

⁴ *A favourer.*] Yet Humfrey himself fell under the severe displeasure of Jewel for his puritanical scruples. In 1565, being presented to a living in the diocese of Sarum by Horn, bishop of Winchester, Jewel refused to give him institution, writing to the archbishop, “ That in respect of his vain contention about apparell, he thought best to make a stay till he understood his grace’s pleasure ; and that unless he should otherwise advise him by his letter, he minded not in any wise to receive him ; adding that his long sufferance bred great offence.” Strype’s *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 464.

⁵ *Nothing but popish priests.*] [The Preface to the first tome of Collections by Dr. Nalson.] See also Strype’s *Annals*, vol. i. p. 521, 2. Strype’s *Life of Parker*, p. 244—6. Maddox *against Neal*, p. 181—6. Ussher’s *Letters*, p. 611, 12, and p. 27, 8. Appendix. *Foxes and Firebrands*, 1680.

that if the bishop "did rarely and unwillingly preach any thing concerning the rites and indifferent parts or circumstances of religion," as our author (Humfrey) tells us, it was because he had no great occasions given him : but what he thought of these men, will best appear from the sermon I mentioned above ; his words are these. "By whose name shall I call you ? I would I might call you brethren ; but alas this heart of yours is not brotherly : I would I might call you Christians ; but alas you are no Christians. I know not by what name I shall call you : for if you were brethren, you would love as brethren : if you were Christians, you would agree as Christians." So that he could have no good opinion of those whom he every where in that sermon stiles, proud, self-conceited, disobedient, and unquiet men, who did not deserve the title of brethren or Christians. What would he have said if he had lived in our days ?

Besides confuting⁶ some of the seditious doctrines of Thomas Cartwright, who became famous by his *Admonition to the parliament* ; in the year following the bishop said, *Stultitia nata est in corde pueri, et virga disciplinæ fugabit illam.* (Prov. xxii. 15.) Which shews he was no encourager of faction by lenity and toleration ; though he was a man of great moderation otherwise, and expressed a great sense of the frailties of mankind in other instances ; as appears by his letter to Dr. Parkhurst when bishop of Norwich. "Let your chancellor" (saith he) "be harder, but you easier ; let him wound, but do you heal ; let him lance, do you plaister : wise clemency will do more good than rigid severity ; one man may move more with an engine, than six with the force of their hands." And accordingly he would often sit in his own consistory with his chancellor, hearing, considering, and sometimes determining causes concerning matrimony, adultery, and testaments, &c., not thinking it safe to commit all to the sole care and fidelity of his chancellor and officials. But though as a justice of peace he often sate in the courts of quarter sessions, yet here he very rarely interposed, except his judgment were desired concerning some scruple of religion, or some other such-

⁶ *Besides confuting.*] [In a short paper written by this good bishop against certain frivolous objections made against the government of the church of England, printed at London, 1641. Bishop Whitgift in the defence of the Answer to the Admonition, tells us, Cartwright was the man ; and that hereupon the faction used the bishop most ungratefully and despitefully, p. 423.]

like difficulty. So exact was his care, not to entangle himself with secular affairs; and yet not to be wanting to his duty in any case.

Tho he came to a bishopric miserably impoverished and wasted, yet he found means to exercise a prodigious liberality and hospitality. For the first, his great expence in the building a fair library for his cathedral church, may be an instance, which his successor Dr. Gheast furnished with books, whose name is perpetuated, together with the memory of his predecessor by this inscription. "*Hæc bibliotheca extructa est sumptibus R. P. ac D.D. JOHANNIS JEWELLI, quondam Sarum episcopi; instructa vero libris à R. in Christo P. D. Edmundo Gheast, olim ejusdem ecclesiæ episcopo; quorum memoria in benedictione erit. A.D. 1578.*"

His doors stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send his charitable reliefs to prisoners; nor did he confine his bounty to English men only, but was liberal to foreigners, and especially to those of Zurick, and the friends of Peter Martyr.

But perceiving the great want of learned men in his times, his greatest care was to have ever with him in his house half a dozen or more poor lads which he brought up in learning; and took much delight to hear them dispute points of grammar-learning in Latin at his table when he was at his meal, improving them, and pleasing himself at the same time.

And besides these, he maintained in the university several young students, allowing them yearly pensions; and when ever they came to visit him, rarely dismissed them without liberal gratuities. Amongst these was the famous Mr. Richard Hooker his countryman, whose parents being poor he must have been bound apprentice to a trade, but for the bounty of this good bishop, who allowed his parents a yearly pension towards his maintenance, well near seven years before he was fit for the university; and in the year 1567, appointed him to remove to Oxford and there to attend Dr. Cole then president of Corpus Christi college, who, according to his promise to the bishop, provided him a tutor, and a clerk's place in that college; which, with a contribution from his uncle Mr. John Hooker, and a continued pension of his patron the bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence: and in the last year of the bishops life, Mr. Hooker making this his patron a visit at his palace, the good bishop made him, and a companion he had with him, dine at his own table with him, which Mr. Hooker

boasted of with much joy and gratitude, when he saw his mother and friends, whither he was then travelling a foot. The bishop when he parted with him, gave him good counsel and his blessing, but forgot to give him money; which when the bishop bethought himself of, he sent a servant to call him back again, and then told him, "I sent for you Richard, to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God with much ease." And presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled many parts of Germany; and then went on and said, "Richard, I do not give but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford; and I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send a bishops blessing with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten more to carry you on foot to the college; and so God bless you good Richard." It was not long after this, before this good bishop died; but before his death he had so effectually recommended Mr. Hooker to Edwin Sandys then bishop of London, and after archbishop of York, that about a year after he put his son under the tutelage of Mr. Hooker, and was otherwise so liberal to him, that he became one of the learnedest men of the age; and as bishop Jewel foiled the papists, so this Mr. Hooker in his books of *Ecclesiastical Polity*, gave the dissenters such a fatal defeat, as they never yet could, nor ever shall be able to recover from. Nor was Mr. Hooker ungrateful; but having occasion to mention his good benefactor in that piece, he calls him (bishop Jewel) "the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years." (Book ii. § 6.)

But to return to bishop Jewel. He had collected an excellent library of books of all sorts, not excepting⁷ the most impertinent

⁷ *Not excepting.*] Cole taxing Jewel in these words, "I see yee write much, and read little," the bishop replies; "How are yee so privie to my reading? Wise men avouch no more than they know. Yee lackt shift when yee were driven to write thus. I assure you I have not been so slacke a student these twenty yeeres" (this is written in the year 1560), "but that besides other old writers of divers sorts, Greeke and Latin, I have not spared to read over, even such as have written of your side, as Roffensis, [Fisher] Pigghius, Hosmasterus, Eckius, Hossius, and such others; and yet, untill this day I never set abroad in print twenty lines. But this is your old wont, to make the people thinke that we reade nothing else but two-pennie doctors,

of the popish authors; and here it was that he spent the greatest and the best part of his time, rarely appearing abroad, especially in a morning till eight of the clock: so that till that time it was not easy to speak with him; when commonly he eat some slight thing for the support of his thin body; and then, if no business diverted him, retired to his study again till dinner.

He maintained a plentiful, but sober table: and though at it he eat very little himself, yet he took care his guests might be well supplied, entertaining them in the mean time with much pleasant and useful discourse, telling and hearing any kind of innocent and diverting stories: for though he was a man of a great and exact both piety and virtue, yet he was not of a morose, sullen, unsociable temper; and this his hospitality was equally bestowed upon both foreigners and English men.

After dinner he heard causes, if any came in; and dispatched any business that belonged to him (though he would sometimes do it at dinner too); and answered any questions, and very often arbitrated and composed differences betwixt his people, who knowing his great wisdom and integrity, did very often refer themselves to him as the sole arbitrator, where they met with speedy, impartial, and unchargeable justice.

At nine at night he called all his servants about him, examined how they had spent their time that day, commended some, and reprov'd others, as occasion served, and then closed the day with prayers, as he began it: the time of his public morning prayers seems to have been eight.

After this he commonly went to his study again, and from thence to bed, his gentlemen reading some part of an author to him, to compose his mind; and then committing himself to his God and Saviour, he betook himself to his rest.

He was extream careful of the revenues of the church, not caring whom he offended to preserve it from impoverishing in an age, when the greatest men, finding the queen not over liberal^a

as yee call them. As in the disputation at Westminster, yee would seeme to stand in doubt, whether we were able to understand you or no, when ye spake a little Latin." *Jewel's Works*, p. 23, 4. See also *Humfrey's Life of Jewel*, p. 250.

^a *Not over liberal.*] "My good old mistress was wont to call me her *watch-candle*, because it pleased her to say, I did continually burn: and yet *she suffered me to waste almost to nothing.*" Sir F. Bacon to king James, A.D. 1612.

"A company of young courtiers appeared extraordinary gallant at a tilting, far above their fortunes and estates, giving for their motto, *Solvat Ecclesia*. Bishop Bancroft, then of London, hearing of it, finds on enquiry

to her courtiers and servants, too often paid themselves out of the church patrimony, for the services they had done the crown, till they ruined some bishoprics intirely, and left others so very poor, that they are scarce able to maintain a prelate.

There is one instance of this mentioned by all that have written our bishop's life; a courtier (who was a lay-man) obtained a prebend in the church of Salisbury, and intending to let it to another lay-person for his best advantage, acquainted bishop Jewel with the conditions between them; and some lawyers opinion about them. To which the bishop replied; "What your lawyers may answer I know not; but for my part, to my power, I will take care that my church shall sustain no loss whilst I live." What was the event of this, none of them have told us.

Nor was he careful of his own church only, but of the whole English church, as appears by his sermon upon Psalm lxix. v. 9. *The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up*, which he preached before the queen and court; as appears by it in several addresses to her in the body of that sermon. In it he hath this observation. "In other countries the receiving of the gospel hath always been the cause that learning was more set by; and learning hath ever been the furtherance of the gospel. In England, I know not how it cometh otherwise to pass, for since the gospel hath been received⁹, the maintenance for learning hath been decayed; and the lack of learning will be the decay of the gospel." And a little after he tells us, "Those that should be fosterers of learning, and increase the livings, had no zeal. What said I, increased? Nay the livings and provisions which heretofore were given to this use, are (saith he) taken away." And a little after, "Whereas all other labourers and artificers have their hire encreased double as much as it was wont to be; only the poor man that laboureth and sweateth in the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts, hath his hire abridged and abated." And he applies himself towards the conclusion thus to the great men. "You enriched them which mocked and blinded and devoured you; spoil not them now that feed and instruct and comfort you."

that the queen was passing a considerable parcel of church-lands to them; and stops the business with his own and his friends' interest, leaving these gallants to pay the shot of their pride and prodigality out of their own purses." Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 766. Compare Bancroft's *Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline*, p. 211.

⁹ *Hath been received.*] Compare above, *Life of Ridley*, p. 91, and n.

I had not taken the pains to transcribe so much of this excellent discourse, which may easily enough be read by any that desire it in his works, but to raise a little consideration¹ if it be possible, in this debauched age. This good man foretold here that this sacrilegious devastation of the church would in time be the ruine of the gospel, as he calls the reformation, and so it came to pass: for whereas he observed then, that by reason of the impropriations, the vicarages in many places, and in the properest market towns were so simple, that no man could live upon them, and therefore no man would take them, but the people were forced to provide themselves as they might with their own money; the consequence of this in a few years was, that these mercenary men becoming factious, or being such, crept into such places out of hopes of the greater advantage; and so infected the minds of the trades-men, that as the church became very much weakened and disquieted by their factions; so our parliaments in a little while became stuff with a sort of lay-brethren who were enemies both to the church and crown, which was a great part of the occasion of the rebellion in 1640, in which many of those families whose ancestors had risen by the spoils of the church were ruined: and tho much care was taken upon the restitution of his late majesty Charles the second, for the prevention of such mischiefs for the future, yet no care was taken of these livings in market towns and corporations; by which means it came to pass, that within about twenty years more, we were very fairly disposed for another change, and nothing but God prevented it. From whence I conclude, that till this leak is stopped, both church and crown will be in danger of a shipwrack.

There is fixed upon the bishop's grave-stone, a plate of brass with the arms of his family, and this following inscription.

D.

Johanni Jewello Anglo Devoniensi ex antiqua Juellorum familia

¹ *To raise a little consideration.*] It is greatly to be regretted, that this consideration is almost as much wanting in these times, as it was when this life was drawn up.—In connection with this subject the editor begs leave to recommend to the perusal of those who may have power and influence to diminish the evils alluded to, Kennett's *Cases of Impropriations and of the Augmentation of Vicarages and other insufficient Cures*, A. D. 1704. See also Malham's *Historical View of the unavoidable causes of the Non-residence of the Parochial Clergy*. A. D. 1801.

Budenæ oriundo; Academiæ Oxoniensis laudatissimo alumno:
 Mariana tempestate per Germaniam exuli; præsuli regnante
 Elizabetha regina Sarisburiensis diœceseos (cui per annos XI.
 menses IX. summa fide et integritate præfuit) religiosissimo:
 immaturo fato Monkton-farleæ prærepto XXIII. Sept. Anno
 salutis humanæ Christi merito restitutæ 1571, et ætatis suæ 49.
 Positum est observantiæ ergo hoc monumentum.

This epitaph was drawn for him by Mr. Humfrey, and much
 more; which in probability could not be all put upon the brass:
 but yet he took care to publish it at large in his life of the bishop,
 from whence I have transcribed it, which is in these words:

D.

Joanni Juello Anglo, Devoniensi,
 Ex antiqua Juellorum familia Budenæ oriundo,
 Academiæ Oxoniensis laudatissimo alumno;
 Mariana Tempestate per Germaniam exuli;
 præsuli,
 Regnante Elizabetha Regina,
 Sarisburiensis diœceseos,
 (Cui per annos XI. menses IX. summa fide
 et integritate præfuit,)
 Religiosissimo; viro singulari eruditione,
 Ingenio acutissimo, judicio gravissimo,
 Pietate, humanitate egregie
 Prædito;
 Theologiæ cum primis cognitione
 Instructissimo;
 Gemmæ Gemmarum;
 Immaturo fato Monkton-farleæ prærepto;
 Sarisburiæ sepulto;
 Cœlorum civi;
 Laurentius Humfredus
 Hoc monumentum observantiæ ergo
 Et benevolentiae consecravit,
 Anno salutis humanæ
 Christi Merito restitutæ
 MDLXXI. ix. Kal. Oct.
 Vixit Annos XLIX. menses IV.
 Psal. 112.
 In memoria æterna crit justus.

*A Letter written to the reverend father in God Dr. John Jewel
lord bishop of Salisbury, by Dr. Peter Martyr.*

By the favour of the bishop of London (most worthy prelate and my very good lord) there was brought me one of your Apologies for the church of England; which neither I nor any others hereabouts before had seen. It is true in your last letter you rather intimated that it might come out, than signified that it should; but however it came not hither till about the middle of July. And from hence your lordship may consider how much we suffer from the distance of places. It hath not only given me an intire satisfaction, who approve and am strangely pleased with all you do; but to Bullinger and his sons, and sons in law: and it seems so very wise, admirable and elegant to Gualter and Wolphius, that they can put no end to their commendations of it, as not thinking there hath been any thing printed in these times of so great a perfection. I do infinitely congratulate this great felicity of your parts, this excellent edification of the church, and the honour you have done your country; and I do most earnestly beseech you to go on in the same way; for tho we have a good cause, yet the defenders of it are few in comparison of its enemies; and they now seem so awakened, that they have of late won much upon the ignorant multitude, by the goodness of their stile, and the subtilty of their sophistry. I speak this of Staphylus and Hosius, and some other writers of that party, who are now the stout champions of the papal errors. But now you have by this your most elegant and learned Apology, raised such an hope in the minds of all good and learned men, that they generally promise themselves, that whilst you live, the reformed religion shall never want an advocate against its enemies. And truly I am extremely glad, that I am so happy as to live to see that day which made you the father of so illustrious and eloquent a production. May the God of heaven of his goodness grant that you may be blessed in time with many more such.

Zurick, Aug. 24, 1562.

BERNARD GILPIN.

The indisposition of the church of Rome to reform herself, must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse, if we did not perform that duty. Notwithstanding, so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with them. For, even as the apostle doth say of Israel, that they are in one respect *enemies*, but in another *beloved of God*; in like sort, with Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations; yet, touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) so yield to prune and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we *all may with one heart and one mouth glorify God the father of our Lord and Saviour*, whose church we are.

HOOKEE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Life of Bernard Gilpin, written in Latin by George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, who had been one of Gilpin's scholars at Houghton, was translated into English, and published in the year 1629, under the following title; *The Life of Mr. Bernard Gilpin, some times parson of Houghton in the bishopricks of Durham, a man for his singular piety and integrity famous, and renowned over all the northerne parts of this kingdom of England, faithfully collected and written in Latine, by the right reverend father in God George Carleton, late lord bishop of Chichester, and published for the satisfaction of his countrymen, by whom it was long since earnestly desired; translated by William Freake minister. London printed by William Jones, dwelling in Red-Crosse-street, 1629.* This translation has since passed through three or four editions. The present, with a very few slight alterations, where the translator does not appear to have reached the sense of his author, is printed intire from that of the year 1629. The original Latin makes a part of Bates's *Vitæ Selectorum aliquot Virorum &c. Londin: 1681. 4to.*

GEORGE, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER,

TO

WILLIAM BELUSIS¹, KNIGHT,

Wisheth Salvation in Christ.

IF in the church of God, there were many such as Mr. Gilpin was, I should holde it needlesse, to recommend the memoriall of this man unto the world. But seeing there are so few, or (to speak freely what I think) none at all, who (following the rule of so rare a piety, and sanctimony) have propounded so notable an example, to all those who doe aspire to a blessed life, and constantly walk in the same, I conceive that such a patterne would kindle the zeale of many good men, to walke in so faire a way, though happily they were not able to attaine to the perfection thereof. Examples of the like piety in holy men we have heard of many in auncient histories, and often read of them in their writings, but in men of this our age it is not to be found. For so farre short are we from this zeale in furtherance of piety, that now it is to be feared, lest religion (so eagerly and joyfully undertaken, and professed at first) will come to be even loathed, and rejected of many, and so finally come to confusion: seeing experience of former times hath confirmed this truth unto us, that profanesse of life and manners hath drawne withall the ruine of religion, thereby to give us a taste now of what it is like to doe

¹ *William Belusis.*] Sir William Belasyse, of Morton and Houghton, to whom this life is dedicated, was the son of Bryan Belasyse of Morton, by Margaret, daughter of Sir George Selby. Bryan Belasyse, who died in 1607, and was buried at Houghton, was fourth son of Sir William Belasyse of Newborough, who was sheriff of Yorkshire in 1574, and whose eldest son, Sir Henry Belasyse, was ancestor of the earls and viscounts Fauconberg.

hereafter. Now we make no doubt, but (in so great a decay of auncient holines) Mr. Gilpin's name (like the owle amongst other birds) when it comes abroad will prove hatefull to many; yet I held this no sufficient reason why to suppress it: wherein though some pick out matter for their derision and scorne, yet some may meete with matter for their admiration, others for their imitation to work on. As for you (worthy sir) you hereby enjoy the harvest of your earnest and often desire. Many yeeres this writing hath lyne by me from the common view; the edition whereof I did therefore of purpose defer, to prevent them, who may seeme to stand at a distance farre off from this forme of holinesse, from judging themselves prejudized hereby. But as my purpose is to further all, as much as I might, so it was not to hurt any. If any good or furtherance redound to any by this my labour, he must thank you, whose importunity hath extorted it, such as it is, out of my hands. And seeing you live in the very place, wherein Mr. Gilpin's whole life and worth are best knowne, and your selfe have beene so earnest with me for the same, this very carefull desire of yours to preserve and perpetuate Mr. Gilpin's memory, is a most pregnant prooffe and an undeniable testimony of the ingenuity and goodnesse of your own minde: which worthy disposition of yours hath commanded me to dedicate this little work to your name, to stand for ever as a pledge of your religious affection to Mr. Gilpin, and my true love unto you. So fare you well.

BERNARD GILPIN.

BERNARD GILPIN was borne at Kentmire, in the county of Westmorland, in the yeare of our Lord 1517, of an ancient and honourable family¹, being the son of Edwin Gilpin, the elder brother of which Edwin was slain in the battle of Bosworth, being heire in the fifth descent to Richard Gilpin, who, in the reign of king John, was enfeofed in the lordship of Kentmire hall by the Baron of Kendall, for his singular deserts both in peace and warre. This was that Richard Gilpin who slew the wilde boore, that rageing in the mountaines adjoyning, as sometimes did that of Erimanthus, had much indammaged the country-people: whence it is that the Gilpins in their coate armes² give the boore. The mother of Bernard Gilbert was Margaret, the daughter of William Laton, of Delamain in Cumberland, a man of an ancient house, and a family famous in that warlike age, as from whence had sprung many right valiant gentlemen.

This Bernard being yet a very childe gave testimony of future holinesse, upon this occasion. A certaine begging frier³ the better to dispose the hearts of the people to liberality towards him, professed himselfe a zealous preacher: howbeit the friers of those dayes, and that ranke were but a sordid and dishonest people; some of them, yea the greatest part labouring for a forme of holinesse, but denying the power of it in their lives and conversations, whereas others of them retained not so much as an outside thereof. This wandering companion was come upon

¹ *Ancient and honourable family.*] Nicolson's and Burn's *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. i. p. 135.

² *Armes.*] Sable, a boar passant or.

³ *A certaine begging frier.*] Compare *The Vision of Pierce Ploughman*, fol. 65, 6. edit. 1550.

the Saturday to the house of this Gilpin's father, as purposing to preach the next morrow, being the Lords-day, where he was entertained respectively enough; for at that time it was a sinne unpardonable to offend the least of these locusts. The holy frier at supper time eate like a glutton, and like a beast could not give over tossing the pot, untill being overcome with drinke he exposed himselfe a shamefull spectacle to so chaste and sober a family. But in the morning as if he had beene some young saint lately dropped from heaven, he causeth the bell to towle to the sermon; and in the midst thereof blustering out certaine good words, he presumed to grow hot against some sinnes of the time, and amongst the rest to thunder loudly against drunkennesse. Young Gilpin who had but newly got the use of his tongue, having observed (as it seemed) the hatefull basenesse of the man by his oversight the night before, and now hearing the beast cry out so loud against these crimes which himselfe had so lately beene guilty of, as he was sitting neere to his mothers lap in the church, sodainly crieth out in these words: "O mother, doe you heare how this fellow dare speak against drunkennesse, who was drunke himselfe yesternight at our house?" The mother made speed to stop the childes mouth with her hand, that he might speake no further.

After this, the parents of the boy perceiving his disposition, by many evident testimonies, were diligently careful to make him a scholler. He had a schoolfellow, one Edwin Airy, whom afterwards he loved intirely for his good disposition and approved honesty: but Gilpin did farre excell the rest in acutenesse of wit. Having therefore with great approbation passed his time in the grammar-schoole, he is by his parents (who had now conceived great hope of their sonne) sent to Oxford.

At that time in Oxford both learning and religion were in all things out of joynt, and overgrown with the rust of barbarisme. And now was young Gilpin sixteene yeares of age at his comming to Oxford, being in the yeare of our Lord 1533. Being entred in Queenes college, he profited wondrously in humane learning. He became, as almost all the good wits of that time were, very conversant in the writings of Erasmus. He fell very close to the study of logic and philosophy, wherein he was observed to grow excellent, and to beare away the bell in schooles. He added to this his humane learning, the singular knowledge of the Greeke and Hebrew, wherein he made use of the assistance and friend-

ship of one Neale, betwixt whom and this Gilpin was growne much familiarity by the affinity of their studies. This Neale⁴ was a fellow of New-college, and afterwards professour of the Hebrew in Oxford.

And now after some few yeares carefully spent in these studies Gilpin began to be so famous, and so beloved in Oxford, that there was hardly any place of preferment for a scholler, whereof the eminency of Gilpin's vertue had not rendred him worthy in the publick estimation. There was then an enquiry made for men of more than ordinary learning and fame, who might make up a number of schollers in Christ-church at that time newly begun, and honour it with the commendation of learning. Amongst these was our Gilpin one of the first elected.

At that time he had not fully attained to truth and sincerity in religion, as having beene alwayes instructed in the traditions of the church of Rome: for in those dayes the most part of men did not regulate their religion and piety by the rule of Gods word, but according to the traditions of their fathers received from hand to hand. His minde although disposed to holinesse did for a while remaine in darknesse, and being overclouded with preju-

⁴ *This Neale.*] This man is now remembered only for the share he had in propagating the absurd, and oft-refuted falshood of the consecration of archbishop Parker, and other the first Protestant bishops in queen Elizabeth's time, at the Nag's-head tavern in Cheapside.—That story, I say, has been many times thoroughly examined, and proved as often (by Francis Mason, bishop Bramhall, bishop Burnet, Thomas Browne, &c. &c.) to be a "late-invented, inconsistent, self-contradicting, and absurd fable:" and yet a work has recently been re-published in Ireland, to which between one and two hundred Roman Catholic priests have suffered their names to be prefixed as patrons, in which this matter is once more revived, without one word of apology, exception or retractation; and the validity of all the ordinances and offices by all the ministers of the Church of England, is openly and daringly denied, and that denial is accompanied by an overflow of the grossest and most virulent invectives against protestantism and protestants, that an unchristian and malignant temper ever suggested.—What the designs of the patrons of such a work can be, at this time, it is not for me to say; but it is a circumstance which ought to give pain to every good man, protestant or papist, to find that there are so many individuals, professing to be preachers of a gospel of truth and love, who have been induced to sanction with the authority of their names the falsehoods, malignity and intolerance, and all the manifold outrages against Christian truth and Christian morals, in which the book in question (*Ward's Errata of the Protestant Bible*, &c., Dublin, 1807, 4to.) abounds. A reply to this book was made by Richard Grier, and published in 1812, 4to.

diciall respects laboured under the burthen of superstition not without some shadow of antiquity ; being more earnest against vices and corruptions of the time, then against the traditions of the fathers. Therefore at that time Gilpin seemed a great up-boulder of the popish religion. He held disputation publickly against John Hooper, who was afterwards bishop of Worcester, and at the last a glorious martyr of Christ. After the death of king Henry the eight, when Edward the sixt was king, Peter Martyr induced by the piety and munificence of such a prince read the divinity lecture in Oxford. Against whom the sophisters indeavoured to make opposition, Chedsey, Weston, and Morgan⁵, who desired also to draw in Gilpin on their side, that by his advise and help they might the more distract Peter Martir : and the matter at last came to this push, that Gilpin was produced to hould disputation against the positions of Peter Martir. Upon occasion of which dispute Gilpin, to the end that he might defend his cause in hand adventureth more diligently than ordinary to examine the Scriptures and the auncient fathers : and by how much the more he studied to defend the cause which he had undertaken, so much the lesse confidence he began to have therein, because he supposed that he ought to stand for the truth, which he strove with all his might to discover and finde out. But whiles he was zealously searching for the truth, he began by little and little to have a sight of his owne errorrs. Whereupon Peter Martir was wont often to say, that he was not much troubled either for Weston, Morgan, or the like, but as for that Gilpin, (saith he) I am very much mooved concerning him, for he doth and speaketh all things with an up-right heart. The rest seeme to me to be men, who regard their bellies most of all, and being most unconstant are carried away as it were with every blast of ambition and covetousnesse. But Gilpin resting firmly upon gravity of manners, and the testimony of a most laudable life, seemeth to honour with his owne goodnesse the cause which he undertaketh. Yea, and he did often pray unto God that he would be pleased at the last to convert unto his truth the heart of Gilpin, being so inclinable to all honest desires. And doubtlesse God heard the prayer of Peter Martir : for from that time forward Gilpin drew neere to the knowledge of the truth ; not upon a sodaine, but as himselfe confessed, by degrees.

⁵ *Chedsey, Weston, and Morgan.*] See *Life of Latimer*, in vol. ii.

Peter Martir had much illuminated Oxford with the truth of divinity and the knowledge of humane learning. Whereupon Gilpin resolved more earnestly to apply himself both by study and prayer to search out the truth. To which purpose he determined to put in writing the disputation which had bene betwixt himselfe and Hooper. But in the expressing and unfoulding of the said controversie, while he dwelt for a time upon an accurate examination of the points which he had resolved to confute, whiles he searcheth them to the bottome, and regulateth the institutions of the church to the authority of Scripture, without which he well understood that there could be no true church at all, he felte himselfe easily overcome, and was not sory to be overcome by the truth. Those draughts, being found amongst Mr. Gilpin's writings reserved in his private deske, doe testifie his ingenuous and free confession, together with the power of the truth and Gods great mercy in his conversion. Whiles he curiously pryeth into the popish religion, he was inforced to acknowledge that very many errors were crept into the church which hinder and obscure the matter of our salvation, insomuch that they are no small offence to as many as hunger and thirst after righteousness and the knowledge of the truth. He discovered many corruptions and changes of sound doctrine: he found not so much as a word touching seven sacraments before Peter Lumbard: and that the use of the supper delivered under one kinde onely was contrary to expresse Scriptures: that transubstantiation was a devise⁶ of the schoole-men: that the doctrine of the worke wrought called *Opus operatum*, was newly risen: that the masse was turned from a sacrament to a sacrifice: that in the church wherein all things were ordeined for the edification of the people, all things were now done, to the non-edification of them: that the adoration of images was instituted against the expresse commandement of God. Demurring for a while, as distracted with these thoughts, behold the rule of faith lately changed in the council of Trent utterly astonished him. For he had observed out of the auncient writers as well as out of the later ones, Lumbard, Scotus, Aquinas, and the rest, that the rule of faith was to be drawne onely from the holy Scriptures, but in the council of

⁶ *A devise.*] The word transubstantiation is said to have been invented by Peter of Blois, a contemporary of Peter Lombard. "Primus omnium fuit qui in re eucharistica *Transubstantiationis* vocabulum usurpasse dicitur."—Cave's *Hist. Lit.*, vol. ii. p. 234.

Trent he beheld humane traditions made equall⁷ with the Scriptures. And seeing he understood these traditions to be nothing else but peevish and crosse expositions of the holy Scriptures, devised by the bishops of Rome, and thrust in among the decretall epistles, as also that the said decretall epistles were meere feigned and suppositious, as is confirmed by the testimonies of many learned men, and indeed by the confession of the very papists themselves is acknowledged to be out of all doubt, this so great a confusion of things being risen in the church in these latter ages enforced Gilpin, now earnestly desiring nothing so much as true piety, to begin to doubt whether the pope might not be that anti-christ foretould in the Scriptures, and the popish church plainly antichristian. For what is it to exalt and set up himselfe against all that is called God, insomuch that he sitteth as God in the temple of God, behaving himselfe as God, if not this, that the pope is head of the universall church, the lord, the monarch, **and** as it were the God thereof? And that the word of the pope is defended as the very word of God? For how shall not he whose word is as the word of God, be as God, opposing himselfe to God, and shewing himselfe that he is God? But this word which is called the unwritten word, or *verbum non scriptum*, is drawne out of the stinking puddles of the decretals, that is to say, patched

⁷ *Traditions made equall.*] “Sacrosancta œcumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata . . . omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, nec non *traditiones ipsas*, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas, et continua successione in ecclesia Catholica conservatas, *pari pietatis affectu, ac reverentia suscipit, et veneratur.*—*Si quis . . . traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contemserit, anathema sit.*”—Concilii Trident. Canones et Decreta. Sess. 4th.

It may be well to remark here, that of the edition of the *Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini*, printed at Rome in 1564 by the Aldine family, a few copies (some say thirty, others twelve only) exist, which are authenticated by the autograph signatures of the secretary and notaries (see Rénouard, *Annales des Aldes*, p. 191. Paris, 1834). In the generality of copies these attestations are printed. The authority therefore of these certified copies, in any controversy, must be allowed by any honest disputant of the Roman Catholic side; as on ours we should be forced to abide by any quotation made directly from the sealed book in the Tower of London. Two of these copies are in the British Museum, one of which has, under the signatures of the notaries, the seal of Paolo Emilio Veraglio, bishop of Capaccio, who was present at the council, and to whom it probably belonged. One or two others are known to be in private libraries in this country.

up together out of false and fictitious writings. And this word which is in no respect worthy to be compared with the word of an honest man, is the unwritten word of God, and to be entertained with the same pious affection as are the holy Scriptures. Can antichrist when he shall come (if yet there be another to come), more grievously wrong and blaspheme Christ and the holy Scriptures then the pope doeth? And here at the last he demurred as in an exceeding great doubt. For who would have thought the pope to be antichrist? Who durst to speake such a word before Martin Luther? Therefore, thus he argued with himself: If the pope be antichrist, I see not onely probable but even necessary causes to depart from the popish church. But if the pope be not antichrist, I see no sufficient ground for such a departure. It is not lawful to make a separation from the church: but we are not only enjoined to come out of the church of antichrist, but we see the fearful anger of the living God, and heare his dreadfull threatnes thundered out against those who shall remain in Babilon that synagogue of antichrist. Forasmuch as a voice from heaven speaketh unto us, (Apoc. 18,) *Come out of her, my people*: and it is denounced that they shall receive of her plagues whosoever have beene partakers of her sinnes. Here therfore he stopped awhile: because except the pope were manifestly detected to be antichrist, he did not understand how he might separate from the church: and therefore he applied himselfe by searching, reading, prayer and meditation, to be resolved of this truth. He observed out of the auncient Fathers, Tertullian, Jerom, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostome, Cyrill, and others, that passage, wherein antichrist is described, 2 Thess. ii. 7, *He which now withholdeth shall let till he be taken out of the way*, to be so interpreted as understood of the Romane empire; that the Romane empire which now held preheminance should keepe possession untill antichrist shall come, who shall possesse the seat of the Romane empire. And moreover whereas it is said in the same place, *that Christ shall not come againe except there be a departure first*, he observed this thing to be fulfilled likewise. He perceived first a very maine departure of the church of Rome from her primitive simplicity and truth. And secondly, a second departure or separation no lesse manifest, to wit, of that of the reformed churches from the church of Rome.

Mr. Gilpin would often say that the churches of the Protestants were not able to give any firme and solid reason of their separa-

tion, besides this, to wit, that the pope is antichrist^a. For he understood that a departure was commanded from the church of antichrist by that heavenly injunction, *Goe out of her, my people, and be not partakers of her sinnes, lest ye receive also of her plagues*, Revel. xviii. 4. In which place S. John wisely foretelleth that the people of God should be called out of the synagogue of antichrist: that here was no third thing to be thought upon: that either the church of Christ was not to be forsaken, or the pope to be accounted antichrist, out of whose church the church of God is called forth by an heavenly voice and command. And now event, which is the most undoubted interpreter of prophecies, hath proved all these things unto us. We have seene already many ages agoe that kingdome taken away, which ruled over all in the time of the apostles: and in the roome thereof an ecclesiasticall kingdome erected, such an one as was never seene in the church in former ages. We have beheld the fearefull departure of the church of Rome from the auncient purity and integrity of the church. We have observed and doe daily the people called as it were by a voice from heaven, comming out of Babylon, that is to say, out of the church of antichrist. Our eyes have seene these things fulfilled, which we have read of as being foretould so many ages agoe. These things mooved the mind of Mr. Gilpin wonderfully to follow that church which was shewed unto him out of the word of God. The church of Rome kept the rule of faith intire, untill that rule was changed and altered by the council of Trent^b.

^a *The pope is antichrist.*] And yet Gilpin, in due time, gradually settled himself down a conscientious convert to the reformed church of England, without, it should seem, having ever attained to the previous conviction, that *the pope is antichrist*. In truth, no such conviction was necessary to such a consummation. The process which Gilpin underwent was like that of the church of England herself. She discovered and discarded one error after another: and in this, he (Gilpin) had a *right*, or rather it was *his duty* to follow her example: and thus he became a reformed member of the church catholic. The expression immediately below—"the church of Christ was not to be forsaken," is a grossly erroneous one; whether it is to be attributed to Gilpin himself, or to his life-writer. There was no forsaking of *the catholic church*, on the part of England, in the act of her reformation; *in spirit*, it was *exactly the contrary*. And even with respect to the *church of Rome*, if there was any schism as regarded her, Rome herself, (not England,) by her excommunication of Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth, and their subjects, was the guilty party. See *Christian Institutes*, Index under *Church of England, charge against of Schism, reply to, &c.*

^b *Of Trent.*] Of these effects of the council of Trent, and of the creed of

And from that time it seemed unto him a matter of necessitie to come out of the church of Rome, that so that church which is true and called out from thence might follow the word of God. For this calling out seemed to point out unto us a peculiar estate of the church. So Abraham was called out from Ur of the Caldees; the people of Israel were called out of Egypt; the Jewes out of Babylon, after the captivity of seventy yeeres; and at the last after the selfe same manner the reformed church called out of mysticall Babylon, or the church of Rome. These things were seene to have beene brought to passe by the wonderfull providence and powerfull hand of God. Therefore he saw that there was a necessity of comming out of her, and that that apostaticall church was to be forsaken. But he did not these things violently, but by degrees.

In the meane while Cuthbert Tonsall bishop of Durham had a purpose to send Mr. Gilpin to visit the churches in forraine parts, allowing him meanes for his travell. This Tonsall was Mr. Gilpins mothers uncle. But before he undertooke his voyage, being commanded to court, he preached before king Edward the sixth touching sacriledge: which sermon¹ is publick in print.

pope Pius IV. compare *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 244—8. Also Hooker, *Discourse of Justification*, c. xi. vol. iii. p. 618—20. Keble's edit.

¹ *Which sermon.*] A few particulars arise in the course of the sermon, connected with the manners of the times, or with the religious or civil condition of the country, which seem not improper for a brief insertion in this place.

"The bishop of Rome abusing always Peter's keys to fill Judas's satchels, dispensed with all prelates, that brought any money, from obeying of Christ's commission given to Peter, 'Feed, feed, feed, my lambs and my sheep.' . . . He brought preaching into such a contempt, that *it was accounted a great absurdity* for a cardinal to preach, *after he had once bestrid his mule.*" *A Sermon preached in the Court, the first Sunday after the Epiphany*, A. D. 1552, p. 8. A. D. 1630. 4to.

"But some will say, what should we speak so much of the bishop of Rome; is he not gone; his power taken away? If preachers would let him alone, the people would soon forget him.—Truly for my part, if I had that gift, strength, and calling, I had rather, though I were sure to smart therefore, speak against his enormities *in Rome*, than to speak of them *here*. . . . But, notwithstanding their faults ought to be chiefly told them in their presence, yet not there only; but even here amongst us also, although it come not to their ears, it is not a little expedient oftentimes to cry and thunder against their errors and vices." *Ibid.* p. 10, 11.

"I am come this day to preach to the king, and to those which be in authority under him. I am very sorry *they* should be *absent*, which ought to give example, and encourage others to the hearing of God's word: and I am

Then he applied his mind to thinke upon his travell. Now so it was that he had a parsonage bestowed upon him by the care of

the more sorry, that *other* preachers before me complain much of their absence. But you will say that they have weighty affairs in hand. Alas! hath God any greater business than this? If I could cry with the voice of Stentor, I should make them hear in their chambers: but in their absence, I will speak to their seats, as if they were present.—I will call unto you, noble prince, as Christ's anointed." *Ibid.* p. 15, 16.

"You shall find but a small number of patrons, that bestow rightly their livings, seeking God's glory, without simony or seeking their own profit. For first, it is almost general, to reserve *the farming*" (of the benefice) "to himself or his friend; and to appoint *the rent* at his own pleasure. But worse than all this, a great number never farm them at all, but keep them as their own lands, and give some three-half-penny priest a curate's wages, nine or ten pounds. . . . They began first with *parsonages*, and seemed to have some conscience towards *vicarages*; but now their hearts be so hardened, all is fish that cometh to the net. Gentlemen are parsons and vicars both: nothing can escape them. . . . Boys and girls of fourteen or fifteen years old cannot say the Lord's Prayer. Shall such injury to Christ and his gospel be suffered in a Christian realm? That one enormity crieth for vengeance, till it be redressed. What shall I speak? Your noble-men reward their servants with livings appointed for the gospel. . . . Let them not abuse God's patience." *Ibid.* p. 19, 20.

"By reason livings appointed for the ministry, for the most part are either robbed of the best part, or clean taken away, almost none have any zeal or devotion to put their children to school, *but* to learn to write, to make them apprentices, or else to have them lawyers. Look upon the two wells of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge, they are almost dried up. The cruel Philistines abroad, enemies to Christ's gospel, have stopt up the springs of faithful Abraham. The decay of students is so great, there are scarce left of every thousand an hundred; if they decay so fast in seven years more, there shall be almost none at all; and then may the devil make a triumph.—This matter requireth speedy redress. The miseries of your people cry upon you noble prince, and Christ for his flock crieth to you his anointed, to defend his lambs from these ravenous wolves, that rob and spoil his vine-yard." *Ibid.* p. 23.

"Cause every pastor, as his living will extend, to keep *hospitality*. But, many think themselves excused for a year or two, because their livings are taken away the first year" (i. e. by the act for the First Fruits); "which undoubtedly doth not excuse them for their *presence*. I had rather beg, or borrow of my friends, to help me to meat and clothes, than suffer the devil to have such liberty one year. . . . Howbeit, forasmuch as the Scripture doth allow the minister a living the first year also, 'He that serveth of the altar, let him live of the altar;' and again, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn,' I do not doubt, but after your grace, with the advice of your honourable councill, have considered, how much it may set forth God's glory, how many souls may be delivered from the devil, by sending

his friends. This parsonage bishop Tonsall persuaded Mr. Gilpin to keepe still in his hands, as meanes to furnish him with allowance for his travell, that he might demeane himselfe more honestly and more gentlemanlike therein. But Gilpin who had reteined this parsonage but a short while, before he would betake himselfe to travell called unto him a friend, whom he knew to be religious, and a scholler, and one that would not be idle in the function of the holy ministry, and unto him he made a resignation of his place but a little while before bestowed upon himselfe. Which thing when bishop Tonsall came to know of, he chid with Mr. Gilpin : " And, I" (saith he) " have a care of thee, and thou rejectest it as impertinent. But I tell thee this before hand, that by these courses thou wilt die a begger." At the first Gilpin indeavoureth with faire language to appease the mind of the bishop his especial good friend. Afterwards he added that he had left his parsonage upon necessity, because he could not keepe it in his hands with any peace of conscience. " But" (saith the bishop) " thou maist hould it with a dispensation, and in this case thou shalt be dispensed withall." " But" (answered Gilpin) " the divell will not be restrained by any bonds of dispensation from labouring in mine absence the destruction of my people committed to my charge :

pastors to their livings the first month, and suffering them to have no cloak of absence, you will soon *restore* the first year's living, which in my conscience, was wrongfully taken away at the first, *as I suppose, by the bishop of Rome.*" *Ibid.* p. 24, 5.

" But yet, it is not heard of all your people, a thousand pulpits in England are covered with dust. Some pulpits have not had four sermons these fifteen or sixteen years, since friers left their *limitations*, and few of those were worthy the name of sermons. Now therefore, that your glory may be perfect, all men's expectation is that, whatsoever any flatterers or enemies to God's word should labour to the contrary, for their own lucre, your grace will take away all such lets and abuses as hinder the setting forth of God's most holy word, and to withstand all such robbers, as spoil his sanctuary : travailing to send pastors home to feed their flocks, to feed Christs lambs and sheep, that all may be occupied in the Father of heaven's business !" *Ibid.* p. 25.

" Would to God all that be in the court, that will not vouchsafe, having so many godly sermons, to come forth of the hall into the chapel, to hear them, would remember, what a heavy stroke of God's vengeance hangeth over all their heads that contemne his word : and over those in all places, which had rather be idle, and many times be ungodly occupied in wanton and wicked pastimes, than come to the church, profaning the sabbath-day." *Ibid.* p. 46.

and I feare that when God shall call me to an account of my stewardship it will not serve my turne to make answer that I was dispensed withall whiles the divell made havoc¹ of my flock."

¹ *The divell made havoc.*] "And now I woulde aske a strange question : who is the most diligent byshop and prelate in all England ; that passeth all the rest in doying his office ?—I can tell, for I know him who it is ; I know him well.—But now I thinke I see you listening, harkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent preacher and prelate in all England. And wyll ye know who it is ? I will tell you :—it is the devill. He is the most diligent preacher of all other. He is never out of his diocese ; he is never from his cure ; ye shall never finde him unoccupied ; he is ever in his parishe ; he keepeth residence at all tymes ; ye shall never finde him out of the waye ; call for him when you will, he is ever at home, the diligentest preacher in all the realme ; he is ever at his plough ; no lording or loyteryng can hinder him ; he is ever applying his busyness ; ye shall never finde him idle, I warrant you.—And his office is to hinder religion, to mayntayne superstition, to set uppe idolatrye, to teach all kinde of popery. He is ready as can be wished, to set forth his plough ; to devise as many wayes as can be to deface God's glory. Where the devil is resident and hath his plough going,—there, away with bookes, and up with candels ; away with bibles, and up with beades ; away with the light of the gospel, and up with the light of candels, yea at noone dayes. Where the devil is resident, that he may prevayle,—up with all superstition and idolatrye, censing, paynting of images, candels, palmes, ashes, holy water, and new service of men's inventing, as though man could invent a better way to honour God with, than God himselfe hath appoynted. Downe with Christes crosse, up with purgatory picke-purse, up with him ; the popish purgatory, I meane. Away with clothing the naked, the poore and impotent, up with decking of images, and gay garnishing of stockes and stones. Up with man's traditions and hys lawes, downe with Gods traditions and hys most holy word. . . . Let all thinges be done in Latin. There must be nothing but Latin, not as much as *Memento homo quod cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris* ; Remember man that thou art ashes, and into ashes thou shalt returne : whiche be the wordes that the minister speaketh to the ignorant people, when he giveth them *ashes* upon *Ashewensday* ; but it must be spoken in Latin ; Gods words may in no wise be translated into English.—O ! that our prelates would be as diligent to sow the corne of good doctrine, as satan is to sowe cockell and darnell. And this is the devilish ploughing, the which worketh to have thinges in Latin, and letteth the fruitful edification.

"But here some man will saye to me, What, sir, are ye so privy of the devil's counsel, that ye know all this to be true ?—Truely I know him too well, and have obeyed him a little too much in condescending to some follies. And I knowe him as other men do, yea that he is ever occupied, and ever busy in followyng his plough. I knowe by S. Peter which sayth of him, *Sicut leo rugiens circuit quærens quem devoret* ; He goeth about lyke a roaring lion, seeking whome he may devour."—Latimer's Sermon of the Plough, *Sermons*, fol. 20, 1.

At which answer the bishop seemed offended : but having hereby made triall of the sincerity of Gilpins heart he began to use him with more and more respect. Yet did he often threaten him, as Mr. Gilpin was wont to say, that, *Fathers soule*, (a familiar word of the bishop's) Gilpin would die a begger.

In his travell abroad he first visited his brother George at Mechlin, who had written unto him to that purpose : then he lived for a while at Lovaine, and at Antwerp, and at Paris. After he was departed out of England, he received letters a second time from his brother George, whereby he was directed to meet him at Mechlin, because he had something to deliver unto him by word of mouth that he could not conveniently write. After they were met, Mr. Gilpin understood the reasons why he had sent for him thither to be nothing else, but onely to persuade him to take upon him a parsonage, which might afford him maintenance while he should visite forraigne universities. Gilpin now seemed to himselfe to be in a strait, for he knew that he had lately given the bishop distast upon this occasion, and he perceived that in this matter his brother was put upon him by the bishop. At last therefore he writes backe to the bishop in these words.

The Letter followeth.

“ My very honourable good lord, and most worthy ever to be honoured by me : I thought it not fitting to conceale from your lordship that my brother hath written unto me of late, that setting all excuse aside I should give him meeting at Mechlin, because he had something to say unto me touching very necessary affaires which could not be dispatched by letters. When we were met, I understood that his businesse with me was nothing else but to try me, if I would take upon me a living, whiles my selfe in the meane while should remaine a student in the university. But had I knowne before hand that this was the cause of my journey I should not have thought it necessary to have interrupted my studies with going to Mechlin. For now I confesse I have discussed it with all the learned, but especially with the holy prophets, and with the most auncient and most godly writers since the time of our Saviour ; so that I am fully resolved so long as I live never to burden my conscience in this case, nor to keepe a living in mine owne charge with condition to live from it. He answered that your lordship had written unto him that you would

gladly conferre a living upon me, and that your lordship and mine other friends, whereof himselfe was one, judged mee too scrupulous in conscience in this case. Whereunto I answered, if I be somewhat too scrupulous, (as I thinke I am not) yet it is a matter of that nature, that I had rather be a little too strict, then to give my conscience too much scope herein. Forasmuch as I am once perswaded, that I shall not offend God in refusing such a living as I cannot be resident upon ; so long as I doe not censure evill of other men, as I hope I never shall ; yea I pray daily for all those who have the care of soules, that they may be able so to give an account unto God of the charge committed unto them as may be most for the glory of God and the edification of his church.

“ He tould me also that your lordship would not confer any charge upon me but such a one as should be served as well, or perhaps better in mine absence, then if I were there my selfe. Whereunto I answered, that I doubted not but that there might be in England a great number of men farre more able then my selfe to take the cure upon them : and therefore I wish above all things that they may retaine both the place and the benefit, and feede both the bodies and the soules, as I suppose all good pastors bound in conscience to doe. But for mine owne part I cannot in conscience reape benefit from that place, wherein another man bestoweth his indeavours. For though any other should teach and preach for me, as constantly and industriously as ever Saint Augustine did, yet cannot I thinke my selfe discharged by another mans paines-taking. But if yet I should be persuaded thus to offer violence to my conscience, upon condition to remaine either here or in any other university, my disquiet of conscience would never permit me to profit in my study.

“ At this present, I praise God, I have obtained a comfortable privacy in my studies neere to a monastery of Minorite friers, so that I have opportunity to make use of an excellent library of theirs so often as I will. I frequent the company of the best schollers, nor was I ever more desirous to learne. Hereupon being given to understand by my brother George, that your lordship had some thoughts of bestowing a living upon me, which thing might interrupt the course of my studies, I emboldened my selfe (upon the experience which I have had of your lordships love towards me) to unlock the closet of my thoughts unto your goodnesse freely ; humbly besecching that your lordship will be pleased

to permit me to live free from a pastorall charge, that I may the more quietly apply my studies. And forasmuch as I understand that your lordship is sollicitous, how I should be provided for, if God should call your lordship (who are now well in yeares) out of this world, I beseech you that the thought thereof may no more disturbe you. For if I shall be brought low in meanes, I doubt not but in short time to be able to obtaine some lecture either in this university or else where, where I shall not lose my time, a course which is much more pleasing unto me, then if I should take upon me a pastorall charge. I beseech Christ preserve your lordship. From Lovaine the 22 of November, 1554."

Thus farre Mr. Gilpins letter.

Now tell me, what one of all those gaping rookes of our time hath indeavoured with more art to acquire then this man to decline a spirituall living?

At his first comming over into the parts beyond the seas, he resided for the most part at Lovaine; afterwards he went to Paris. Whiles he abode in Paris, bishop Tonstall was carefull that a certaine booke³ which himselfe had written at that time concerning the truth of the body and blood of Christ our Lord in the eucharist should be published in print by the diligence of Mr. Gilpin. I am not ignorant that some papists have objected to Mr. Gilpin, that the same worke was by him corrupted⁴ contrary to the mind of the author. And even in mine hearing, when after these things I was a scholler under him at Houghton, Francis Wickliffe gave notice unto Mr. Gilpin what was muttered touching the corrupt edition. Whereupon he having disprooved that suspicion by many reasons, at the last produced the letters of Cuthbert Tonstall, wherein the bishop gave him very great thankses, because he had beene both faithfull and diligent in the edition of that worke. At Paris Mr. Gilpin resided in the house of Vas-

³ *A certaine booke.*] De veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia. Lutetiae, ex offic. M. Vascosani, 1554. 4to.

⁴ *By him corrupted.*] It is most probable, that the papists resorted to this expedient of calumniating an innocent man, only to elude, what was often objected and appealed to by the protestant confessors and martyrs in the reign of Mary, the candid acknowledgment contained in this work, of the novelty of the name and doctrine of transubstantiation, and the free censure expressed by this anti-protestant bishop against pope Innocent III. for declaring the belief of that article to be necessary to salvation.

cosanus⁵, and conversed with learned men. And whiles he asked the opinions of learned men concerning these things which had troubled his minde, for the most part they answered him in that manner, not as if they regarded the pacification of conscience, which he aimed at onely, but the establishment of the traditions of the church.

At that time was Neale at Paris also, with whom Mr. Gilpin dealt somewhat freely, that both of them together might joyne in pursuit of the truth. They had by chance some discourse touching the adoration of images. Mr. Gilpin was much troubled hearing the papists condemne idolatry in their discourses and yet permitting to the people every where the adoration of images. He demaunded with what comfort of conscience any man could bow himselfe before an image : and is not this (saith he) the idolatry forbidden in the second commandment? This did Mr. Gilpin demand of him the rather, because he observed the man a little too much addicted to the popish opinions. Neale answered with that usuall distinction of an idol and an image. That the images of the saints were not idols, and so consequently that the worshipping of their images was no idolatry. Mr. Gilpin replied, there is no mention of an idol in the second commandment, but there is a prohibition of bowing before a *graven image, or the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth* : wheresoever they are, we are forbidden to fall downe before the likeness of them. And what (saith he) maketh an idol? The workeman frameth the similitude of some man ; the graven image is not an idol, but adoration maketh it an idol. Therefore the apostle saith, *that an idol is nothing, because there is but one God*. In the opinion of the person adoring it seemeth to be something, but that which the fancy of the party adoring apprehendeth is indeed nothing in the world : therefore idolatry is when the worship due to God onely is bestowed upon the creature. But whosoever in prayer boweth downe himselfe before any creature whatsoever, giveth unto the creature the worship due to God alone. The commandment of God forbiddeth us to make unto our selves any graven image, or the likeness of any creature. But they make it unto themselves who make it for a religious use. We are also forbidden to bow downe our selves before any such creature ; for those who doe so,

⁵ Michel Vascosan, the printer of Tonstall's book, was the son-in-law of Badius Ascensius.

doe serve and worship the same creature. And in this place that distinction of *Latria* and *Doulia*⁶ is frivolous, which are words of the same signification, forasmuch as that distinction is taken away by the express words of the commandement ; *Thou shalt not bow down unto them*. So that bowing downe unto them is forbidden, notwithstanding we see it practised every where. To this Neale answereth, that the ordinances of the church are not to be altered without mature deliberation : Gilpin replyeth that it is not in our power to alter the ordinances of the church. But seeing I cannot alter things already determined in the church, it remaineth that I especially indeavour to change my selfe, and to draw neere to the sincere worship of God, as his grace shall inable me.

Mr. Gilpin did often professe that when he lived amongst the papists, he had observed many things which had estranged his heart from that religion. He understood that a mans chiefest comfort consisted in the article of justification ; which article he saw so obscured in popery that true consolation was utterly excluded. Therefore he did with all diligence enquire into the Scriptures and writings of the fathers.

Returning into England in the dayes of queene Mary, he beheld to his great grieve the church oppressed with blood and fire : and being placed by bishop Tonstall in the rectory of Essingdon, he began to preach the word of God, and sharply to taxe some vices which then rained in the church. He propounded the doctrine of salvation plainly and soundly, which thing procured him many back friends, especially among the clergy, whose faults he had touched to the quick.

There was at that time among the clergy of the bishoprick of Durham one Dunstall, parson of a church in that diocesse. This man was very hot against Gilpin, and accused him often to the bishop as an heretick, and one that deserved to be burnt as other hereticks were. But the bishop could not indure to shed blood, and therefore dealt mildly with him, and preserved him from the projects of his enemies. I have heard Anthony Carleton relate, (and he at that time lived in the bishops house) that the bishops chaplains at a certaine time had some discourse with Gilpin about Luther : and that one of them had asked him what he thought of Luther and his writings. Gilpin confessed that he had not read the writings of Luther. " I propounded unto my selfe,"

⁶ *Distinction of Latria and Doulia.*] See Jewel's *Reply to Harding*, p. 381—3; Barnes's *Works*, p. 352, 3, &c.

(said he) "this course; first of all to search the Scriptures diligently, and to be acquainted with the expositions of the fathers upon them. As for the writings of the neoterickes, I have onely looked upon them: howbeit I refuse them not, when and where they agree with the auncients." One of them commended Mr. Gilpins resolution, and said, "it would be well with the church, if all men would duely respect the writings of the fathers: for then the upstart opinions of late writers would not so much disturbe the church, such as are these of Luther." But Gilpin answered, "if neoterickes and late writers produce the opinions of the auncient fathers, the novelty of the men is not to be disdained, but the antiquity of the doctrine is to be revered."

They hereupon subtilly draw on Gilpin into a disputation concerning the sacrament of the altar; propounding therein two questions, the one concerning the reall presence, the other concerning transubstantiation. Touching the reall presence Gilpin confessed that he had no very strong argument wherewith in his judgment he might oppose the reall presence: "For I suppose," (saith he) "that therein lieth hid a great mystery, such a one as is above my capacity; rather to be adored than disputed upon." They asked then "what he thought of transubstantiation?" He answered, "that there was no necessity why we should beleieve those things which have no solid foundation in the word of God." "Doe you not then beleieve," (said they) "as the church believes?" Gilpin replieth that the church had not always held that as an article of faith: "I am (saith he) of the catholick faith, and the catholick faith changeth not. But in this point I see alterations, such as the catholicke faith is not capable of." They demanded what alterations in faith he had observed touching the sacrament of the altar. He replyeth: "I doe not finde that in the church in former ages, there was any thing spoken or written about transubstantiation. Peter Lumbard was either the first, or at least one of the first⁷ that brought in the alteration of the auncient faith. And what doe you your selves thinke; is the bread in transubstantiation converted into the flesh and blood of Christ?" They answer, that they beleieve so absolutely. "But," saith Gilpin, "Peter Lumbard who was the first man that made an alteration of the faith of our forefathers in this point, himselfe did not beleieve as you doe. For in his fourth

⁷ *One of the first.*] See p. 385, n.

booke, the eleventh distinction, F. thus he hath it: *there is no transubstantiation but of bread into flesh, and wine into blood*. And if that be true, then doubtlesse it followes consequently, that in the transubstantiation of the bread there is no blood. And now (saith he) how will you reconcile these thinges?" They stood at a stand, as having nothing to answer, because the words of Lumbard plainly deny that in the transubstantiated bread **can** be any blood, or in the wine his flesh. Whom when Gilpin had observed to stagger in this point, "Take notice now (saith he) of the immutability of the catholicke faith: we see the alteration of transubstantiation. For when Lumbard had broached **this doctrine**, that there was a kinde of change, he would have it none otherwise understood then thus: that the bread onely should be changed into flesh, and the wine onely into blood⁸. Nor did men at that time dreame of any other conversion in the sacrament of the altar, until the fiction of concomitancy⁹ was broached by Thomas Aquinas. He was a man that understood well the difficulty of this point, and therefore he underpropped it with concomitancy; that forsooth by reason of concomitancy there is both flesh and blood in the transubstantiated bread. But these are the inventions of later men, whereas the catholicke religion abhorreth invented alterations in matters of faith." While they were houlding this disputation without speakeing aloud, because they were close at the bishops backe, who at that time sate before the fire, for it was in the winter season; the bishop leaned his chair somewhat backwards, and harkened what they said. And when they had done speaking, the bishop turning to his chaplaines, useth these words, "Fathers soule"¹⁰, let him alone, for he hath more learning then you all."

⁸ *Onely into blood.*] "Et licet sub utraque specie idem sumatur totus Christus, tamen non fit conversio panis nisi in carnem, nec vini nisi in sanguinem."—*Lib. Sentent.*, lib. iv. distinct. 11. F.

⁹ *The fiction of concomitancy.*] "Sub utraque specie, ex reali concomitantia totum Christum contineri certissima fide tenendum est." *Aquinas*. Tertia pars. Quæst. 76. art. 2.

"Touching this new fantasie of concomitantia, after they had once devised a new religion, it was necessary, for aide of the same, to devise also new words. Whereas Christ saith, *This is my body*: they say, *This is my body and my blood*. Where Christ saith, *This is my blood*, they say, *This is my blood and my body*: and, in either part, they say is whole Christ, God and man. If ye demand *how* they *know* it, they say not by the word of God, but by this new imagination of *concomitantia*."—*Jewel's Reply*, p. 295. edit. 1609.

¹⁰ *Fathers soule.*] See p. 393.

Whilest he lived at Essingdon, he preached the word of God constantly to the people. Now so it was that the archdeaconry of Durham was annexed to the rectory of Essingdon. Thereupon Mr. Gilpin for a time supplied both places. And when by chance he had notice that the bishop was so carefull of him, that he had a purpose to increase his maintenance, he made answer that he was provided for sufficiently and even somewhat more then sufficient already; and desired the bishop that he might have his good leave to resigne either the rectory or the archdeacons place: "for" (saith he) "the one of them will be sufficient; me thinkes both together are too heavie a burthen for me." Hereat the bishop seemed to be mooved with him, and said: "have I not tould thee before hand, that thou wilt die a begger? I found them both combined; and combined I will leave them."

Not long after he bestowed upon Mr. Gilpin the rectory of Houghton being a very large parish, contayning fourteen villages with very large possessions. Mr. Gilpin being settled at Houghton persevered most constantly in the duties of the ministry, and repaired the decayed houses. His parsonage house seemed like a bishops pallace: nor shall a man lightly finde one bishops house amongst many worthy to be compared to this house of his, if he consider the variety of buildings, and neatnesse of the scituation.

Whiles Mr. Gilpin lived at Houghton he was touched with a care not of that parish onely but of many more: for he sawe and was much grieved to see many congregations, through the disease of impropriation, as they call it, to be even dispersed and destitute of pastors. For the parsonages being in the possession of laymen, there remained not maintenance for a minister: for the laymen sought out¹ for poore base priestes, who were onely able to read prayers to the people morning and evening: nor did the one use to require, or they take care to performe any more. This desolation of the church, and ignorance of the common sort much troubled the holy heart of Mr. Gilpin. He therefore purposed with himselfe, with as much care and vigilancy as he could, not to make up the breach wholly (for that was a thing impossible for him to dooe) but to doe his owne duty to the best of his endeavours, that the truth may be propagated, and God glorified.

¹ *The laymen sought out.*] See Jewel's *Sermons*, p. 181—90, &c., and the extracts given above, in this *Life*, p. 389, from Gilpin's sermon at court.

This desolation of the congregations appeared most of all in Northumberland and the parts adjoyning which are called Riddesdale, and Tindale. For in these quarters, especially in that time, the word of God was never heard of to be preached amongst them but by Mr. Gilpin's ministry. So that once a yeare it was his custome to make a journey amongst them. For which purpose he would usually take the opportunity of Christmas holidyes, when in respect of frost and snowe other men were loth to travell. That time he liked best, because then there came many holy-dayes together, and the people would more usually assemble upon the holy-dayes, whereas at other times they neither would come together so easily, nor so often.

He got himselfe a great deale of estimation and respect amongst this people both by preaching and by distribution of monies to the poore in his journey, being sometimes benighted before he was aware, and forced to lodge in the snowe all night. In which extreamity, he commanded William Airy, who for the most part attended upon him, to trot the horses up and down, and neither to permit them nor himselfe to stand still, whiles he himselfe in the mean while did bestirre himselfe, sometimes running, sometimes walking, as not able to stand still for cold.

• At home, his daily care was for the discharge of his ministry and provision for the poore. Now there was in this towne of Houghton a streete of poore people ; for their reliefe he tooke order that every Thursday through the yeare a very great pot should be provided full of boyled meat purposely for the poore. And not at Houghton alone, but even wheresoever opportunity presented it selfe, he was carefull for the poore, insomuch that by the common consent of the country people he was stiled a father of the poore.

Upon a time as he was returning home upon a journey there was a certaine husbandman at plow, in whose teame of horses one upon a sodaine fell downe, whether with being overwrought or upon some disease it is uncertaine. The husbandman and those who were with him did their best to raise the horse againe with all the strength they had : but it was in vaine, for the horse was dead. Mr. Gilpin passing by accidentally stayed to observe the issue of the matter : and perceiving that the horse could not be raised againe, and that the husbandman was exceedingly grieved for the death of his beast, and that he cried out he was even undone by that miserable accident, he commanded his man to

alight from the horse he had under him, and patiently to carry the saddle and bridle to the next towne, and to give to the poore man the horse whereon he rode. The husbandman thereupon cryed out, "Alas, sir, I am not able to pay you the price of so good an horse." "Be of good cheare" (saith Mr. Gilpin) "thou shalt never pay me for him, till I demand it; in the meane while goe on with thy worke."—Yea, and many a time as he travailed was he accustomed thus to help poore men. When at any time he chanced to meete any naked poore, he would put off part of his apparell to cover their nakednesse: and at his table usually fed many poore persons.

When that blessed queene Elizabeth of never dying memory, after the direfull times of her sisters raigne came to the crowne, the scarcity of learned men who were able to preach the word of God mooved not onely many religious persons, but even the very counsell of the queene to seeke a salve for this sore² by all the meanes they could. Mr. Gilpin observing the laudable endeavours of many in relieving the church's want in this kinde, himselfe also was exceeding studious to doe what good he could possibly in his own charge. Whereupon he began to conceive thoughts of a seminary of good literature, or a grammar-schoole, and builded a schoole, allowing maintenance for a master and usher. Himselfe also made choice out of the same schoole of such as he liked best to be privately instructed by himselfe. Which resolution of his much benefited Mr. Gilpin himselfe, and the whole church of God all England over. For in that schoole of his were bred very many learned men, who very much graced the church by their indeavours and uprightnesse of life. There was great resort of schollers to that schoole of his, many of whom were boorded in the towne, and many at Mr. Gilpins house. He boorded the sonnes of knights, and esquires at a small rate: those who were of his kindred were free: yea and he had many poore mens sonnes upon whom he bestowed both meate, and drinke, and cloth, and education. Whereby Mr. Gilpins schoole was every where spoken of to his credit, but himselfe much more. Out of this schoole of his he sent from time to time very many to both universities, unto divers whereof he also allowed maintenance in the university at his owne cost and charges.

² A salve for this sore.] See Kennett's *Case of Impropriations, and of the Augmentations of Vicarages*, p. 153—74.

And now while he was wholly taken up with these employments, glory and reputation which followeth him that flyeth from it, and flyeth from him that has pursued it, had made the name of Mr. Gilpin most renowned, insomuch that he was not onely honoured among the fathers of the clergy, but amongst all the nobility of the kingdome. Amongst the nobles at court the earle of Bedford³ was one that marvellously respected Mr. Gilpin. This earle earnestly desired of the queene that the bishoprick of Carlisle, at that time vacant upon the death of Owen Oglethorpe, should be bestowed upon him Mr. Gilpin, and obtained it. And thereupon the earle dispatcheth his letters to Mr. Gilpin to gather that power of election which is termed *congés d'eslier*. Mr. Gilpin receiving the letters together with the *congés d'eslier*, sent back a messenger out of hand with letters to the earle, wherein having returned all hearty thanks to the queene and to the earle, he humbly beseecheth the earle, to be mediatour to the queene for him and to get him excused as concerning the bishoprick, alledging that he was best acquainted with his owne strength, and conscious to himselfe of his owne insufficiency for the discharge of so great a place ; if in the meanwhile he could be any other way serviceable to the church, he would be diligent and carefull in some meaner employment. At that time was Edwin Sandes bishop of Worcester, a man venerable for his approved wisdom, learning, and holinesse of life, who was afterwards translated to London, and thence to Yorke. This bishop hapned to be in London at the same time when the earle of Bedford was busy about the preferring of Mr. Gilpin to a bishoprick : and he, either by the persuasion of the earle, or out of the intire love which he bore to Mr. Gilpin, (for he was neere a kin unto him) dispatched letters to Mr. Gilpin, whereby he persuadeth him to accept of, and to keep the bishoprick thus offered. The letter was found amongst Mr. Gilpins papers in these words.

“ My much and worthily respected coozen, having regard unto the good of the church of Christ, rather then to your ease, I have by all the good meanes I could beene carefull to have this charge imposed upon you, which may both be an honour to your selfe, and a benefit to the church of Christ. My true report concerning you hath so prevailed with the queenes majesty, that she hath nominated you bishop of Carlisle.

³ *Earle of Bedford.*] Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford.

“ I am not ignorant that your inclination rather delighteth in the peaceable tranquillity of a private life. But if you looke upon the estate of the church of England with a respective eye, you cannot with a good conscience refuse this charge imposed upon you : so much the lesse, because it is in such a place, as wherein no man is found fitter then your selfe to deserve well of the church. In which respect I charge you before God, and as you shall answer to God herein, that setting all excuses aside, you refuse not to assist your country, and to doe service to the church of God to the uttermost of your power. In the meane while I give you to understand that the said bishoprick is to be left unto you untouched, neither shall any thing of it be diminished (as in some others it is a custome) but you shall receive the bishopricke entire as Doctor Oglethorpe hath left it. Wherefore exhorting and charging you to be obedient to God’s call herein, and not to neglect the duty of your owne calling, I commend both yourselfe and the whole businesse to the divine providence. In hast, at London, the fourth day of April, 1560.

Your kinsman and brother,
 “ EDWIN WORCESTER.”

Mr. Gilpin returneth thanks to the reverend bishop his kinseman. But as touching the bishoprick, he desireth to be excused, and in that resolution he became unmooveable. And many there were who thought him blameworthy, because he had so stiffely rejected a bishoprick. But amongst some Mr. Gilpins reputation seemed to grow greater by this refusall, then if he had accepted the offer. I remember that I my selfe have heard him discoursing amongst his friends touching this occasion, when one of them asked him upon what grounds he had so stiffely refused a bishoprick : to whom he made answer, that he refused not so much the bishopricke, as the inconvenience of the place. “ For ” (saith he) “ if I had beene chosen in this kinde to any bishopricke elsewhere, I would not have refused it ; but in that place I have beene willing to avoide the trouble of it, seeing I had there many of my freinds and kindred, at whom I must connive in many thinges, not without hurt to my selfe, or else deny them many thinges not without offence to them : which difficulties I have easily avoided by refusall of that bishopricke.”

Upon this refusall of Mr. Gilpins, doctor John Best, a learned

and religious man, was made choice of for the place : but whether he had it conferred upon him upon the same termes as it was proffered to Mr. Gilpin, that no diminution should be made of any part thereof, that I know not.

Not long after this his refusall of that bishoprick, he was set upon by another request, to witt, that he would take upon him to be provost of queenes college, in Oxford, whereunto he was chosen ; or at least that he would be pleased to nominate som other for that place who might be a good and fitting man for the same. There was a letter written unto him by Thomas Francis to this purpose.

“Commendations premised, &c. Seeing I have a resolution to relinquish this place which I now hould in queens college in Oxford, being heartily desirous that some vertuous, godly, and learned man, and such a one as by the statutes of the college shall be fit, may be chosen to the place, I have thought good once more to make a tender of the same unto you : which if it shall please you to accept I shall be ready upon the receit of your letters to that purpose to advertise the fellowes thereof, whom I know to be marvailously well inclined towards you. But if so great a trouble with so small a maintenance (for so I may trueely terme this burthen) doe not give you content, I intreat your advice and direction as a friend to nominate me a man unto whom I may resigne the place, such an one as your selfe shall know to be a man fitting ; and one who may and ought to be chosen. I shall gladly be directed by you so soone as I shall understand your mind by your letters, which I pray you be carefull to send me with all convenient speed. In hast from Oxford the 17 of December, 1561.”

What answer Mr. Gilpin returned to this message, I doe not finde, but it is manifest that he refused the offer of that preferment. For against all the intreaties of friends in these kindes, he remained constant and unmovable, as the poet⁴ spoke of king Latinus ;

Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota, resistit.

“Mooved no more
Then rocke on shore.”

And all this while Mr. Gilpin seemed even to supply the place

⁴ Virg. *Æn.* vii. 586.

of a bishop by preaching, by taking care of the poore, and by making provision for the necessity of other churches, by erecting of schooles, and by accommodating men learned and fitting for the holy function of the ministry. As for Mr. Gilpin's house it was like unto a very monastery; if a man consider a monastery such as were those in the times of Saint Augustine, but not such as these latter ages have brought forth.

William lord Cecill baron of Burghley, principall secretary to the queene, being sent into Scotland⁵ about affairs of state, in his returne homewards being drawne with the fame of Mr. Gilpin, came to Houghton, and visited him. Mr. Gilpin entertayneth him with all respects and due rites of hospitality. When the lord Cecill had well observed Mr. Gilpin, and had approved the extraordinary curtesie of the man, and had tooke notice of such diligence, and abundance of all things with so compleat service in the entertainment of so great a stranger, and so unlooked for a guest, being now ready to depart thence, he spoke on this wise: that he had heard much by the report of others touching Mr. Gilpin, but what he now had seene and tried was much more then that which he had formerly heard. Therefore speaking in very friendly manner to Mr. Gilpin, he said: "Sir, if you have any occasion or suite at court or before the counsell, I pray you to make use of me as a mediator for you."

The honourable baron being returned towards Durham, when he came to the hill called Rainton hill, reflecting his eye upon the whole champain country which he had now passed, he looked backe very earnestly both upon Mr. Gilpins house and the scituation thereof, and useth these words, "I doe not blame this man (saith he) for refusing a bishopricke: for what doth he want that a bishopricke could more enrich him withall? Besides that he is free from the greater waight of cares."

Mr. Gilpin did not omit to visite the people of Ridsdale and Tindale once every yeare. Amongst whom he was esteemed a very prophet, and little lesse than adored by that halfe barbarous and rustick people. It happened by chance that whiles Mr. Gilpin preacht amongst them, a certaine good-fellow had

⁵ *Into Scotland.*] In June, 1560, sir William Cecil and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, were sent to Scotland to encourage the lords of the congregation, in their defence of themselves and the protestant religion, against the French power. Lansdowne MS. 981. art. 42 and 111. fol. 37. Cecil was not raised to the peerage till 1571.

stolen away Mr. Gilpins horses : upon the missing whereof, there is hue and cry raised through the country, that Mr. Gilpins horses were stolne, and must be searched for with all possible diligence. The fellow who had stolne them, so soone as he heard that they were Mr. Gilpins horses (for he knew not whose they were when he took them away) was in great feare and trembling. The theft did not much trouble his conscience, but when he heard the name of Mr. Gilpin, it cast him into trouble and distraction of heart. Therefore in much trembling, and with all the speede he could, he brought backe Mr. Gilpins horses, and humbly craved the pardon and benediction of father Gilpin ; and protested that after it came to his knowledge that they were Mr. Gilpins horses he was afraid to be thrust downe quicke into hell, if he should doe him any wrong.

Upon a time when Mr. Gilpin was in these parts at a towne called Rothbury, there was a pestilent faction amongst some of them that were wont to resort to that church. The men being bloodily minded practised a bloody manner of revenge, termed by them *deadly-feod*⁶. If the faction on the one side did perhaps come to the church, the other side kept away, because they were not accustomed to meet together without bloodshed. Now so it was that when Mr. Gilpin was in the pulpit in that church, both parties came to church in the presence of Mr. Gilpin ; and both of them stood, the one of them in the upper part of the church, or chancell, the other in the body thereof, armed with swords and javelins in their hands. Mr. Gilpin somewhat mooved with this unaccustomed spectacle goeth on neverthesse in his sermon, and now a second time their weapons make a clashing sound, and the one side drew neerer to the other, so that they were in danger to fall to blowes in the midst of the church. Hereupon Mr. Gilpin commeth downe from the pulpit, and stepping to the ringleaders of either faction, first of all he appeased the tumult. Next, he labowreth to establishe peace betwixt them, but he could not prevaile in that : onely they promised to keepe the peace unbroken so long as Mr. Gilpin should remaine in the

⁶ *Deadly-feod*.] "The people of this country have had one very barbarous custom among them. If any two be displeased, they expect no law, but bang it out bravely, one and his kindred against the other and his. They will subject themselves to no justice, but in an inhuman and barbarous manner fight and kill one another. They run together in clans, as they term it, or names. This fighting they call their *deadly feides*."—Survey of Newcastle, Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii., quoted in Gilpin's *Life of Gilpin*, p. 273.

church. Mr. Gilpin seeing he could not utterly extinguish the hatred which was now inveterate betwixt them, desired them that yet they would forbear hostility so long as he should remaine in those quarters: and this they consented unto. Mr. Gilpin thereupon goeth up into the pulpit againe (for he had not made an end of his sermon) and spent the rest of the allotted time which remained, in disgracing that barbarous and bloody custome of theirs and (if it were possible) in the utter banishing of it for ever. So often as Mr. Gilpin came into those parts afterwarde, if any man amongst them stood in feare of a deadly foe he resorted usually where Mr. Gilpin was, supposing himselfe more safe in his company, then if he went with a guard.

Upon a certaine Lords-day Mr. Gilpin comming to a church in those parts, before the people were assembled, and walking up and down therein, espied a glove hanged on high in the church. Whereupon he demanded of the sexton, what should be the meaning thereof, and wherefore it hanged in that place? The sexton maketh answer that it was a glove of one of the parish who had hanged it up there as a challenge to his enemy, signifying thereby that he was ready to enter into combat with his enemy hand to hand, or with any one else who should dare to take down that challenge. Mr. Gilpin requested the sexton by some meanes or other to take it down. "Not I sir," (replied the sexton) "I dare doe no such thing." "But" (said Mr. Gilpin) "if thou wilt but bring me hither a long staffe, I will take it downe my selfe:" and so when a long stafe was brought, Mr. Gilpin tooke downe the glove and put it up in his bosom. By and by came the people to church in abundance, and Mr. Gilpin when he saw his time went up into the pulpit. In his sermon he took occasion to reprove these inhuman challenges, and rebuked them sharply for that custome which they had of making challenges by the hanging up of a glove. "I heare," saith he, "that there is one amongst you, who even in this sacred place hath hanged up a glove to this purpose, and threatneth to enter into combat with whosoever shall take it downe. Behold, I have taken it downe my selfe;" and at that word plucking out the glove shewed it openly, and then instructed them how unbecoming those barbarous conditions were for any man that professed himselfe a Christian; and so laboured to perswad them to a reconciliation, and to the practise of mutuall love and charity amongst themselves.

After his sermon it was his custome to distribute money

amongst the poorer sorte; and many times to visit them who were imprisoned; and after he had preached unto them in prison, to bestow money largely amongst the prisoners; many of whom hee brought home to repentance for their former passed life, and to honest conversation; and for many who were condemned to die he procured pardon, and saved their lives.

When we were children, a rebellion⁷ was raised in the north by the earles of Northumberland and Westmorland: which Mr. Gilpin perceived before hand by certaine evident signes. And because he understood that in so troublesome a time he should want power to defend himselfe and his owne, he conceived thoughts of going aside for a while. Therefore after a speech made to the maisters and schollers, that they should demeane themselves carefully and peaceably until his returne, himselfe went to Oxford: residing there untill the queens army under the command of the earle of Sussex should make speed to Durham for discomfiture of the rebels. The rebels were now within Durham, but at the report of the queens army they dispersed themselves and fled. After they were put to flight, there was sharpe and cruell proceedings against the simpler sort, whom the rebels had drawne to their faction under pretence of serving the queene: for the silly people were solicited as for the queenes service, the rebels in all places giving it out that they stood for the queene. During the time that the rebels had possession of Durham with their army, masse was sung in the cathedrall church day by day. Some of them flew out as farre as Houghton. There they found Mr. Gilpins barnes full of corne, young cattell ready fatted, and many things provided for hospitalitie; but they make waste of all, selling the corne, consuming the fatted ware, and basely making havocke of all those things which Mr. Gilpin had provided for pious and honest uses. There was among them one fellow whom Mr. Gilpin had sometimes saved from the gallows, and this knave was the wickedest of all the rest in rioting away Mr. Gilpins goods. Now after the rebels were dispersed, and proceeding made against the simple people somewhat more sharply then was fitting by sir George Bowes, who was constituted marshall for that purpose, Mr. Gilpin who was now come

⁷ *A rebellion.*] See Percy's *Reliques of Antient English Poetry*, vol. i. p. 285. &c. *The Rising of the North.* See also *The White Doe of Rylstone*, by W. Wordsworth.

home againe begged the lives of many by his intercession : for hee knew well enough that many men were drawne as it were into the snare, not willfully, but through ignorance, and through the fraudulent practises of others. And now the whole trouble being over, Mr. Gilpin returneth to his accustomed indeavours of studies and charity.

There was betwixt the most learned and reverend James Pilkington then bishop of Durham, and Mr. Gilpin, more then ordinary friendship through their long acquaintance and paritie of dispositions. The bishop was wont oftentimes to visit Mr. Gilpin at his house, and the bishop also incited the rather by Mr. Gilpins example builded a schoole at Lancaster⁸, and brought the statutes of the schoole to be over looked and examined by Mr. Gilpin. He was also familiarly acquainted with, and marvaylously respected Thomas Lever⁹ a godly and learned man, master of Sherborne-hospital.

There was at that time published a booke of Thomas Cartwrights touching ecclesiasticall discipline¹⁰, which booke was exceedingly liked by many in those dayes. William Birch a canon of Durham, a man learned, but too hastily inclining to that forme of discipline which Cartwright had proposed, sent one of these bookes to Mr. Gilpin to read over ; requesting him to looke over the booke, and that he would be pleased to write backe his opinion concerning the same. Birch seemed to be somewhat in hast upon the matter : for very shortly after he wrote againe to Mr. Gilpin, requesting him to send over his book with his censure of it, before Mr. Gilpin had read it all over. Mr. Gilpin did accordingly send backe the booke, and a letter to Mr. Birch, and as he had an excellent veine in versifying, in the end of his letter he wrote certaine verses, which are these that follow ;

“ Multa quidem legi, sed plura, legenda reliqui ;
 Posthac quum dabitur copia, cuncta legam :
 Optant ut careat maculis ecclesia cunctis,
 Præsens vita negat ; vita futura dabit.”

⁸ *Lancaster.*] Of which county the bishop was a native, having been born at Rivington.

⁹ *Lever.*] See pp. 78, 107.

¹⁰ *Discipline.*] For many particulars of Cartwright's life and opinions, see the *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, in this volume.

Which verses of his I have thus Englished,

"Much have I read, but more remaines behinde,
I'lle read the rest when I can leasure finde :
Men wish our church no blemish had at all,
It cannot be so heere, in heaven it shall."

There came unto Mr. Gilpin a certaine Cambridge man, who seemed a very great scholler, and hee dealt earnestly with Mr. Gilpin touching the discipline and reformation of the church. Mr. Gilpin tould him that he could not allowe that an human invention should take place in the church in stead of a divine institution. "And how? doe you thinke," saith the man, "that this forme of discipline is an human invention?" "I am," saith Mr. Gilpin, "altogether of that mind. And as many as shall diligently have turned over the writings of the auncient fathers will be of mine opinion. I suspect that forme of discipline which appeareth not to have beene received in any auncient church." "But yet," saith the man, "latter men doe see¹ many things which those auncient fathers saw not: and the present church

¹ *Latter men doe see.*] The puritans seem to have been very little scrupulous in exalting themselves and their partizans to the disparagement of former ages. "I have heard it credibly reported (says Dr. Bancroft) that in a certaine college in Cambridge" (St. John's is the college alluded to), "when it happeneth that in their disputations, the authoritye either of St. Augustine, or of St. Ambrose, or of St. Jerome, or of any other of the ancient fathers, nay, the whole consent of them all altogether is alleged; it is rejected with very great disdain; as, What tell you me of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, or of the rest? I regard them not a rush. Were they not men? Whereas at other time, when it happeneth that a man of another humour doth aunswere, if it fall out that he beinge pressed with the authority either of Calvin or Beza shall chance to deny it; you shall see some beginne to smile, in commiseration of such the poore mans simplicity; some grow to be angry in regard of such presumption; and some will depart away, accounting such a kinde of fellowe not worthy the hearing."—*Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline*, p. 64. Compare p. 329. And sir F. Bacon, speaking of the same mal-content party, tells us that they no more scrupled to set themselves above the first reformers and martyrs, than they did over the ancient fathers. "As in affection they challenge the virtues of zeal, and the rest; so in knowledge they attribute unto themselves light and perfection. They say, the church of England, in king Edward's time, and in the beginning of her majesty's reign, was but in the cradle; and the bishops in those times did somewhat grope for day-break; but that maturity and fulness of light proceedeth from themselves."—*Of Church Controversies*. Works, vol. ii. p. 384. edit. 1753. See also Bancroft's *Survey*, p. 357.

seemeth better provided of many ingenious and industrious men." Mr. Gilpin seemed somewhat mooved at that word, and replied: "I for my part do not hould the vertues of the latter men worthy to be compared to the infirmities of the fathers." The other man made answer that he supposed Mr. Gilpin to be in an errour in that point. But Mr. Gilpin used these words purposely because he perceived that this fellow had a strong conceit of I know not what rare vertues in himselfe, which opinion Mr. Gilpin was desirous to roote out of him.

George Gilpin, who had most elegantly translated out of low Dutch into English the booke of Philip Marnixius², earle of Aldegund, called the *Beehive of the Romane Church*, came out of the Low Countries unto Bernard. This man was brother to Bernard, and agent for the queene³ with the states of Holland, amongst whom he left behind him a famous memory of himselfe for his singular wisdom. And having lived for some space most lovingly with his brother Bernard, being about to returne from Holland, he had advised with the queene and counsell of the kingdome touching the affaires which he had to treat upon with the states in the queenes name. The earles of Leicester and Bedford exceedingly favored the two brothers, George for his wisdom in affaires of state, and Bernard for his holinesse of life. These requested George to perswade his brother Bernard to declare in writing the motives and meanes of his conversion from the Romane superstition to the light of the gospell. To which request Mr. Gilpin answered that he would do it plainly and sincerely, without any dissimulation. The copy of his letter to that purpose I found among his papers to be thus.

² *Marnizius.*] Philippe de Marnix, baron de Sainte-Aldegonde, author of the *Apiarium sive Alvearium Romanum*, printed at *Sylvæ-Ducis* ('s Hergenbosch or Bois-le Duc) in 1571. He was a man of great distinction, much employed by the prince of Orange, and when Burgomaster of Antwerp bravely sustained in 1584 and 1585 for a long time the attacks of the duke of Parma. He came to England in 1590; and in the British Museum are two curious letters from lord Burghley to Wylde and Bodley, who were then in the Low Countries, respecting his conduct. See Cott. MS. *Galba*, D. vii. rol. 120. 159 b.

³ *Agent for the queene.*] George Gilpin was employed at various times between 1570 and 1590. Some of his negociations are extant in the British Museum. See Harl. MS. 285. art. 20; Cott. MS. *Galba*, C. vii. fol. 168, and C. x. fol. 21, &c.

The Letter of Bernard Gilpin to his brother George in the yeare of our Lord 1575.

“YOU doe request (brother) that I should relate unto you somewhat at large the manner and meanes of my conversion from superstition to the light of the gospell: a thing, which I suppose, is not unknowne unto you to have beene a worke of many yeares: neverthelesse as time and health shall give leave I will conceale nothing from you herein. I will confesse mine owne shame to the confusion of the divell; I will say with the apostle, 1 Tim. 1. 13. *I was received to mercy, for I did it ignorantly.*

“In the dayes of king Edward I was drawne to dispute against certaine positions of Peter Martirs⁴: howbeit out of a naturall inclination I have alwayes so farre as I could avoided controversies and disputations. And when I was but a young divine, and had found out by holding that disputation that the foundation whereto I trusted was not so solid as I formerly supposed it, I thereupon began somewhat seriously to read over the Scriptures and writings of the fathers, that I might confirme my selfe in my received opinions. But God freed my minde from that prejudicate conceit by little and little, and the zeale which I had for the popish religion began to coole in me every day more and more. But on the other side I felt certaine sparkling desires which urged me to search out the truth. In the meane while I repaired to the bishop of Durham, that I might be further instructed; who tolde me, that in the matter of transubstantiation, Innocentius the pope, the third of that name, had done unadvisedly, seeing he had made it an article of faith. And he did further confesse that the pope had committed a great fault, in that touching indulgences and other things he had taken no better order for the quiet of the church. Afterwards I conferred with doctor Redman⁵, in whom I reposed much hope in regard of his eminent vertues, and great schollership. He affirmed unto me that the booke of Common Prayer, was an holy booke, and agreeable to the gospell. These things cast me into many distractive thoughts.

⁴ *Peter Martirs.*] See p. 384.

⁵ *Dr. Redman.*] John Redman, the first master of Trinity College, Cambridge. See Tanner's *Bibl.* p. 619. This eminent and amiable man was a near kinsman of bishop Tonstal; which may perhaps account for Gilpin's enjoying the advantage of his society, though they were of different Universities. See Aschami *Epistolæ*, p. 39.

After this one of the fellowes of Queenes colledge in Oxford told me that he had heard doctour Chedsey⁶ saying among his friends, that it must come to this point, that the protestants must grant us a reall presence of Christ in the sacrament, and we likewise give way unto them in the opinion of transubstantiation, and so we shall accord. Doctor Weston⁷ made a long oration touching the supper of the Lord to bee administered under both kindes. Mr. Morgan tolde me that doctor Ware, a man most famous for life and learning, had affirmed unto him that the principal sacrifice of the church of God was the sacrifice of thanksgiving. This was his answer when I had demanded of him what could be said for the sacrifice of the masse. The most learned bishops in this kingdome at that time confuted the primacy of the pope both in words and writing. Mr. Harding⁸ being newly returned home out of Italy, in a long and famous oration so plainly set out and painted to the life the friers and unlearned bishops, who had met at the councell of Trent in their green gownes, that it abated in me and in very many others a great deale of that opinion and confidence which we had reposed in Generall Councils.

“These things and many others gave me occasion diligently to search the Scriptures and the writings of the fathers: whence I had begun to observe very many and very great abuses, and some enormities oftentimes used, and as oft defended in popery, and to judge reformation necessary on the other part. Whiles I went on in this manner, I was overruled by the persuasions of some friends to accept of a parsonage; whereunto I was drawne against my will. If I offended God in undertaking the charge before I was a more sufficient scholler, and better grounded in religion, I aske God forgiveness. Nor doe I doubt but I have obtained mercy in his sight. Before I was entred upon that parsonage I preacht before king Edward at Greenwich a sermon which had approbation of many good men.

“The lord treasurer⁹, being at that time secretary, obtained for me from the king licence as a generall preacher throughout the kingdome so long as the king lived, which time fell out to be not much above the space of halfe a yeare after. In my sermons I handled those points wherein I was best grounded, and wherein

⁶ *Dr. Chedsey.*] See vol. ii. p. 558, n. (6).

⁷ *Dr. Weston.*] See vol. ii. p. 551, n. (6).

⁸ *Mr. Harding.*] Jewel's antagonist, p. 352.

⁹ *The lord treasurer.*] Wm. Cecil, afterwards lord Burghley, &c.

I was undoubtedly resolved out of the Scriptures. I examined the masse: and the abuse so farre as I was able to observe at that time consisted in the too much reverence, and grosser worship of the people; because I beleaved not transubstantiation. Neverthelesse at some times I said masse, but seldome and privately.

“Then was I forthwith sent beyond the seas that I might oversee the printing of my lord bishop Tonstall’s booke touching the eucharist, with two or three books more as you know, at Antwerp: where I beheld for the space of three yeares at Paris, Antwerp, and Lovaine, and in some other places, very grosse idolatry. This thing did more and more estrange me from the popish religion: most of all because the learned papists did in their disputations in schooles¹⁰ deny the adoration of images, yet allowed the intolerable abuse thereof in their churches. And now whiles with all earnestnesse I advised with the holy Scriptures, and writings of the fathers, I observed many things which alienated mine heart from the popish church. I observed in that church notable corruptions of the doctrine of the bible; many things in the sacraments instituted against Scripture; some sacraments lately added; in the sacrament of the supper the one halfe taken away; the fiction of transubstantiation brought in; traditions of the church made equall to the word of God, and to the holy Scriptures, and to be imbraced with the same pious affection; the worship of images brought into the church: all things performed in the church before the people in an unknowne language; but above all the rest the question concerning antichrist troubled me most, because it seemed not to me a safe thing to make a separation from the popish church, except I were first fully resolved that the pope is antichrist: and in this point I cannot easily expresse with how many difficulties and distractions I was daily opposed.

“Afterwards I was sent for home againe by the bishop, who conferred upon me the rectory of Essingdon: where when I had indeavoured to be constant in preaching, I observed that I had upon a sodaine procured to my selfe many and heavy enemies thereby: for I had preached against plurality of benefices and non-residency. Mine adversaries cryed out that all such as broached that doctrine would proove hereticks quickly. Others were much displeased with me for that I had preached repentance

¹⁰ *Disputations in schooles.*] Compare vol. i. p. 301, and n.

and salvation by Christ. They laid to my charge that I did not make whole sermons about transubstantiation, purgatory, holy water, the worshipping of images, the invocation of saints, and the like ; which they could never heare come from me. And by how much the people were more earnest to resort to my sermons, so much the more eagerly they tooke offence at mee and hated mee.

"A very small matter brought me into danger. An honest matron¹¹, because in her pangs of child-birth she had often called upon God, was grievously checked by the other good women, because she had not called upon the blessed Virgin. To whom she made answer : ' I have heard ' (saith she) ' a certaine famous preacher, one Gilpin, a man that came lately out of France ; if he will advise me to call upon the saints, I will take his counsell in that point.' I tolde them that I durst not persuade any one to invoke the saints, but that those who call onely upon God for

¹¹ *An honest matron.*] "Come to the labour of a woman that is a Pharisey, and thou shalt heare her cry and call for helpe more on the Virgin Mary, than she will upon the ever-livinge God, who is the only Creatour and Saviour of the Virgin ; and that most blasphemously sayinge, *Our Lady have mercy upon me* : and lykewise upon other Gods creatures. Now in these dayes, they will say haply, we teach not to worship them as goddes, but as mediatours. I tell thee, that is also a false and a develish doctrine."—*Complaint of Roderyck Mors unto the Parliament House of England.* Signat. G 3.

"And here we have occasion to speake of midwives. The same office of a midwife is a necessary office : but I woulde wishe the byshoppes would see better unto them, that they might be better instruct in Gods worde : for no doubt these midwives are the occasion of muche superstitions and dishonouring of God. The fault is because they are not instruct in the worde of God : and therefore when the women be in travailing, and so in peril of theyr lives, they cause them to call upon our Lady, whiche no doubt is very idolatry and dishonouring of God : for we ought not to call upon any creature : we must call onely upon God alone. Unto him onely pertayneth that honour."—*Latimer's Sermons*, fol. 283. edit. 1584. Sermon on St. John the Evangelist's Day.

About the year 1517 it was articulated against Joan Sampson, before Fitz-James, bishop of London, that "being in her labour, what time Joan Sampson her predecessor, then being alive, was with her, and after the manner then of women, called muche upon the helpe of the Virgin Mary, she spitting thereat, was in such sort aggrieved, that the other partie was compelled to forsake the house.

"Item ; another time in the bearing of one Margaret Anworth, when she and other women were invocating the blessed Virgin to helpe in womans labour, she stood against them, and contumeliously spake against the invocators." *Fox's Acts*, p. 745.

help in all their dangers, have a commandement from God so to doe, and a firme promise for the infallible comforting of their conscience. This occasion stirred me up many foes.

"In the meane while I often conversed with learned men, my very loving friends and kindred. I demanded how it came to passe that there was no reformation of so many abuses touching images, reliques, pilgrimages, buying and selling of masses and trentalls, with many other errours, which in the time of king Edward the papists had not onely confessed to be superstitious, but had promised reformation of them, and professed that it was meete the church should be purged of them: which thing they said they would gladly doe, if ever the power came into their hands againe¹². When I asked of them in which of these points

¹² *Their hands againe.*] But on the other hand, in what temper some of their preachers sought to bring the people back to their ancient allegiance to the church of Rome, we may take, by way of example, one striking, and even fearful instance, from a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, Nov. 12, 1553, (about four months after the accession of queen Mary,) by that Brokes, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, of whose doings we read so much in the process against Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer.

"Now one worde for a conclusion, and so an ende.

"I reade in Titus Livius, that on a time, when the Romans were greuously offended with the Carthaginiens for breache of a certeine league, that was betwene them, one Quintus Fabius, being sent from Rome, as an ambassadour to Carthage, to expostulate with them for the injuries doen, assone as he was admitted into the counsaile house, gathering his gowne together in maner of a lap, in few woordes he doth his message after this sort.

"What nede any circumstaunce, tariance or delay (saith he), O you counsaillors of Carthage? In this lap of mine, I have brought you here both battel and peace: whether you list, chose and have. Chose battel, and have battel: chose peace, and have peace. Come off at ones.

"When the counsaillors of Carthage, setting light of the matter, cried together with one voice, Sir, geve whether you list; we passe not on it. No, (saith Fabius, the ambassador) passe you no more on the matier?—Then battel have you, then battail upon you: then open battail do I pronounce, and bidde unto you. And with that, he cast abrode the lap of his gowne with suche a vehemenzie, terriblenes and horror, even as though he had brought very battel in his lap indee.

"Even so, good brethren, forasmuch as your Father, God almighty, and your mother, the holy catholic churche, are both no lesse grevouslie offended with you at this present, for the breache of the league and promisse every one of you made to them in your baptisme, (whiche league and promisse you have sore broken through defection, misbelevinge and mislevinge, I, although mooste unworthy suche an hie function, being *minimus apostolorum, imo minor minimo, et qui non sum dignus vocari apostolus* (1 Cor. xv.), yeat am I

reformation should begin, in expectation of which thing I returned from Paris the more willingly, answer was made unto me, that no way must be given to the ignorant multitude. If (say they) we once confesse any errours at all, they will straightway cry out that many other things also are worthy to be reformed, besides those which we shall yeeld unto them, and so they will be still growing upon us, that we shall never have done reforming.—These things wounded me grievously, and drave me to seeke out for peace of conscience.

“After these things, having preached two or three sermons at Newcastle, I began to explaine my conscience more at large;

come thys day, as sent from them unto you, as a messenger, and as an imbassader. And, to use few words with you, my message is this, In this lappe of myne I have brought you here, both benediction and malediction; both lyfe and death; both salvacion and dampnation; benediction, life and salvacion, if you retourne, and repayre the league: malediction, death and dampnation, if you do the contrarie.—Now, whether you list, chose and have. But if you set light of the matter, as the Carthaginians dyd, passinge not whether you have; passing not whether you retourne or no, then, malediction, death and dampnation have you: then, malediction, death and dampnation upon you; then, malediction, death and dampnation do I pronounce unto you: then thus saith our Lord, *Nisi conversi fueritis*, &c. If you will not retourne, I have alredie unscabered, sharpned and well scoured my sword. I have shaken my sword: I have bent my bowe, and I have prepared my arrowes, even as instruments of death against you. Then, thus saith our Lord, *Maledicti eritis in civitate*, &c. (Deut. xxviii.) Cursed shal you be in the citie; cursed in the field; cursed at your out-going; cursed at your incomynge: cursed shal be the fruite of your bodie, the fruite of your hande, the fruite of your catel: cursed shal be your basket, and your store. Then, thus saith our Lord; *Væ genti peccatrici*, &c. (Isai. i.) Woe be to this sinful nation; wo be to this frowarde generation: wo be to these unnatural chyl-dren; wo, wo, wo be to all the inhabitantes of England. Then, thus saith our Lord, *Ite maledicti*, &c. (Mat. xxv.) Go you cursed into the everlastinge fyre, whiche was prepared for the devell, and his angelles: where, in the fyrie furnes, and bournig lake, is weping, waylinge, and gnashinge of teeth: where, fire, brimstone, storme, tempest, and the worme of conscience shal be part of your tormentes: where, you shall burne in unquenchable fyre, forever and a day; *in æternum et ultra*.” Sign. L. 8—K 3.

After this appalling volley of denunciations, the preacher changes his hand, and proceeds to try the effect of his powers, but precisely for the same end, in a long strain of expostulations of a soothing and conciliatory character; that, where threatenings would not, persuasion might attain the end. “But I truste, deare brethren, better thinges of you and thinges nere to salvacion, although I thus speake. I trust you wil return, you will repente, you will repayre the league,” &c. &c.

where there were gathered twelve or thirteene articles against me, and sent to the bishop. And now had mine adversaries of the clergy whom I had grievously provoked, obtained what they had long looked for. Nor would they give over untill the bishop had called me before their faces, to examine me in the point of the sacrament. The bishop shewed me as much favour, I suppose, as he durst. In transubstantiation he would not trouble me; onely he inquired concerning the reall presence, which I granted, and so was freed out of that danger. And as touching the reall presence, I found not my selfe fully resolved. I supposed that therein lay hid a mystery above my capacity. Neverthesse my conscience did sometimes chide me, for that I had before them yeelded in expresse words to a point which seemed unto me doubtfull. But I hoped that God would pardon mine ignorance, and in time bring me to a greater light of knowledge.

"The winter following queene Mary departed this life¹, and then I began to explaine my minde more fully. For before that time (for I must needes confesse the truth) weaknesse, ignorance, and the terrours of mine adversaries had somewhat restrained me. About Easter I was accused to the bishop upon many articles, both out of the diocesse of Yorke, and of Durham, all which things neverthesse hurt me no further then thus, that the bishop incited thereto by the complaints of mine adversaries struck my name out of his last will and testament, forasmuch as the plebeians and ordinary sort of people were extremely offended with me. Now I, in that I lost the bishops executorship, found my selfe eased of a great burthen, and was glad thereof. But as for the favour of the multitude, I hoped in time through the goodnesse of God to recover it againe, that my preaching might profit the more to edification: for otherwise I never desired the love of the vulgar.

"In harvest came the visitors²; and doctor Sandes sent for me to Aukland, and appointed me both time and place to preach against the primacy at Durham. But he himselfe preaching the day before, whiles he seemed utterly to deny a reall presence, had so wounded my tender conscience, that the night following I could not sleep at all; and I was much troubled in my minde, whether I should preache the next day or not. At the last I went almost out of my bed into the pulpit, where, I know not

¹ *Departed this life.*] 17th Nov. 1558.

² *Came the visitors.*] See above, *Life of Jewel*, p. 349.

how it happened, whether it was through my disquiet of conscience, or want of sleep, or in that I had offended God to goe up against my conscience, but me thought I did never feelee such a want of utterance; and yet in my judgement I had provided matter enough, and waighty reasons.

“The next day all the ministers in the diocesse were met to subscribe. Now so it was that in a point or two of the articles my conscience did not appeare to me so well resolved, as I could have wished. Therefore I stept a little out of the way, hoping that I might escape from being called. But when my curate came to the booke, who, I supposed, would never have stood at it, by reason of some discourse I had formerly with him, he withdrew himselfe as unwilling to subscribe; and thereupon I was called for, and the booke held out unto me; when straightwayes I had these thoughts in my selfe: ‘My greatest confidence is reposed in this religion, because it giveth glory to God, and authority to the word of God for the rooting out of superstition, and human doctrines. Onely mine heart doubted in certaine points of smaller consequence, which God (as I hope) shall in time reveale unto me. If I shall refuse, I shall be a meanes to make many others to refuse, and so consequently hinder the course of the word of God.’ Therefore I subscribed; and the night following I sent unto doctor Sandes my protestation touching those two points which had troubled me. He being nothing offended tooke my protestation very courteously: so my curate subscribed also, and the day following fell sicke. And whiles I was gone along with the visitors to Kendall and Lancaster, he dyed before my returne, having not been sicke a whole weeke. Some supposed that subscription killed his heart; others said his infirmity proceeded from excessive drinking. God onely knoweth what was the cause of his death.

“In processe of time, me thought I grew more and more strengthened and resolved: but I will confesse the truth, I had many and grievous temptations, which would not let me sleepe for many nights, and drave me betwixt sleeping and waking into such dreames, as I thinke few men ever had the like. My nature did ever desire to avoid controversies. My chieffest comfort and indeavour was to preach Christ, and salvation through Christ plainly and sincerely, and to comfort my selfe in the most sweet promises of holy Scripture, and in pouring out my prayers to God. The insatiable covetousnesse that could be restrained by

no bounds of temperance and moderation, together with the pride and carnall liberty, and other vices of the same ranke, which raigned among all sorts and degrees of people, but most of all in us the priests and ministers, who ought to be as we are termed, *the salt of the earth*, have oftentimes broke my sleepes. But recovering I quieted my selfe in God, saying, surely how much more the iniquity of men doth abound, so much the more glorious shall God appeare in purging, sanctifying, and preserving his elect people in the midst of a froward generation.

"I was ever sollicitous and wary either in subscriptions or oathes not to be caught in a trap. It appeared enough to me, and ought to be satisfactory to the prelates of the church, that all men were willing to acquiesce in the Scriptures, and the articles of the faith; in other things as they are agreeable to Scripture: because the holy Scripture ought to holde soveraigne place and prehemineny above all the writings of all men. I remember when I went to be admitted into orders by the bishop of Oxford, that the bishops chaplaine did administer an oath unto us that we should allow the ordinations already made, or hereafter to be made. Touching which oath when we considered somewhat seriously what it was to oblige our selves to ordinations to come, concerning which we could resolve upon nothing, these things not only much distracted me but troubled nine or ten more, who were sworne with me, men farre better schollers then my selfe. For my part I resolved to be sworne to no writings but with this exception³, so farre onely as they are agreeable to the word of God. Now, how much it distressed my minde that an oath should be exacted in doubtfull cases, I have explained in another discourse for the quiet of my conscience. And this I may boldly

³ *But with this exception.*] But let us hear on this head another sensible and considerate writer. "We censure and condemn a subscribing to our articles with this reservation, viz. *As far as they are agreeable with Scripture*: this being a way of eluding these tests of our religious opinions, and in effect no subscription at all. Are the articles of the church of England really agreeable with Scripture, or are they not? If they are *not*, then every honest man should decline any subscription to them; because, by this act, he openly professes his belief that they are agreeable with Scripture. But if any persons will however insist on this reservation, then let them consider that the subscription and the reservation, taken together, amount to this, viz. I do declare, that these articles are agreeable with Scripture, so far forth as they are agreeable with Scripture."—Bishop Coneybeare's *Sermon on Subscription to Articles of Religion*: given also in the Oxford *Enchiridion Theologicum*.

say, that since I tooke the course to explaine mine infirmities by writing, not fearing who tooke notice of them, so that it might benefit mysele or others, I have found exceeding peace and quiet of conscience, and am day by day more edified and confirmed by the reading of the Scriptures. And in this case, I praise God, that when I found my selfe most distressed and weake, my faith in the mercies of God was so firme, as I assure mysele, that if at that very instant I should have died, yet I had and doe retaine that confidence, that these distractions could nothing hinder my salvation. I am resolved with St. Paul, *I have obtained mercy, for I did it ignorantly*; and with Job, *Although the Lord kill me, yet will I trust in him*. Yet I have full many a time asked God mercy for these offences, infirmities, ignorances, and all other things, and will ever doe so whiles I shall live in this world. God be mercifull unto us all."

Thus farre Mr. Gilpin.

Thou seest (reader) Mr. Gilpins upright dealing. He speaketh nothing of his owne vertues, but he is wholly taken up with the acknowledgement and enumeration of his weaknesses. Perhaps some criticks will laugh at the simplicity of the man, but I herein admire his apostolick spirit, who after the example of blessed Paul dare not boast of himself, but boasteth in his infirmities, that Christ may dwell in him. Neverthelesse, howsoever he is wholly taken up with declaration of his owne infirmities, and hath of set purpose spoke nothing of his owne vertues, yet this is apparent that he was twice accused by his back-friends to bishop Tonstall in the dayes of queene Mary: but bishop Tonstall who abhorred to shed blood was a sweet defence to Mr. Gilpin against the divers informations of his enemies. At the last he was accused to Bonner bishop of London, who gave order to a messenger for his apprehension. Mr. Gilpin perceived the imminent danger, (for he had notice that a messenger was dispatched to attach his body) and perceiving the reliefe which he had found in Tonstalls clemency would now faile him, he prepared his holy soule for martyrdom: commanding William Airy the steward of his house to provide him a long garment, that he might goe the more comely to the stake. But the sodaine death⁴ of queene Mary freed the man from this danger.

⁴ *But the sodaine death.*] "In his way to London, it is said, he broke his leg, which put a stop for some time to his journey. The persons in whose

After the publication of the councell of Trent, when by chance there happened some discourse betwixt M. Gilpin and Thomas Lever, and Lever had asked the question, what Mr. Gilpin thought touching that councell: "The fathers of the councell of Trent" (saith he) "have done the church a very shrewd turne: for that which was indifferent before times they leave not so now. I remember that bishop Tonsall often tolde me that pope Innocent the third had done very unadvisedly, in that he had made the opinion of transubstantiation an article of faith: seeing in former times it was free to holde or refuse that opinion. Moreover the bishop tolde me that he did not doubt but that himselfe, if he had beene in that councell, could have prevailed with the pope to have let that businesse alone. And what he judged concerning transubstantiation, the same may a man resolve touching all popery after the publication of the council of Trent; for that which was indifferent before, now they doe not suffer so to be. Therefore I suppose that the times of our forefathers, though oppressed with much ignorance, were happier farre then the ensuing ages can be under the papists: because they have now altered in the council of Trent many institutions of the auncient church. For whereas they have placed a part of the rule of faith in traditions, that is a thing which was never done in the church before. Many things which were permitted to be taught in the church formerly touching justification and the sacraments are not now tolerated. And upon these occasions the fathers of the council of Trent have laid upon other churches a necessity of making a seperation from the church of Rome: wherein me thinks that they have not dealt advisedly: for the church is thereby distracted into differences and factions, and whatsoever was formerly indifferent^a in doubtfull points, the fathers of Trent have made it all necessary, and tooke upon them a very hard taske."

There were some papists, who perceiving Mr. Gilpin quite

custody he was, took occasion thence, maliciously to retort upon him an observation he would frequently make, "That nothing happens to us, but what is intended for our good;" asking him, whether he thought his broken leg was so intended? He answered meekly, "He made no question but it was." And indeed so it proved in the strictest sense: for before he was able to travel, queen Mary died, and he was set at liberty." Gilpin's *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, p. 216.

^a Formerly indifferent.] See above, in the same *Life*, p. 388, n.

alienated from the popish religion, which he had first beene of in the dayes of his ignorance in his youth, tooke many courses to have recalled him, if they could possibly. Amongst them was one Thomas Gelthrop, a man well descended, and a kinsman of Mr. Gilpins. This man wrote a letter to Mr. Gilpin, wherein he dealt earnestly with him not to forsake the religion of his forefathers. In that letter Gelthrop amongst other things inserted these words. "You have a great and a good report both at London and in all other places: and I am of this opinion that either you will doe the church a great deal of good if you adhere unto it, or else (which God forbid) you will stirre up more mischiefe in the church than ever Arrius did. That sinne aboundeth it is not the fault of the masse or of the mattins, but the pernicious doctrine and filthy life of the clergy, and of others. They have already reformed the communion, and have published a book of the reformed leiturgy. But this reformation hath not removed the evill, because we see the people growne farre worse then before." These things I found out amongst Mr. Gilpins papers, but I could not possibly get any more out of them, the most of them were so exceeding worne and defaced.

Unto this letter Mr. Gilpin made answer, which I found entire. The letter had this superscription.

To his Coozen THOMAS GELTHROP.

And thus it was.

"Grace and peace. Your large letter was brought unto me, when I had small leisure to answer it, as he can tell you who bringeth back this unto you. Howbeit I thought it not fit to let him come back without an answer, albeit the conclusion of your letter gave me small incouragement to write. For who would take the paines to write unto you, seeing you are fully resolved and determined, as you affirme, never to be perswaded from your opinions by any argument a man can bring? It could not chuse but be a most grievous thing to the prophet Jeremy, when he cryed out to the people, *Hear the word of the Lord*, that they should answer with a stiffe necke, *we will not heare*. But let us leave these things to the divine operation, which is able to mollifie your heart, and to open the eares of the deafe adder that stoppeth the same against the voice of the charmer, charme he never so

wisely. You looke back upon the ages passed : you doe well, if also you looke back to the times of the patriarkes, the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, and other holy men, with whom if you advise without prejudice of blinded affection, they will lead you farre from that blindness, from that errour, I may well say, from that grosse idolatry, which crept into the church while men slept. Whereas you are grieved at the fall of monasteries⁶ and suppression of abbeys, I am sorry you should be blinded in this case. For very many of your owne religion have confessed that they could not possibly subsist any longer, because the cry of them like the cry of Sodome was ascended into the eares of God. Their sodomiticall crimes were so manifest that they could not be longer concealed ; the Lord could indure those wicked men no longer. But if you call to minde what enemies those men were to the ministry of the word of God, taking away most sacrilegiously⁷ the maintenance allowed for the ministers of the word, hardly leaving in the most countries any one rectory unspoiled, you would easily judge that those men could not possibly stand and flourish any longer. This is the fruit of Luthers doctrine, and the whole word of God truly preached, that God shall destroy that wicked one with the breath of his mouth.

“Whereas you say that he which commeth to God must believe ; I wish you would consider that thing rightly, that faith and religion can never finde peace and quiet but in the sacred word of God. *Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.* Whence it commeth that whoso beleeveth in bulls, indulgences, images, and many other vaine constitutions of men, cannot possibly have true faith. All those things vanish away, wheresoever the word of God hath power and authority. That rest which you say that you finde in the church of Rome, your

⁶ *Fall of monasteries.*] Compare above, *Life of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 237, et seqq.

⁷ *Most sacrilegiously.*] For a learned and interesting historical account of the origin and progress of the appropriation of churches, and the artifices used by the monks to get the revenues of benefices into their own hands, the evil consequences of which have never since ceased to be felt, but are still operating to a most lamentable degree, see H. Wharton's *Defence of Pluralities*, p. 113—17, edit. 2d ; and Kennett on *Impropriations*, p. 21—37. Also Kennett's Preface to Two Tracts *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* by Sir H. Spelman, and Dr. Thomas Ryves's *Poor Vicar's Plea* ; where we are told that the appropriated churches amount to 3845, and the churches not appropriate are but 5439, through all England and Wales.

catholick church forsooth, if you take not the better heed, will undoubtedly faile you in your greatest necessity. You say that you doe not finde in that religion any thing opposite to the gospell. But if you looke narrowly into it, you may see in that religion the word of God rejected, the Golden Legends^a and

^a *The Golden Legends.*] The evils connected with this sad subject are forcibly described by Henry Wharton, in his Preface to bishop Pecock's *Treatise proving Scripture to be the Rule of Faith*, 4to, 1688, as follows :

"Religion had now passed through so many ignorant and barbarous ages, the means of greater knowledge had been so studiously hidden from the people, and the ignorance of the laity was so advantageous to the interests of the clergy, that the true spirit of Christianity seemed to be wholly lost, and had degenerated into shows and ceremonies, many of which where unlawful, but almost all unuseful. And not only this fatal stupidity and idle superstition had generally possessed the minds of men, but all remedies were detested, and all artifices used to continue the disease. . . .

"The incredible fables of legends, and incurable itch of lying for the honour of their saints and patrons, which then reigned among all the monastic orders, (which was almost the only subject on which they preached,) and was fondly received by the credulous multitude, were one of the greatest scandals and most pernicious abuses in the church at that time. The greater and more necessary articles of faith, and all genuine and rational knowledge of religion, had generally given place to fabulous legends and romantic stories : fables which in this respect only differed from those of the ancient heathen poets, that they were more incredible, and less elegant." P. xxxiv. xxxvi.

It is some consolation, however, to know, that in the progress of the reformation, the Romish partizans themselves, unable to withstand the remonstrances of the protestants, gradually grew to be ashamed of these lying wonders, which in the days of their fathers had almost entirely superseded the use, and destroyed the taste and relish for the simple and unaffected truths of the evangelical history. Thus Bristowe in his *Motives to the Catholic Faith*, about fifteen years after the accession of Elizabeth, complains of the protestants for what he calls "their peevish scoffing at some *uncertain*, or *false* miracles, which they read" (says he) "in I know not what *Legenda Aurea*, and such other *obscure apocryphal* writings," fol. 16. edit. 1599. And even so early as the year 1530, William Tindal tells sir Thomas More, "As for your own miracles, of which ye make your boast, ye have feigned them so grossly throughout all your legends of saints, that ye be now ashamed of them, and would fain be rid of them, if ye wist how, with honesty." *Works*, p. 301. Answer to sir Thomas More's Dialogue.

And yet, after all, if any one would possess, to his heart's content, as strong an evidence as can easily be given, of the malignant influence upon the moral perceptions both of priest and people, of an habitual training and custom of reading and hearing such prodigies as those detailed in the Festival and the Golden Legend, I need only refer him to the case of this same Bristowe, whom I have just now quoted. Scarcely have those words which I

Festivalls, with bulls, indulgencies, and many other things of that sort for the most part obtruded upon men in stead of the word of God. But here is a large field and I want leisure. I hope I shall get opportunity to write unto you more at large concerning these things. God open your eyes that you may see the abomination of that citty which is built upon seven hills: (Apoc. 17.) Looke over Hierome upon that place. If in that church the sacraments be corrupted, will you reject the grace of God when he openeth the eyes of his servants to reforme these corruptions? Beware of that fearefull sentence of saint John: *He that is filthy let him be filthy still.* You alledge that if you should now begin to drink of another cup, &c. quite forgetting that in the church of Rome your selfe and all other laymen are utterly excluded from the cup, contrary to the manifest commandement of God, *Drinke ye all of this.* Your learnedest doctors of Lovaine with many others were not able to defend so great an abuse of the supper. If you call us hereticks, and fly from us, because we have forsaken so great abuses, superstitions and errorrs, to the end that we might draw neare to the sacred word of God, and holy institutions of Christ, we can appeale from your uncharitable prejudice, and are able to say with Saint Paul, *I little esteeme to be judged of you, it is the Lord which judgeth me.*

“But you alledge that is a perillous thing to heare our sermons. So said the persecutours of saint Stephen, (Acts 7.) and stopp'd their eares. So spoke Amazia touching Amos the prophet. (Amos 7.) *The land is not able to beare all his words,* like unto which are those whom David compareth to the deafe adder which stoppeth her eares, (Psal. 58.) Like unto whom were many in the time of the apostles unto whom the gospell was hid, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of unbelievers, that the light of the gospell should not shine upon them.

“Touching those Romane thunder-claps⁹ there is no great adduced passed his lips, before, in the same work, and in the immediate context, as if to take the full advantage of the candour in which he had indulged, he proceeds to adduce as “true miracles,” in that day of keen controversy and comparative illumination, tales, I will venture to say, as monstrous and incredible, as any that are contained in any of the lives of the saints, or in the legends of the very darkest ages. See chap. v. *Miracles dogmatical*, chap. vi. *Miracles personal*, and chap. vii. *Visions*.

⁹ *Those Romane thunder-claps*] The pope's bull against queen Elizabeth, &c. &c. See *Life of Jewel*, p. 324.

cause why we should be afraid: those bugbeares were invented to affright children, they are not to be feared by men of yeares. Erasmus calleth them *Bruta fulmina*, foolish false-fires. If there were in the pope and his cardinals, who curse us with so much bitterness, but the least resemblance of Peter and Paul; had they the fervent charity of those holy men, and their exquisite diligence to feed the flocke of Christ day and night, with other apostolick vertues; then were their threats to be feared: but they have changed the humility of Peter into the pride of Lucifer, the poverty and daily labours of the apostles into the riches of Cresus, and into the lazinesse and luxury of Sardana-palus. To conclude, what agreement is there betwixt light and darknesse? God hath promised in the second of Malachy, that he will curse their blessings, or turne their blessings into curses, who consider not in their hearts to give glory unto his name. See Hierom upon the third of Esay: Those which call you blessed, seduce you. How many thousands of men are seduced by indulgencies, which are extended to many thousands of yeares, if the price be according? The world seeth and is grieved to beholde how the brothers of Saint Johns Hospitall, had granted licences to those who had laid violent hands upon themselves to enjoy the buriall of other Christians, with many such like flattering fictions.

“As touching the life of your grandmother, I never heard but well; but I suppose she was a superstitious woman. If she kept you at home with her out of her tender and naturall affection onely, and not to prevent your knowledge of the gospell, I shall desire pardon for my mistaking. Yet many men are persuaded that she and your uncles withheld both from your selfe and your sisters a great part of the portion which was left unto you. But let these things passe; seeing I have not beene able to effect, nor have effected as yet any thing for you, that money which was given to me by legacy, I will bestow upon your sister, if it please her, with some addition also, because I am persuaded she hath more need of it.

“As concerning the catholick church, God is my witnesse, that it is the whole desire of mine heart, and mine assured confidence, that I shall die a member of it. But if I shall be so farre misled by the pompous outside of the church of Rome, as to approve those intollerable abuses, superstitions, and idolatries, which so many wayes rob God of his honour, I should not believe

my selfe a member of Jesus Christ. If you approve of none interpretation of Scriptures, but what proceeds from Rome, you may easily affirme whatsoever you please. There is nothing so absurd, or so contrary to the truth of the eternall God, which may not be wrested by their corrupt glosses, as it may seeme to serve to a wicked cause. With such kinde of men is no disputation to be held. As for that which you inferre touching Arrius, and the rest of that ranke, it is nothing to the purpose. For all the writings of the prophets, together with other manifest Scriptures, whereunto we ought to have recourse in doubts of this nature, and to be concluded by them, doe evidently confound Arrius, and all the rest his partakers. Consubstantiality, which the Greeks call *ὁμοούσιον*, is confirmed by very many evident testimonies of Scripture. But so is not transubstantiation, which hath so molested the braines of Scotus, Occam, Biel, and all the schoole divines, that many a time they are shrewdly put to it, what they had best say for removing the absurdities which arise therefrom. Therefore it is apparent that it is a meere fiction without any foundation of Scripture. So that Scotus (as bishop Tonsall did many times ingenuously confesse) was of opinion that the church might better, and with more ease make use of some more cominodious exposition of those words in the holy supper. And the bishop was of the minde that we ought to speake reverently of the holy supper, as did the auncient fathers, but that the opinion of transubstantiation might well be let alone. This thing also the same bishop Tonsall was wont to affirme both in words and writings, that Innocent the third knew not what he did when he put transubstantiation among the articles of faith; and he said that Innocentius wanted learned men about him; and indeed, (saith the bishop) if I had beene of his counsell, I make no doubt but I might have beene able to have dissuaded him from that resolution. When Mr. Chedsey said that the catholicks should doe well to give way in the article of transubstantiation, I heard not himselfe speak the words, but one which heard him tolde me. Whereas you write touching the imprisonment of him and others¹, truly I am of the opinion, that as for this present life, they live most quietly. Nor doe I think that themselves could have made choice of a more retired kinde of

¹ *The imprisonment of him and others.*] Comp. Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 142—8, edit. 2. *Life of Parker*, p. 89. 140—2.

life, if the sting of conscience trouble them not, for maintaining a cause that is not good, but built upon the sand. But if you will needes have it that man must of necessity connive at the beastly and abominable lives of so many Romane bishops, above thirty; you may also finde fault with our Saviour himselfe, for discovering so plainly the pernicious enormities, both of the Pharisees, (who in those times were accounted forsooth the holy fathers) and also of their fathers then dead: you may blame also the prophet Esay, who will not have evill men to be called good, denouncing a curse against that man, who calleth him holy that is not holy: find fault also with saint Bernard, who calleth them the ministers of antichrist. Those things which other godly men have written to this purpose, doe worthily excuse us. He blameth those things openly concerning which he confesseth that it is a shame to speake. I reveale not hidden things (saith he) but I reprove things publickely knowne: unto which thing we are even obliged by the commandement of God. (*Esai*, 58. 1.) *Shew my people their sinnes.*

“Whereas you say that five sacraments are rejected by us, you doe not say well, rejected, for wee use them reverently, according to the word of God; nor doe we take away² the name of the sacrament, as the word sacrament is generally used, as was the washing of feete, and many other things which may retaine the name of a sacrament in generall, as also they doe among the fathers. But the aunient fathers and some schoole-men doe affirme, that onely baptisme and the eucharist are properly called sacraments. It is also the testimony of Bessarion³. ‘We read’ (saith he) ‘of these two sacraments onely manifestly delivered in the gospels.’ I wonder at you that you doe so wrest the words of saint Paul to such a sence, as that out of those words all the

² *Nor doe we take away.*] Thus in the first book of homilies, *Against Swearing and Perjury*, p. 59, edit. 1802, matrimony is expressly styled a sacrament; “By like holy promise *the sacrament of matrimony* knitteth man and wife in perpetual love.” And again, speaking of the ordering of ministers, it is said, that “neither it nor *any other* sacrament else, be *such sacraments* as baptism and the communion are. But in a general acceptation, the name of a sacrament may be attributed to any thing, whereby an holy thing is signified.” p. 299.

³ *Bessarion.*] It will perhaps be difficult to find this quotation amongst the mass of cardinal Bessarion’s writings. The student will find a copious list of them in Fabricius’s *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. x. p. 402, edit. 1721; or in vol. xi. p. 424 of Harles’s edition.

ceremonies of the masse may be established : whereas you cannot be ignorant, that the greatest part of them hath ben added many ages after by the bishops of Rome. Wee reade also that the apostles consecrated with the words of the gospell, and with the Lords prayer. Moreover, whereas saint Paul had even at that time ordayned already, that the people should not only eate the bread with the minister (as his owne words doe manifestly proove) but also drinke of the cup, you see how these fellows have utterly robbed the church of that ordination of Christ and his apostles : but how justly, or by what good authority they have done thus, let themselves looke unto it, I could never in my reading find out the ground of that authority. I find the contrary ; to wit, that all men are altogether forbidden to alter any thing touching the word and will of God, delivered in the holy Scriptures.

“ You say that the Scriptures allow prayer for the dead, and that you know this well enough. Saint Hierom saith, that the booke of Macchabes is profitable for manners, not to establish doctrine. You alledge that saint Augustine doubted in many places whether there be a purgatorie. If that be a doubtfull poynt, then it is not to be obruded as an article of faith : but to be left indifferent. For, *faith is a substance* : (Heb. 11. 1.) and faith ought not to waver, saith saint James. The bishop of Rochester⁴ writeth concerning purgatory, that amongst the auncients, there was either little or no mention of it. And so long as there was no care taken for purgatorie, no man sought⁵ after indulgences. And so those innumerable gaynes by pardons were never knowne before purgatory was found. What shall we now say to bee meant by those wordes of saint Paul, *esteeming gayne godlines*, if this be not it ? This mart hath fed and still doth feed many idle bellyes, who stoutly drive away the word of God to the best of their ability, that they may not loose their swine. Howbeit at the last the truth shall prevail, however these men have conspired together.

“ As touching that which you adde concerning the invocation of saints, saint Augustine exhorteth us rather to stand to the Scriptures, then either to his writings, or the writings of others :

⁴ *The bishop of Rochester.*] Bishop Fisher.

⁵ *No man sought.*] See Hooker, book vi. c. 5. § 9. Works. vol. iii. p. 87—9. Keble's edit.

and not to build upon his writing without the authoritie of Scriptures. And surely in this poynt my conscience is resolved, that there is not one poynt of all these which are controverted, that is proved by more evident testimonyes of Scripture, then this, that God alone is to be prayed unto, and by one mediator, namely Jesus Christ. Rom. 10. 13. How shall they call on him in whome they have not beleaved? We must beleeve in God onely, therefore he onely is to bee prayed unto. That distinction touching invocation and advocation, that albeit you allow not the invocation of saints, at the least you allow their advocation, is frivolous: because as those men robb Christ of his honour, who seeke another mediator, so these are no lesse injurious to Christ, who seeke another advocate, because we have Christ an advocate with the father. (1 Joh. 2. 1.) and Esai. 63. affirmeth that *Abraham knoweth us not*. Truly I assure my selfe, that Abraham the father of the faithfull, is no lesse a saint, than any other of the saints in heaven. You say, you beleeve the communion of saints, which we also doe all of us beleeve: but you inferre thereupon, that you understand not how there can be a communion of saints, if the saints departed doe not pray for us, and we call upon them for assistance. But the church of Christ understandeth the communion of saints farre otherwise. For in the usuall phrase of Scripture, saints are not understood to be those that are departed, and whose soules are in heaven, but those who are living here on the earth. Nor shall you almost thorough the whole Scripture of the Old and New testament find the name of saint given to any man, but that thereby is understood a saint living heere on the earth. Yea, sometimes the Scripture speaketh more expressly, as in Psal. 16. 3: *to the saints which are on the earth: all my delight is in them*. If any man ever had or could have a communion with the saints in heaven, surely David had it. But he expoundeth the communion wherewith he was acquainted, that is the communion of saints on earth. So saint John expoundeth this poynt, 1 John 1. 3. *What we have seene and knowne that declare we unto you, that yee also may have communion with us, and that our communion may be with God, and with his son Jesus Christ*. First, all the church of Christ have communion with the apostolick church, *that you may have communion with us*. Secondly, this communion of saints shall consist in the preaching the word, and in the participation of diverse gifts for the edification of the church in publicke and private prayers. Thirdly, but in powering out of our prayers

we have communion with the Father and the Sonne, or with the Father by the Sonne. Heere is no mention at all, no respect had to the saints departed. This communion according to the words of holy Scripture extendeth no further then to the church on earth. The saints departed are not called in Scripture simply saints, but the *Congregation of the first borne in heaven, and the spirits of just and perfect men.* (Heb. 12. 23.) After this life we shall have communion with them, but as for those who require this communion with them in this life, let them either product from the Scripture what they say, or let them heare that sentence of our blessed Lord, *In vaine doe ye worship me, teaching for doctrines the traditions of men.* (Math. 15. 9.)

“I confesse that if you have respect to the use of this our age, or some former ones, the deceased are called saints; but it is not the custome of this or that age, but the rule of the holy Scripture that is propounded for our imitation.—But what doe we contending about this point? Those men who stand so hard for invocation of saints shall grant it us to be a thing indifferent: for indeed it is the safest way to goe to the fountaine of mercy it selfe, and let the streames alone. Nor suffer those men to perswade you, who say that they detract nothing from God, by directing their prayers to the saints: for no man can detract from God more than he who transferreth the worship due to God alone unto the creature. For invocation is a part of divine worship: and this worship hee communicateth to no creature, who will not give his glory to another.

“As for your arguments touching images, and fasting (which point of fasting God forbid that either I or any one should deny, yea rather we exhort all persons to the practice of it, onely we desire to have the superstition and wicked opinions remooved) together with those other arguments touching relicks and exorcisms in casting out uncleane spirits forsooth, which thing when it leadeth to idolatry is the signe of a false prophet: (Deut. 13.); although answer might be made to all these with much ease, yet because I now want leisure, as being over laden with imployments, in regard that I am destitute of a curate at this time, and have a very large parish to visite, and also my body is weak, and subject to faint with wearinesse, being worne out with paynes taking: therefore in all these respectes, I have thought it fitting to deferre mine answer to these points untill another time.

“If you be unwilling to come to Houghton upon Sunday next,

because you will not be an offence to my parishioners (in which case you cannot blame me if I appeare very carefull of my parishioners, in regard of the great charge laid upon me, for it is apparent in the times of the prophets, and in all succeeding ages since, that the vulgar people have been too prone to superstition, and a mischief doth increase easily, and creep further in one day, then good lessons in a whole moneth,) therefore, Sunday excepted (unlesse you will come up into the quire, which in my judgment you ought not to refuse), if you come straightwayes after the Sabbath day is ended, and depart about Saterdag noone, you shall be heartily welcome: therefore that excuse which you pretend ought not to retarde your accesse. And although your last conclusion doe (as I told you already) take away all hope and confidence from a man who shall conferre with you, yet I will not cease to hope better things touching your conversion then you seeme to hope of your selfe. Saint Paul had once a firm resolution to dye a pharisy, and a persecuter of Christians; but God had reserved for him the treasure of power and mercy, to the end that he might ordayne him to preach that glorious name which he had formerly persecuted. I commend you to the goodnes of the almightie God, which is able by the spirit of knowledge, to leade you into all truth. Fare ye well. From Houghton the 14 of October, 1580

“ Your loving uncle,

“ BERNARD GILPIN.”

So long as bishop Pilkinton lived, Mr. Gilpin had a most kind friend of him, after whose decease Richard Barnes succeeded⁶ in the bishopricke. This man was somewhat offended with Mr. Gilpin: and hereby hangeth a story which I must fetch somewhat farre. Mr. Gilpin was accustomed sometimes to ride to Oxford, especially in his younger time when he was able to endure travell. Now it happened upon a time as he was upon his way towards Oxford, that he espyed by the way side a youth one while walking and another while running. Mr. Gilpin demanded of him who he was, whence he came, and whither he was going. He made answer that he came out of Wales, and that

⁶ *Richard Barnes succeeded.*] He was elected to the see of Durham April 5th, 1577. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 347.

he was bound for Oxford with intent to be a scholler. Mr. Gilpin examineth the youth, and findeth him a prompt scholler in the Latine, and that he had a little smattering in the Greeke. "And wilt thou" (saith Mr. Gilpin) "be contented to goe with me? I will provide for thee." The youth was contented: whereupon Mr. Gilpin tooke him along with him first to Oxford, afterwards to Houghton, where he profited exceedingly both in Greeke and Hebrew: whom Mr. Gilpin at the last sent to Cambridge. And this was that famous Hugh Broughton so exceeding apt in learning the Greeke and Hebrew, but a man of a most inconstant nature. For when Mr. Gilpin grew olde, whether it was in expectation of Mr. Gilpins parsonage, or for some other cause, it is reported that he procured Mr. Gilpin to be troubled and molested by the bishop of Durham. Now so it fell out, that whiles the bishops minde began to be turned from Mr. Gilpin, the bishop sendeth unto him and giveth him notice that it is his pleasure to have him to preach at a visitation in time and place appointed. Which thing fell out at the very same instant when Mr. Gilpin was preparing for his accustomed northerne journey, to wit, amongst them of Riddesdale and Tindale: wherefore he dispatched his servant unto the bishop to make his excuse unto him, and to informe his lordship the reason of his purposed journey; and to intreat the bishop that he be pleased to appoint some other to preach at the visitation, seeing there were many who would be willing enough to preach at the visitation, but that there was not a man who would performe that duty among those borders if he neglected it: and that at any other time he would be ready to performe his duty. The servant having beene with the bishop returneth to his master, who demanded of him whether hee had made his excuse to the bishop: "I have," saith he. "Well, and what" (saith Mr. Gilpin) "was the bishops answer?" Whereunto the servant answered, the bishop made no reply, but held his peace. "*Qui tacet, consentire videtur*," saith Mr. Gilpin: "He that replyeth not seems to consent." Therefore Mr. Gilpin went on with his progresse. Which thing so soon as the bishop understood, he presently suspended Mr. Gilpin from all ecclesiastical imployment. Mr. Gilpin returning home findeth himselfe suspended, a thing that he little dreamed of, yet he tooke it patiently. The bishop having notice that Mr. Gilpin was returned home, sendeth unto him instantly, warning him to

meete him and the rest of the clergy at Chester¹. Mr. Gilpin being come to Chester findeth there the bishop with many of the clergy, who were all commanded to assemble themselves in the church. The bishop had at that time a brother of his owne one John Barnes who was his chancellour, a man, of whom it is hard to say whether he was more lustfull or more covetous: who whereas he should have beene the man that ought to have reformed many enormities in the diocesse, was indeed the authour of them, permitting base and dishonest persons to escape scot-free for a piece of money, so that the bishop had a very ill report every where. When they were all met together the bishop calleth Mr. Gilpin unto him, and saith, Mr. Gilpin, I must have you preach to day. Mr. Gilpin desired to be excused, "for I came not" (saith he) "provided; and moreover I am suspended." "But I can free you" (saith the bishop) "from that suspension, and doe now free you." Mr. Gilpin replied, that he durst not goe up into the pulpit unprovided. "But we know" (saith the bishop) "that you are never unprovided, for you have now gotten such an habit of preaching, that you are able to performe it, if you please, even upon the sodaine." Mr. Gilpin remained unmoovable in his resolution, answering that God was not so to be tempted, saying that it was well with him, if he were able to performe any thing in this kinde upon mature deliberation. Whereunto the bishop replied, "I command you upon your canonicall obedience to goe up into the pulpit forthwith." Mr. Gilpin delaying the time a little while, answered: "Well sir, seeing it can be none otherwise, your lordships will be done:" and after a little pause began his sermon. As hee was in his sermon hee observed some extraordinarily prepared who wrote all he spoke. But yet he proceedeth in his sermon, untill he came to a word of exhortation, and reprehension of vices. At the last he proceeded to the reproofe of those enormities which then rained in that diocesse, and were every where spoken of. And now, saith he, "Reverend father, my speech must be directed to your fatherhood. God hath exalted you to be bishop of this diocese, and God requireth an account of your government

¹ *At Chester.*] Chester le Street, between Durham and Newcastle. "A towne in the diocese of Durham, where the bishops of that see formerly resided." Gilpin's *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, p. 277.

thereof: a reformation of all those matters which are amisse in this church is expected at your hands, and an account thereof is required. And now lest perhaps, while it is apparant that so many enormities are committed every where, your lordship should make answer that you had no notice of them given you, neither did these things ever come to your knowledge," (which words Mr. Gilpin used, because hee knew well enough that this was the bishops usual answer, that whensoever men made any complaints against the evill government of the chancellor, the bishop was accustomed to say, alas, these things I never knew of: what is done can not be undone; I will take a better order in these matters hereafter, if any such shall come to my knowledge.) "Beholde," said Mr. Gilpin, "I bring these things to your knowledge this day: let not your lordship say these crimes have beene committed by the fault of others without your knowledge: for whatsoever either your self shall doe in person, or suffer through your connivency to be done by others, is wholly your owne. Therefore in the presence of God, his angels, and men, I pronounce your fatherhood to be the author of all those evils, yea, and in that strict day of the generall account I shall be a witnes to testifie against you that all these things have come to your knowledge by my means; and all these men shall beare witness hereof who have heard me speaking unto you this day." Now whiles that Mr. Gilpin thundered out these things, hee did thereby put all his friends into a great feare, and distrust what would become of him. Therefore when he had made an end of his sermon, his friends came about him and tolde him with teares, that now at last the bishop had gotten that advantage against him which hee had long desired and sought for. "You have," say they, "put a sword into his hand to slay you: if heretofore he hath beene offended with you without a cause, what may you now expect from him, who being provoked shall make use of his owne power to injure you by right or wrong?" To whom Mr. Gilpin made answer, saying: "Be not afraid: the Lord God overruleth us all: so that the truth may be propagated, and God glorified, Gods will be done concerning me." After the sermon they met all together at dinner, and all men were afraid that the bishop would have done Mr. Gilpin some shrewd turn for his sermon, and silently expected what would become of the matter. After dinner Mr. Gilpin commeth to the bishop to see him, and to take leave of him, and so to returne

homewards. "It shall not be so," said the bishop, "for I will bring you to your house:" And so Mr. Gilpin returned home in the company of the bishop.

And when they were now come to Mr. Gilpin's house, and walked within into the parlour, the bishop upon a sodaine caught Mr. Gilpin by the hand, and used these words upon him: "Father Gilpin, I acknowledge you are fitter to be bishop of Durham, then my selfe to be parson of this church of yours. I aske forgiveness for errours passed; forgive me, father: I know you have hatched up some chickens that now seeke to pick out your eyes; but so long as I shall live bishop of Durham, be secure, no man shall injure you." Mr. Gilpin's friends, that is all good men, began to rejoyce, and to give God thanks, acknowledging the powerfull hand of God, in that the bishop being so offended with him, was so prevented by the power of God, as that the thing which he had purposed for his disgrace, should turne to his greater credit. In the meane while Mr. Gilpin reaped the fruit of a pious life in all plentifull manner.

After that age began to grow upon him, there was in the towne of Newcastle one Genison who had received to home a sonne of his owne brothers lately returned from the parts beyond the seas. This Genison was much aggrieved for that his brothers sonne was (as he understood) made a jesuite: whereupon hee sent the young man to Mr. Gilpin, intreating him to have a care of him, and to dissuade him if he could possibly from his wicked and dangerous opinions. After that Mr. Gilpin had often conferred with him, he found the young fellow most insolently proud, and armed with boldnesse and impudence, corrupting the holy Scriptures with certaine new and unheard of expositions. Whereupon Mr. Gilpin wrote to his uncle Mr. Genison, that he was a most audacious young fellow, and came not to him to be instructed, but to teach him rather.

"The young fellow," saith he, "thinking I know not how, a great deal too well of himselfe, had an hope to draw me at these yeares, to acknowledge certaine absurdities. I see that the jesuites have found out certaine new expositions of Scripture never heard of heretofore: they cast away all respect, and set upon men with impudency. They dare prove the invocation of saints from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This fellow doth obstinately affirme that the church of Rome hath not erred in any one thing. Their most horrible errours touching indulgences, falsified miracles,

falsified reliques, pilgrimages, worshipping of images, and the rest of the same sort, all these this wonderful man findeth out in the gospel. And hee standeth upon it stiffely that all these things are good and holy. I desire not to have any more to doe with such a monstrous kinde of men, with such fierce natures, who open their mouthes against heaven; for what is it to open their mouthes against heaven, if this be not, so violently and disgracefully to handle the holy Scriptures? they have devised and daily doe devise horrible strange expositions, such as were never heard of before in the church of Rome. I therefore desire to rid mine hands of this fellow as of a scabbed sheepe, for feare he might infect my whole flocke."

After that his leane body was quite worne out^{*} with diversity of paines-taking, at the last even feeling before hand the approach of death, he commanded the poore to be called together, unto whom hee made a speech, and tooke his leave of them. Afterwards he did the like to others. He fell sick about the latter end of February, and after many exhortations used to the schollers, to his servants, and to divers others, at the last he fell asleep in the Lord in great peace, the fourth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1583, and in the 66 yeare of his age.

He was tall of stature, and slender, being hawke-nosed. His clothes were ever such as cost not very deare. He could never away with gay apparell. In things belonging to his owne body he was very frugall, and retained the austerity of the auncient. In things which might tend to the good of others he was exceeding bountifull, especially towards poore people and schollers. He desired still to keep his dores open[°] for the entertainment of any

^{*} *Quite worne out.*] "While he was thus struggling with an advanced age, and impaired constitution, he met with an accident, which entirely destroyed his health. As he was crossing the market-place at Durham, an ox ran at him, and pushed him down with such violence, that it was imagined the bruises he received would have occasioned his death. He lay long confined; and though he again got abroad, he never recovered even the little strength he had before, and continued lame as long as he lived. But accidents of this kind were no very formidable trials to a mind so well tempered as his. It was a persuasion he had long entertained, that misfortunes are intended by Providence to remind us of our neglected duty: and thus he always used them, making self-examination the constant attendant upon whatever calamities befel him. To this it was owing that he was never dejected by misfortunes: but received them rather with thankfulness than repining." *Gilpin's Life of Bernard Gilpin*, p. 296.

[°] *To keep his dores open.*] "Strangers and travellers found a chearful

poore, or stranger. In his owne house he boorded and kept at the most foure and twenty schollers, sometimes fewer, but seldome. The greater number of his boorders were poore mens sonnes, upon whom he bestowed meat, drink, and cloth, and education in learning. He was wont to enterteine his parishioners and strangers at his table not onely at the Christmas time, as the custome is, but because he had a large and wide parish, and a great multitude of people, he kept a table for them every Sunday from Michaelmas to Easter. He had the gentlemen, the husbandmen, and the poorer sort set every degree by themselves, and as it were ordered in ranks. He was wont to commend the marryed estate in the clergy, howbeit himselfe lived and dyed a single man. He bestowed in the building, ordering and establishing of his schoole, and in providing yearly stipends for a schoole-master and an usher, the full summe of five hundred pounds: out of which schoole he supplied the church of England with great store of learned men. He was carefull to avoid not onely all evill doing, but even the lightest suspicions thereof. And he was accounted a saint in the judgements of his very enemies if he had any such. Being full of faith unfeigned, and of good workes, he was at the last put into his grave as a heap of wheat in due time swept into the garner.

reception. All were welcome that came: and even their beasts had so much care taken of them, that it was humorously said, 'If a horse was turned loose in any part of the country, it would immediately make its way to the rector of Houghton's.'" Gilpin's *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, p. 284.

"Whatever (says the same writer) "becomes of the notion of the soul's transmigration, one would imagine, however, that Mr. Gilpin's example at least had its influence upon the rectors of Houghton; for perhaps few parishes in England can boast such a succession of worthy pastors, as that parish can since Mr. Gilpin's death." p. 314.

We may believe that the influence of this good man's example did not stop here. His amiable biographer himself, it is well known, spent a long life, distinguished by purity of manners, useful learning, deeds of charity and piety, and an apostolical zeal in the discharge of his duties as a preacher of the gospel. His good works in *kind* as well as degree, and some of the circumstances of his life, can hardly fail to call back, to those who are at all acquainted with the particulars, the memory of Bernard Gilpin: to whom perhaps he was very little inferior, excepting in so far as his powers of doing good were limited by a less portion of the gifts of fortune.

RICHARD HOOKER.

To the churches of the *Roman* communion we can say that ours is *reformed*: to the *Reformed* churches we can say that ours is orderly and decent; for, we were freed from the impositions and lasting errors of a *tyrannical* spirit, and yet from the extravagancies of a *popular* spirit too. Our reformation was done without tumult, and yet we saw it necessary to reform; we were zealous to cast away the old errors, but our zeal was balanced with consideration and the results of authority: not like women or children when they are affrighted with fire in their clothes: we shook off the coal indeed, but not our garments, lest we should have exposed our churches to that nakedness which the excellent men of our sister churches complained to be among themselves.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Life of HOOKER, written by Izaak Walton, was first published, separately, in the year 1665 (which is the date in the title page,) or rather at the latter end of the year 1664. It is here printed, as are the Lives of Donne, Wotton, and Herbert, from the fourth edition of the year 1675. Dr. Zouch informs us that he has thought it “expedient to deviate from the edition of 1675 in the Life of Mr. Hooker, by adopting that which was last revised by Walton, and is prefixed to Hooker’s Works printed at London in 1723, and at Oxford in 1793, yet without admitting those passages which Mr. Strype has introduced into the text.” It is to be regretted that in this deviation so much deference was paid to Mr. Strype’s example. The preference was an unlucky one. For the copy which Strype prefixed to Hooker’s Works in 1723, was no other than the first edition of 1665, or rather perhaps, that which was prefixed to Hooker’s Works in 1666, and wanted, therefore, the corrections and improvements which were introduced by the author in his subsequent revisions.—In the present edition, the additions introduced by Mr. Strype are retained. They tend considerably to illustrate Hooker’s opinions respecting some important points of doctrine; and to exhibit in its true colours the character of that great and good man.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

GEORGE¹,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

MY LORD,

I DID, some years past, present you with a plain relation of the life of Mr. RICHARD HOOKER, that humble man, to whose memory princes and the most learned of this nation have paid a reverence at the mention of his name.—And, now, with Mr. Hooker's I present you also the Life of that pattern of primitive piety, Mr. GEORGE HERBERT; and with his, the Life of Dr. DONNE, and your friend Sir HENRY WOTTON, all reprinted.—The two first were written under your roof; for which reason, if they were worth it, you might justly challenge a dedication: and indeed, so you might of Dr. Donne's, and Sir Henry Wotton's: because, if I had been fit for this undertaking, it would not have been acquired learning or study; but the advantage of forty years friendship, and thereby the hearing and discoursing with your lordship, that hath enabled me to make the relation of these lives passable (if they prove so) in an eloquent and captious age.

And indeed, my lord, though these relations be well-meant sacrifices to the memory of these worthy men; yet, I have so little confidence in my performance, that I beg pardon for superscribing your name to them; and desire all that know your lord-

¹ George.] George Morley, who had previously been dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and bishop of Worcester.

ship, to apprehend this not as a dedication, (at least by which you receive any addition of honour ;) but rather, as an humble, and a more public acknowledgment of your long-continued, and your now daily favours to,

My Lord,

Your most affectionate

and most humble servant,

IZAAC WALTON.

TO THE READER.

THOUGH the several introductions to these several lives have partly declared the reasons how and why I undertook them; yet, since they are come to be reviewed, and augmented, and reprinted; and the four are now become one book; I desire leave to inform you that shall become my reader, that when I sometimes look back upon my education and mean abilities, it is not without some little wonder at myself, that I am come to be publicly in print. And though I have in those Introductions declared some of the accidental reasons that occasioned me to be so; yet, let me add this to what is there said; that, by my undertaking to collect some notes for sir Henry Wotton's writing the life of Dr. Donne, and by sir Henry's dying before he performed it, I became like those men that enter easily into a law-suit, or a quarrel, and having begun, cannot make a fair retreat and be quiet, when they desire it.—And really, after such a manner I became engaged into a necessity of writing the life of Dr. Donne, contrary to my first intentions: and that begot a like necessity of writing the life of his and my ever-honoured friend, sir Henry Wotton.

And having writ these two lives, I lay quiet twenty years, without a thought of either troubling myself or others, by any new engagement in this kind, for I thought I knew my unfitness. But about that time Dr. Gauden² (then lord bishop of Exeter) published the life of Mr. Richard Hooker, (so he called it) with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him and his books, that dis-

² *Dr. Gauden.*] This life was prefixed to "the works of Mr. Richard Hooker in eight books of ecclesiastical polity, now compleated, as with the sixth and eighth, so with the seventh, out of his own manuscripts, never before published, 1662." Folio.

coursing of them with his grace, Gilbert [Sheldon] that is now lord archbishop of Canterbury, he enjoined me to examine some circumstances, and then rectify the bishop's mistakes, by giving the world a fuller and a truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books than that bishop had done: and I know I have done so. And, let me tell the reader, that till his grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not admit a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it: but when he had twice enjoined me to it, I then declined my own, and trusted his judgment, and submitted to his commands; concluding that if I did not, I could not forbear accusing myself of disobedience; and indeed of ingratitude for his many favours. Thus I became engaged into the third life.

For the life of that great example of holiness Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a free-will offering, that it was writ chiefly to please myself; but yet not without some respect to posterity; for though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected, or lost, if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us: for I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of men's virtuous actions than tradition, especially as it is managed in this age. And I am also to tell the reader, that though this life of Mr. Herbert was not by me writ in haste, yet I intended it a review before it should be made public: but that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when it was printing; so that the reader may find in it some mistakes, some double expressions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not justly chargeable upon me but the printer: and yet I hope none so great as may not by this confession purchase pardon from a good-natured reader.

And now, I wish that as that learned Jew Josephus and others, so these men had also writ their own lives: but since it is not the fashion of these times, I wish their relations or friends would do it for them, before delays make it too difficult. And I desire this the more, because it is an honour due to the dead, and a generous debt due to those that shall live, and succeed us; and would to them prove both a content and satisfaction. For, when the next age shall (as this does) admire the learning and clear reason which that excellent casuist doctor Sanderson (the

late bishop of Lincoln) hath demonstrated in his sermons and other writings; who, if they love virtue, would not rejoice to know that this good man was as remarkable for the meekness and innocence of his life, as for his great and useful learning; and indeed, as remarkable for his fortitude, in his long and patient suffering (under them that then called themselves the Godly Party) for that doctrine, which he had preached and printed, in the happy days of the nation's and the church's peace: and who would not be content to have the like account of doctor Field's that great schoolman, and others of noted learning? And though I cannot hope that my example or reason can persuade to this undertaking, yet I please myself that I shall conclude my preface, with wishing that it were so.

I. W.

³ *Account of doctor Field.*] Le Neve, in the year 1716, edited "Some short Memorials concerning the Life of that reverend divine Doctor Richard Field, the learned author of Five Books of the Church; written by his son Nathaniel Field, rector of Stourton in the countie of Wilts," creditable to the memory of the father, and the filial piety of the son; but yet not extensive enough to preclude the wish for a more detailed narrative of the life of so eminent and amiable a man.

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• THE COPY OF A
LETTER WRIT TO MR. IZAAC WALTON,
BY DOCTOR KING⁴,
LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

HONEST IZAAC,
THOUGH a familiarity of more than forty years continuance and the constant experience of your love even in the worst of the late sad times, be sufficient to endear our friendship; yet, I must confess my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private respect to many that know and love you, but by your new demonstration of a public spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful collection of so many material passages as you have now afforded me in the life of venerable Mr. Hooker; of which, since desired by such a friend as yourself, I shall not deny to give the testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned books: but, shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in choosing to write the lives of three such persons, as posterity hath just cause to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen; of all which I shall give you my unfeigned censure.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable friend, Dr. Donne, late dean of St. Paul's church, who not only trusted me as his executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands those excellent sermons of his now made public; pro-

⁴ *Doctor King.*] Henry King, dean of Rochester, son of John King, bishop of London; consecrated bishop of Chichester 19th Dec. 1641: died in 1669.

fessing before Dr. Winiff, Dr. Montford, and, I think, yourself, then present at his bed side, that it was by my restless importunity, that he had prepared them for the press; together with which (as his best legacy) he gave me all his sermon-notes, and his other papers, containing an extract of near fifteen hundred authors. How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the messenger for them, and how lost both to me and yourself, not now reasonable to complain: but, since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general demonstration of his worth was so fairly preserved, and represented to the world by your pen in the history of his life; indeed so well, that beside others, the best critic of our latter time (Mr. John Hales of Eaton college) affirmed to me, "he had not seen a life written with more advantage to the subject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. Donne."

After the performance of this task for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for our friend sir Henry Wotton: betwixt which two there was a friendship begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendship of age: and doubtless this excellent person had writ the life of Dr. Donne, if death had not prevented him; by which means his and your pre-collections for that work fell to the happy manage of your pen: a work which you would have declined, if imperious persuasions had not been stronger than your modest resolutions against it. And I am thus far glad, that the first life was so imposed upon you, because it gave an unavoidable cause of writing the second: if not, it is too probable, we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all lovers of honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend sir Henry without this testimony added to your's; that he was a man of as florid a wit and as elegant a pen, as any former (or ours which in that kind is a most excellent) age hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary observation of our two deceased friends, I proceed to satisfy your desire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was *schismaticorum malleus*, so great a champion for the church of England's rights against the factious torrent of separatists, that then ran high against church discipline: and in his unanswerable books continues to be so against the unquiet disciples of their schism, which now under other names still carry on their design;

and who (as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would again rake into the scarce closed wounds of a newly bleeding State and Church.

And first, though I dare not say that I knew Mr. Hooker; yet, as our ecclesiastical history reports to the honour of St. Ignatius that he lived in the time of St. John, and had seen him in his childhood; so, I also joy that in my minority I have often seen Mr. Hooker with my father⁵, who was after bishop of London; from whom, and others, at that time, I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the history of his life; and, from my father received such a character of his learning, humility, and other virtues, that like jewels of invaluable price, they still cast such a lustre as envy or the rust of time shall never darken.

From my father I have also heard all the circumstances of the plot to defame him; and how sir Edwin Sandys outwitted his accusers and gained their confession; and I could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the same grave with the malicious authors.

I may not omit to declare, that my fathers knowledge of Mr. Hooker was occasioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer, who after the death of Mr. Hooker was so careful to preserve his invaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of Ecclesiastical Polity, and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi college, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers; many of which were imperfect, for his study had been rifled, or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another, of principles too like his; but, these papers were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend Dr. Spencer, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father, after whose death they rested on my hand, till Dr. Abbot, then archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, by authorizing Dr. John Barkeham to require, and bring them to him to his palace in Lambeth; at which time, I have heard, they were put in the bishops library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of archbishop Laud, and were then, by the brethren of that faction given, with all the library, to Hugh Peters⁶, as a reward for

⁵ *My father.*] John King, dean of Christ Church, Oxford; elected bishop of London, 7 Sept. 1611, and 30 March 1621.

⁶ *Hugh Peters.*] "To this account of what was once intended or expected to augment the grandeur and utility of the Lambeth treasures, may be added

his remarkable service in those sad times of the church's confusion: and though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet, there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language for which the faction then fought, which indeed was to subject the sovereign power to the people.

But I need not strive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular: his known loyalty to his prince whilst he lived, the sorrow expressed by king James at his death, the value our late sovereign (of ever-blessed memory) put upon his works, and now, the singular character of his worth by you given in the passages of his life, especially in your appendix to it, do sufficiently clear him from that imputation: and I am glad you mention how much value Thomas Stapleton, pope Clement the VIII., and other eminent men of the Romish persuasion, have put upon his books; having been told the same in my youth by persons of worth that have travelled Italy.

Lastly, I must again congratulate this undertaking of your's, as now more proper to you than any other person, by reason of your knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers (my old friends also) who have been men of noted wisdom, especially Mr. George Cranmer, whose prudence added to that of sir Edwin Sandys, proved very useful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchless books; one of their letters I herewith send you, to

the notice of another loss in the dispersion of part of Archbishop Laud's collections. The benefactions of this primate to the Bodleian library, and to St. John's College, Oxford, are well known. But his entire library of books and manuscripts in this palace was plundered, according to Dr. Duca-rel's account, by colonel Scott in 1644; and as the journals of the House of Commons relate, "*books to the amount of £100 were bestowed upon Hugh Peters out of the archbishop's private library: and the said study being appraised at above £40 more than the £100, it was ordered, that Mr. Peters shall have the whole study of books freely bestowed upon him.*" There was indeed an order of parliament in May, 1660, "That all books and papers heretofore belonging to the library of the archbishop of Canterbury, and now, or lately, in the hands of Mr. Hugh Peters, be forthwith secured," but after the grant of them to such a man, and after such a lapse of time, how could the order prove entirely effectual? The benefactions to Oxford had fortunately reached their destination, before the fury of civil war subjected the palace of Lambeth to military devastation, and consigned to ignorance and knavery what had been amassed for wisest purposes by learning and liberality. From the Preface to Archdeacon Todd's excellent *Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts at Lambeth Palace*. Fol. 1812. Of this volume, a lasting record of the munificence of his grace the late archbishop [Manners-Sutton], it is only to be regretted that so few copies were printed and distributed.

make use of, if you think fit. And let me say further; you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's best friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned archbishop Whitgift, of whose incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more short and significant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much⁷ for the learned sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongst the surviving monuments of whose learning (give me leave to tell you so) two are omitted; his edition of Euclid, but especially his translation of king James's Apology for the oath of allegiance into elegant Latin; which flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the pope and conclave sent to Salamanca unto Franciscus Suarez (then residing there as president of that college) with a command to answer it. And it is worth noting, that when he had perfected the work, which he calls *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ*, it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the inquisitors; who according to their custom blotted out what they pleased, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been used since his death) added whatsoever might advance the pope's supremacy, or carry on their own interest: commonly coupling together *deponere et occidere*, the deposing, and then killing of princes. Which cruel and unchristian language Mr. John Saltkel, the amanuensis to Suarez, when he wrote that answer, (but since a convert, and living long in my father's house,) often professed, the good old man (whose piety and charity Mr. Saltkel magnified much) not only disavowed, but detested. Not to trouble you further: your reader, if (according to your desire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will here find *many* just reasons to thank you for it; and possibly for this circumstance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend *one* to thank him, who heartily wishes your happiness, and is unfeignedly,

Sir,

Your ever-faithful and

affectionate old friend,

HENRY CHICHESTER.

Chichester, Novem. 17, 1664.

⁷ *You have done much.*] This has been understood to imply that Walton had composed a distinct life of sir Henry Savile: and accordingly search has been made for the manuscript; but in vain. I apprehend that the bishop only refers, as in the like case of Whitgift, to the commendations pronounced upon sir Henry, in the *Life of Hooker*.

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded, by a friend* whom I reverence, and ought to obey, to write the Life of RICHARD HOOKER, the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. And, though I have undertaken it, yet, it hath been with some unwillingness; because, I foresee that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to enquire, consider, research, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him: for, I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death, now sixty-four years past; but, almost fifty years beyond that; even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence such observations and prognosticks, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the compleating of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee; and foresee also, that it is impossible to escape censures; against which, I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I consider the age in which I live) and shall therefore but intreat of my reader a suspension of his censures, till I have made known unto him some reasons, which I myself would now gladly believe do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: and, if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity, and this is all I can probably hope for.

My reasons follow.

About forty years past, (for I am now past the seventy of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer (now with God) grand nephew unto the great archbishop of that name, a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters, I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was

* *By a friend.*] Gilbert Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury. See Epistle to the Reader above, p. 448.

the wife of Dr. Spencer⁹, a bosom-friend, and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus-Christi college in Oxford, and after president of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in this following discourse; as also George Cranmer their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony, than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Cambden, and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two forenamed sisters, had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship with Mr. Hooker; and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishops-Borne near Canterbury, in which city their good father then lived. They had (I say) a part of their education with him, as myself since that time a happy cohabitation with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the reverend Dr. Usher, the late learned archbishop of Armagh, and with Dr. Morton, the late learned and charitable bishop of Durham; as also with the learned John Hales of Eaton-college; and with them also (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him: and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But, though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet, my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the compleating of what I intend: in the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.

⁹ *Wife of Dr. Spencer.*] This alliance is omitted in the pedigree prefixed to archdeacon Todd's *Life of Cranmer*.

RICHARD HOOKER.

IT is not to be doubted but that Richard Hooker was born at Heavy-tree, near, or within the precincts, or in the city of Exeter; a city which may justly boast, that it was the birthplace of him, and sir Thomas Bodley; as indeed the county may in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with bishop Jewel, sir Francis Drake, sir Walter Raleigh, and many others, memorable for their valour and learning. He was born about the year of our redemption 1553, and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony; and that nature is not so partial, as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government, to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth¹.

¹ *And honourable birth.*] In the year 1540 the cathedral church at Canterbury was changed from a monastery into a corporation of secular clergy, dean and prebendaries, with choristers and scholars attached; and when they came to elect the children into the grammar-school, several of the commissioners would have none admitted but sons of gentlemen. To this, archbishop Cranmer being of a contrary mind said,

“That he thought it not indifferent so to order the matter. For, said he, poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are the gifts of God, as with eloquence, memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety, and such like, and also commonly more apt to apply their study, than is the gentleman's son delicately educated.—Hereunto it was on the other part replied: That it was meet for the ploughman's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply the trade of his parent's vocation: and the gentleman's children are meet to have the knowledge of government and rule in the commonwealth. For we have, said they, as much need of ploughmen, as of any other state: and all sorts of men may not go to

His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty) was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet, his motion was slow even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but an humble gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed (so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time) that at his being a school-boy he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive, "Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered? Why this was granted, and that denied?" This being mixt with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature, and with them a quick apprehension of many perplext parts of learning imposed upon him as a scholer, made his master and others believe him to have an inward blessed divine light, and therefore to consider him to be a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better age.

This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at school, till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

school.—I grant, replied the archbishop, much of your meaning herein, as needful in a commonwealth; but yet utterly to exclude the ploughman's son, and the poor-man's son from the benefit of learning, as though they were unworthy to have the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them, as well as upon others, is as much as to say that almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person, or any where else, but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed, according to our fancy, and not according to his most godly will and pleasure who giveth his gifts both of learning and other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states of people indifferently. Even so doth He many times withdraw from them and their posterity again those beneficial gifts, if they be not thankful. . . . Wherefore if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor-man's child that is apt enter his room." *Styripe's Life of Cranmer*, p. 89, 90.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child ; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved so it should be. And in the mean time, his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the seeds of piety, those conscientious principles of loving and fearing God ; of an early belief, that He knows the very secrets of our souls ; that He punisheth our vices, and rewards our innocence ; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is caught in his own snare. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour both with God and man ; which, with the great learning that he did after attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good schoolmaster, whose name I am not able to recover (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar) was very solicitous with John Hooker, then chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the university, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some college, though it were but in a mean degree ; still urging and assuring him, that his charge would not continue long, for the lad's learning, and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of ; and, that doubtless God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise, that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed by him, and with the assistance of the learned Mr. John Jewel ; of whom this may be noted, that he left, or was about the first of queen Mary's reign, expelled out of Corpus-Christi college in Oxford (of which he was a fellow) for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which he had assented and given testimony in the days of her brother and predecessor Edward the

sixth: and this John Jewel having within a short time after a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; and with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship, for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of queen Mary, the affairs of the church and state did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and with him many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of queen Elizabeth; in which year, this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor² of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he was born: and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

About the second or third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good, and to oblige his friends, and now a power added to this willingness; this John Hooker gave him a visit in Salisbury, "and besought him for charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar, but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the bishop would therefore become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes." And though the bishop knew, men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him about Easter next following at that place; which was done accordingly; and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning and gravity, and behaviour, the bishop gave his schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents: promising also, to take him into his care for a future preferment, which he performed; for, about the fifteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was by the bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole³ then president

² Or *visitor*.] See above, *Life of Jewel*, p. 349, and *Life of Gilpin*, p. 419.

³ *Dr. Cole*.] William Cole; see Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* Bliss's edition.

of Corpus-Christi college: which he did; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds) and a clerk's place in that college: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron the good bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb; who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months: all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as Monica the mother of St. Augustine did that he might become a true Christian; and, their prayers were both so heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, "and as often pray that he might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a mother; of whom, he would often say, he loved her so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good even as much for hers, as for his own sake."

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends. And at the bishop's parting with him, the bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him, and at Richard's return, the bishop said to him, "Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse, which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God with much ease," and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany; and he said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me

at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter ; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send her a bishops benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more to carry you on foot to the college ; and so God bless you, good Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But, alas ! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which happy change may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer, and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, whether his last ejaculations, or his soul, did first enter into heaven.

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear ; of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron ; and of fear, for his future subsistence. But Dr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him he should neither want food nor raiment (which was the utmost of his hopes) for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, and not longer ; for about that time, this following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys (sometime bishop of London, and after archbishop of York) had also been in the days of queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation ; where for some years bishop Jewell and he were companions at bed and board in Germany : and, where in this their exile they did often eat the bread of sorrow ; and by that means they there began such a friendship, as lasted till the death of bishop Jewel, which was in September 1571. A little before which time, the two bishops meeting, Jewel had an occasion to begin a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though bishop Sandys was educated at Cambridge, where he had obliged and had many friends ; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus-Christi college in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was not much younger than Mr. Hooker then was : for, the bishop said, " I will have a tutor for my son that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example ; and my greatest care shall be of the last ; and

(God willing) this Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose hands I will commit my Edwin." And the bishop did so about twelve months, or not much longer after this resolution.

And doubtless as to these two a better choice could not be made: for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age, had spent five in the university, and had by a constant unwearied diligence attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted studies, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers; so that by these added to his great reason, and his restless industry added to both, he did not only know more of causes and effects, but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils (which in time were many) but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer; of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for Mr. Hooker's learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies this still remains of him, that in four years, he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers; and that his behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God: and for that to man, it is observable that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires: never heard to repine or dispute with providence, but by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and, thus this

good man continued till his death, still increasing in learning, in patience and piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age, he was, December 24, 1573, admitted to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation, being elected and so admitted as born in Devon or Hampshire, out of which counties, a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's statutes. And now, as he was much encouraged, so now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had cardinal Poole, but more, that it had bishop Jewell, doctor John Reynolds, and doctor Thomas Jackson of that foundation: the first famous for his learned Apology of the church of England, and his defence of it against Harding. The second, for the learned and wise menage of a public dispute with John Hart (of the Romish persuasion) about the head and faith of the church, and after printed by consent⁴ of both parties.

⁴ Printed by consent.] It is intitled, "*The summe of the conference betweene John Rainoldes and John Hart: touching the Head and the Faith of the Church: penned by John Rainoldes, according to the notes set downe in writing by them both; perused by John Hart, and, after things supplied, and altered, as he thought good, allowed for the faithful report of that which past in conference betweene them. 1598.*" 4to. In the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, a copy of this conference is still extant in manuscript, No. 402, signed JOHN HART.

Of this Dr. John Reynolds, and his brother William, it is told, that in their youth, being of different religions, John a papist, and William a protestant, and debating the matter together with a warmth compounded, as we may easily suppose, of the controversial zeal of their times, and a brotherly solicitude for each other's spiritual welfare, they interchanged opinions; John became a zealous protestant, William as zealous a papist; and they were both, on their several sides, distinguished for their controversial performances. "All this while" (says Fuller) "this our John Reinolds was well affected to the Romish religion, and his brother William Reinolds earnest for reformation; which difference in judgment proved a fireball of contention between them, and engaged them in a strange duel, much like to that of Eteocles and Polynices, wherein both conquered one the other, yet neither enjoyed the victory, nor kept his prisoner; for John Reinolds, who before was a papist, by these bickerings became a zealous protestant, and William Reinolds, who before had been a zealous protestant, became a Jesuited papist, and wrote most pestilent books against the church and state. Of these, *bella plusquam civilia*, among brethren, W. A. a learned divine, thus elegantly discourseth in English and Latin verses:

"*Bella inter geminos plusquam civilia fratres,*" &c.

Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 478, edit. 1651.

And, the third, for his most excellent Exposition of the Creed, and other treatises: all, such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning: nor was doctor Jackson more note-worthy for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and meekness and charity to all men.

And in the year 1576, Febr. 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for inceptor of arts, Dr. Herbert Westphaling^s, a man of note for learning, being then vice-chancellor. And the act following he was compleated master, which was anno 1577, his patron doctor Cole being vice-chancellor that year, and his dear friend Henry Savill of Merton college being then one of the proctors. It was that Henry Savill, that was after sir Henry Savill, warden of Merton college, and provost of Eaton: he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance.

It was that sir Henry Savill, that translated and enlightened the history of Cornelius Tacitus with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of S. Chrysostome, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this sir Henry Savill, that had the happiness to be a contemporary, and familiar friend to Mr. Hooker; and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was so happy as to be admitted fellow of the college; happy also in being the contemporary and friend of that Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after, and successively, made presidents of Corpus-Christi college; men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations. Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupillage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his *Speculum Europæ*, as his brother George for making posterity beholden to his pen, by a learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels, and, for his harmonious translation of the psalms of David, the book of Job, and other poetical parts of Holy Writ, into most high and elegant verse. And for Cranmer,

^s Westphaling.] Afterwards bishop of Hereford.

his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Cambden, of Fines Morrison⁶, and others.

'This Cranmer' (says Mr. Cambden in his Annals of queen Elizabeth) 'whose Christian name was George, was a gentleman of singular hopes, the eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund Cranmer, the archbishop's brother: he spent much of his youth in Corpus-Christi college in Oxford, where he continued master of arts for some time before he removed, and then betook himself to travel, accompanying that worthy gentleman sir Edwin Sandys into France, Germany, and Italy, for the space of three years; and after their happy return he betook himself to an employment under secretary Davison⁷, a privy-counsellor of note, who for an unhappy undertaking⁸, became clouded and pitied; after whose fall, he went in place of secretary with sir Henry Killegrew⁹ in his embassy into France: and after his death he was sought after by the most noble lord Mount-Joy¹, with whom he went into Ireland, where he remained until in a battle against the rebels, near Carlingford², an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him; he being then but in the 36th year of his age.'

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils, there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth, and in an university, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not: and in this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity they went on for many years; and as the holy prophet saith, so *they took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of*

⁶ Morrison.] Or Moryson, the author of the well known *Itinerary*. He was secretary to Lord Mountjoy.

⁷ Secretary Davison.] Whose sister Anne had married John Carpenter, maternal uncle to this Cranmer.

⁸ An unhappy undertaking.] The death of Mary, queen of Scots, of which the blame was thrown on him by Elizabeth to clear herself. "Venturing between the honor and safety of his sovereign he was ground to nothing betwixt the fear of one party and the shame of the other." Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 625.

⁹ Sir Henry Killegrew.] One of Lord Burghley's brothers-in-law and much employed in embassies.

¹ Lord Mount-Joy.] Charles Blount, afterwards created earl of Devonshire.

² Carlingford.] 13th Nov. 1600.

God as friends. By which means they improved this friendship to such a degree of holy amity, as bordered upon heaven : a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in that next where it shall have no end.

And, though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship ; yet, obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, manners, laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns, and leave the college and Mr. Hooker to his studies ; in which he was daily more assiduous ; still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and school-men ; and with them, the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil ; and indeed, with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies. And as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's spirit revealed to mankind in the sacred Scripture : for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same spirit with which they were written ; *He that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly.* And the good man would often say, that God abhors confusion as contrary to his nature ; and as often say, that the Scripture was not writ to beget disputations, and pride, and opposition to government ; but, charity and humility, moderation, obedience to authority, and peace to mankind ; of which virtues, he would as often say, no man did ever repent himself on his death-bed. And, that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as music and poetry : all which he had digested, and made useful : and of all which, the reader will have a fair testimony, in what will follow.

In the year 1579, the chancellor of the university was given to understand, that the public Hebrew lecture was not read according to the statutes ; nor could be, by reason of a distemper that had then seized the brain of Mr. Kingsmill, who was to read it ; so that, it lay long unread, to the great detriment of those that were studious of that language : therefore, the chancellor writ to his vice-chancellor, and the university, that he had heard such commendations of the excellent knowledge of Mr. Richard Hooker in that tongue, that he desired he might be pro-

cured to read it: and he did, and continued to do so, till he left Oxford.

Within three months after his undertaking this lecture (namely in October 1579,) he was with Dr. Reynolds, and others expelled his college; and this letter transcribed from Dr. Reynolds's own hand, may give some account of it.

To sir Francis Knolles.

"I am sorry, right honourable, that I am enforced to make unto you such a suit, which I cannot move, but I must complain of the unrighteous dealing of one of our college; who hath taken upon him against all law and reason, to expel out of our house, both me and Mr. Hooker, and three other of our fellows, for doing that which by oath we were bound to do. Our matter must be heard before the bishop of Winchester, with whom I do not doubt, but we shall find equity. Howbeit, forasmuch as some of our adversaries have said, that the bishop is already forestalled, and will not give such audience as we look for: therefore I am humbly to beseech your honour, that you will desire the bishop, by your letters, to let us have justice; though it be with rigour, so it be justice: our cause is so good, that I am sure we shall prevail by it. Thus much I am bold to request of your honour for Corpus-Christi college sake, or rather for Christ's sake: whom I beseech to bless you with daily encrease of his manifold gifts, and the blessed graces of his holy spirit.

"Your honour's

"in Christ to command,

"JOHN REYNOLDS."

"*London, Octob. 9. 1579.*"

This expulsion was by Dr. John Barfoote, then vice-president of the college, and chaplain to Ambrose³ earl of Warwick. I cannot learn the pretended cause; but, that they were restored the same month is most certain.

I return to Mr. Hooker in his college, where he continued his studies with all quietness, for the space of three years; about which time, he entered into sacred orders, being then made deacon

³ *Ambrose.*] Ambrose Dudley, brother to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester.

and priest ; and, not long after, was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross ⁴.

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamites house ; which is a house so called, for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after his sermon ⁵. This house was then kept by John Churchman, some-

⁴ *At St. Paul's Cross.*] "In the elder ages, in some places, before they had a church built, our Christian ancestors, instead of a church, were content to perform divine service under a cross, in some open and convenient place : and from hence we may take liberty to reflect upon the original of the service at St. Paul's Cross in London ; and that the rather, in regard the industrious surveyor of London's antiquities (Stowe's Survey, fol. 357) professeth that the original or antiquity of Paul's Cross was to him unknown." Staveley's *History of Churches in England*, p. 102.

"The fellows of Corpus Christi College in Oxford are obliged by their own statutes to preach at Paul's Cross, or at St. Peter's in Oxford, in Lent, before they can be admitted to the degree of bachelor in divinity. There were no sermons preached before the university at the time of the foundation of Corpus Christi College but in Lent. The university church is of a later date." Zouch's edition, 4to, p. 225.

⁵ *After his sermon.*] This account is satisfactorily illustrated by a passage in a sermon preached at the Cross, not long after Hooker's death, by Sam. Collins, B.D. fellow of King's College, Cambridge ; afterwards provost, and regius professor of divinity.

"We must speak therefore a word or two, of the worthy contributors to the performers of the duty, which is weekly here accomplished throughout the year, and I, for my part, have now laboured to discharge." He then commemorates Aylmer, bishop of London, Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, and Thomas Russell, citizen of London, as the benefactors to whom the institution was indebted for its establishment and support ; after which he proceeds thus :

"All these that I have mentioned had this care and respect that the feet of the saints should not be unwashed with Abraham, specially those saints that bring with them the glad tidings of peace, and fly unto the windows with their dove-like murmurings, as Isaiah speaketh ; that the fighters of the Lord's battles should be refreshed with a competency of bread and wine, meeting them in the half way, as Melchisedeck did ; that the prophets and men of God should not want a chamber, and more than so, a table ; and more yet, a candlestick, not empty of a light in it (saith St. Chrysostome), but all well and conveniently furnished, with Elisæus's hostess ; that whom the inns shut out, as too cutting for them, the manager might not receive without a glistening oblation, which is myrrh and frankincense in the nostrils of God, with the wise-men that came from the east to worship Christ. Lastly, that the keeper of the Holy Passover should not lack for a room to celebrate his mysteries in, nor a beast to ride upon into Jerusalem, having

time a draper of a good note in Watling-street, upon whom poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition ; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour, for he was a virtuous man. I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for finding him no easier an horse ; supposing the horse trotted, when he did not : and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possess him, that he would not be perswaded two days rest and quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon ; but a warm bed, and rest, and drink, proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon, which was, that in God there were two wills, an antecedent, and a consequent will ; his first will, that all mankind should be saved, but his second will was, that those only should be saved, that did live answerable to that degree of grace which he had offered, or afforded them. This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him before, and hath been since by master Henry Mason, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, and others of great learning, who believed that a contrary opinion intrenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare, but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares *

none of his own, with them that did our Lord the like favour and courtesy. I mean they have all provided, that your gain should not be our loss, your profit our hindrance, and thankless vexation both of body and purse : but they have advanced and improved the spirituals of other men, with the loss and flinging away of their own carnals as a gage." *A Sermon preached at Paul's Cross*, Nov. 1, being All Saints' Day, 1607, p. 86—8. 4to.

* *As Mr. Hooker declares.*] *Answer to Mr. Travers's supplication*, sect. 8. The entire answer is one of the finest specimens of true and effective eloquence that ever flowed from a human heart.

Respecting the point on which he incurred the censure of Mr. Travers, Hooker did not hesitate to maintain the same distinction, in his *Ecclesiastical*

in his rational Answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer⁷, then bishop of London; at this time one of his auditors; and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequences, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said; so that the good man came to be perswaded by her, "that he was a man of a tender constitution, and that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." And he not considering, that *the children of this world are wiser in their generation, than the children of light*; but, like a true Nathanael, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazar was trusted with, (you may read it in the book of Genesis) when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for, even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and, he did so in that or about the year following. Now the wife provided for him, was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's which is by Solomon compared to a *dripping house*; so that the good man had no reason to *rejoice in the wife of his youth*; but too just cause to say with the holy prophet, *wo is me that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar!*

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at; but, let us consider that the prophet Ezekiel says, there is a wheel within a wheel, a secret sacred wheel of providence (most visible in marriages) guided by his hand, that allows not the race to the swift, nor bread to the wise, nor good wives to good men: and he that can bring good out of evil, (for mortals are blind to this reason) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient

Polity, the noble fruit of his riper years; and where, (i. e. especially in the five first books,) as being the only part of his writings which was published by himself, we may be best assured, that we possess his genuine, approved, and maturest sentiments.—See *Ecclesiast. Polity*, book v. sect. 49.

⁷ *Elmer.*] Aylmer.

Mr. Hooker. But so it was ; and, let the reader cease to wonder, for, affliction is a divine diet, which though it be not pleasing to mankind, yet almighty God hath often, very often, imposed it as good, though bitter physic, to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this marriage the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college, from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world ; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest and a country parsonage : which was Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, not far from Aylesbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln : to which he was presented by John Cheny, esquire, then patron of it, the 9th of December 1584 ; where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God) *in much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities ; in poverty, and no doubt in longsuffering* : yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year, in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, took a journey to see their tutor, where they found him with a book in his hand (it was the Odes of Horace) he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, which he told his pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. But when his servant returned and released him, then his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them ; for Richard was called to rock the cradle : and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they staid but till the next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition ; and they having in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging for next night. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, " Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground as to your parsonage ; and, more sorry that your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied yourself in your restless studies." To whom the good

man replied, "My dear George, if saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me, but labour, (as indeed I do daily) to submit mine to his will, and possess my soul in patience, and peace."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father, who was then archbishop of York, with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more quiet and a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585, Mr. Alvie (master of the Temple) died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour as to gain so high a degree of love and reverence from all men; that he was generally known by the name of *Father Alvie*. And at the Temple-reading, next after the death of this Father Alvie, he the said archbishop of York, being then at dinner with the judges, the reader, and benchers of that society, met with a general condolment for the death of Father Alvie, and with a high commendation of his saint-like life, and of his great merit both toward God and man: and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the bishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvie's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Drayton Beauchamp to London, and there the mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his country parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better country living, where he might see God's blessings spring out of the earth, and be free from noise (so he exprest the desire of his heart) and eat that bread which he more might properly call his own in privacy and quietness. But, notwithstanding this averness, he was at last perswaded to accept of the bishops proposal, and was by patent for life^a, made master of the Temple the

^a *Patent for life.*] [This you may find in the Temple records.

William Ermstead was master of the Temple at the dissolution of the priory; and died 2 Eliz.

17th of March 1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age.

[But before⁹ any mention was made of Mr. Hooker for this place, two other divines were nominated to succeed Alvey; whereof Mr. Walter Travers, a disciplinarian in his judgment and practice, and preacher here in the afternoons, was chief, and recommended by Alvey himself on his death bed, to be master after him; and no marvel, for Alvey's and Travers's principles did somewhat correspond. And many gentlemen of the house desired him; which desire, the lord treasurer Burghley was privy to, and by their request, and his own inclination towards him, being a good preacher, he moved the queen to allow of him; for the disposal of the place was in her. But archbishop Whitgift knew the man, and his hot temper and principles, from the time he was fellow in Trinity college, and had observed his steps ever after: he knew how turbulently he had carried himself at the college, how he had disowned the English established church and episcopacy; and went to Geneva, and afterwards to Antwerp, to be ordained minister, as he was by Villers and Cartwright, and others, the heads of a congregation there; and so came back again more confirmed for the discipline. And knowing how much the doctrine and converse of the master to be placed here, would influence the gentlemen, and their influence and authority prevail in all parts of the realm, where their habitations and estates were, that careful prelate made it his endeavour to stop Travers coming in; and had a learned man in his view, of principles more conformable and agreeable to the church, namely one doctor Bond, the queens chaplain, and one well known to her. She well understanding the importance of this place, and knowing by the archbishop what Travers was, by a letter he timely writ to her majesty upon the vacancy, gave particular order to the treasurer to discourse with the archbishop about it.

Richard Alvey, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Febr. 2 Eliz. *Magister sive Custos Domús et Ecclesiæ novi Templi*, died 27 Eliz.

Richard Hooker succeeded that year by patent *in terminis*, as Alvey had it, and he left it, 33 Eliz.

That year Dr. Balgey succeeded Richard Hooker.]

⁹ *But before.*] This and the other parts of this life of Hooker included within brackets, are additions compiled by John Strype, as appears from his *Life of Whitgift*, p. 175, and were inserted by him in the Life first prefixed to the London edition of the works of Hooker, A.D. 1723.

The lord treasurer, hereupon, in a letter, consulted with the said archbishop, and mentioned Travers to him as one desired by many of the house. But the archbishop in his answer, plainly signified to his lordship that he judged him altogether unfit, for the reasons mentioned before; and that he had recommended to the queen Dr. Bond as a very fit person. But however she declined him, fearing his bodily strength to perform the duty of the place, as she did Travers for other causes. And by laying both aside, she avoided giving disgust to either of these great men. This Dr. Bond seems to be that Dr. Nicholas Bond that afterwards was president of Magdalen college, Oxford, and that was much abused by Martin Mar-Prelate.

These particulars I have collected from a letter of the archbishop to the queen, and other letters that passed between the archbishop and the lord treasurer about this affair, while the mastership was vacant. The passages whereof taken *verbatim* out of their said letters, may deserve here to be specified for the satisfaction of the readers.

And first in the month of August, upon the death of the former master, the archbishop wrote this letter unto the queen.

“It may please your majesty, to be advertised that the mastership of the Temple is vacant by the death of Mr. Alvey. The living is not great, yet doth it require a learned discreet and wise man, in respect of the company there: who being well directed and taught may do much good elsewhere in the common wealth, as otherwise also they may do much harm. And because I hear there is a suit made unto your highness for one Mr. Travers, I thought it my duty to signify unto your majesty, that the said Travers hath been, and is one of the chief and principal authors of dissention in this church, a contemner of the Book of Prayers, and of other orders by authority established; an earnest seeker of innovation, and either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas; not according to the form in this church of England used. Whose placing in that room, especially by your majesty, would greatly animate the rest of that faction, and do very much harm in sundry respects.

“Your majesty hath a chaplain of your own, Dr. Bond, a man in my opinion very fit for that office, and willing also to take pains therein, if it shall please your highness to bestow it upon him. Which I refer to your most gracious disposition: beseeching

almighty God long to bless, prosper, and preserve your majesty to his glory, and all our comforts.

“ Your majesty’s most faithful
 “ servant and chaplain
 “ Jo. CANTUAR.”

*From Croyden, the
 of August, 1584.*

Next, in a letter of the archbishop to the lord treasurer, dated from Lambeth, Sept. 14, 1584, he hath these words :

“ I beseech your lordship to help such an one to the master-ship of the Temple as is known to be conformable to the laws and orders established, and a defender not a depraver of the present state, and government. He that now readeth there is nothing less, as I of mine own knowledge and experience can testify. Dr. Bond is desirous of it, and I know not a fitter man.”

The lord treasurer in a letter to the archbishop, dated from Oatlands (where the queen now was) Sept. 17, 1584, thus wrote.

“ The queen hath asked me what I thought of Travers to be master of the Temple. Whereunto I answered, that at the request of Dr. Alvey in his sickness, and a number of honest gentlemen of the Temple, I had yielded my allowance of him to the place, so as he would shew himself conformable to the orders of the church. Whereunto I was informed that he would so be. But her majesty told me that your grace did not so allow of him. Which I said might be for some things supposed to be written by him in a book intituled *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*. Whereupon her majesty commanded me to write to your grace to know your opinion, which I pray your grace to signify unto her, as God shall move you. Surely it were great pity that any impediment should be occasion to the contrary ; for he is well learned, very honest, and well allowed, and loved of the generality of that house. Mr. Bond told me, that your grace liked well of him ; and so do I also, as of one well learned and honest ; but, as I told him, if he came not to the place with some applause of the company, he shall be weary thereof. And yet I commended him unto her majesty, if Travers should not have it. But her majesty thinks

him not fit for that place, because of his infirmities. Thus wishing your grace assistance of Gods Spirit to govern your charge unblameably,

“ Your grace’s to command,

“ WILL: BURGHLEY.”

*From the Court at Oatlands
the 7th Sep. 1584.*

Part of the archbishop’s letter in answer to this, was to this tenor :

“ Mr. Travers, whom your lordship names in your letter, is to no man better known, I think, than to myself. I did elect him fellow of Trinity college, being before rejected of Dr. Beaumont for his intolerable stomach ! whereof I had also afterwards such experience, that I was forced by due punishment so to weary him, till he was fain to travel, and depart from the college to Geneva, otherwise he should have been expelled for want of conformity to the orders of the house, and for his pertinacy. Neither was there ever any under our government, in whom I found less submission and humility than in him. Nevertheless if time and years have now altered that disposition (which I cannot believe, seeing yet no token thereof, but rather the contrary) I will be as ready to do him good as any friend he hath. Otherwise I cannot in duty but do my endeavour to keep him from that place, where he may do so much harm, and do little or no good at all. For howsoever some commend him to your lordship and others, yet I think that the greater and better number of both the Temples have not so good an opinion of him. Sure I am that divers grave, and of the best affected of them, have shewed their misliking of him to me : not only out of respect of his disorderliness, in the manner of the communion, and contempt of the prayers, but also of his negligence in reading. Whose lectures by their report, are so barren of matter, that his hearers take no commodity thereby.

The book *De Disciplina¹ Ecclesiastica*, by common opinion,

¹ The book *De Disciplina*.] The work is intituled, *Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, et Anglicanæ ecclesiæ ab illa aberrationis plena e verbo Dei et dilucida explicatio*. 1574. The same year was published a translation into English, with some alterations and omissions, under the title, *A full and plaine declaration of ecclesiasticall Discipline out off the word of God, and off the declininge off the Church off England from the same*.

hath been reputed of his penning, since the first publishing of it. And by divers arguments I am moved to make no doubt thereof. The drift of which book is wholly against the state and government. Wherein also among other things he condemneth the paying and taking of first fruits³, tenths, &c. And therefore unless he will testify his conformity by subscription, as all others do, which now enter into ecclesiastical livings; and make proof unto me that he is a minister ordered according to the laws of this church of England, as I verily believe he is not⁴, because he forsook his place in the college upon that account; I can by no means yield my consent to the placing him there, or elsewhere, in any function of this church.”]

And here I shall make a stop, and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times⁵, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place; a place which he accepted, rather than desired; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness, that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for, that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises: for this he

³ *Taking of first fruits.*] This the archbishop thought not amiss to suggest to the lord treasurer, because the loss of these would tend considerably to the lessening of the queen’s revenues. They were afterwards voluntarily relinquished by queen Anne, for the augmentation of poor benefices. Strype’s *Life of Whitgift*, p. 175.

⁴ *Believe he is not.*] He was ordained by the presbytery at Antwerp, May 8, 1578, as appears from the certificate printed in Fuller’s *Church History*, book ix. p. 214. Travers’s own vindication of this ordination may be found in his *Supplication to the Council*, printed in Hooker’s *Works*, vol. iii. p. 383—5, and in a letter to the lord treasurer in Strype’s *Whitgift*, book iii. numb. 12. Records.

⁵ *A character of the times.*] In addition to what is here written by Walton, the reader will find his time amply repaid by a perusal of Hooker’s Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity, especially the first four sections, which present one of the most instructive and interesting pieces of moral historical painting that were ever drawn by the pencil of a master: a subject of contemplation, unhappily, but too necessary for these times. See also the Preface to Cosin’s *Conspiracy for pretended Reformation*.

Much information concerning the principles and practices of the puritans, derived chiefly from their own books, and from examinations instituted by authority, may be found in the two works of Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, intitled, *A Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline*, 4to, 1593, and *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings under pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbyterial Discipline*. 1593. 4to.

always thirsted and prayed : but almighty God did not grant it, for his admission into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to ; and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times, I shall, by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth ; a time, in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution for religion that raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men ; and begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them or their present posterity. And the apprehension of these dangers begot a hearty desire of a settlement in the church and state, believing there was no other probable way left to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot self-ends, and these begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those very blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning of her reign^a,

^a *In the beginning of her reign.*] The proceedings of the ministers of religion of the mal-content party, and the effects produced or cherished by their influence and efforts in the minds of the deluded multitude, cannot be contemplated without the deepest regret and sorrow. The nation had just passed through a sea of blood ; and yet instead of attaining to any thing like repose from controversy, and to the opportunity of *going on unto perfection*, the weighty matters of true religion and Christian charity were almost lost and forgotten in idle debates and preachings against caps and surplices, in an indiscriminating abhorrence of all that they chose to call popery and papists, and in an uncontrollable opposition against constituted authorities. And unhappily these men were successful in persuading themselves and the people, that all this was extraordinary and exemplary zeal, and purity, and piety. The editor thinks that he cannot more effectually co-operate with the design of his author, to hold up the lamentable errors of the time, as a lesson to future ages, than by producing the following extracts from the collections of John Stowe, the historian, a contemporary, and probably an eye-witness of many of the circumstances which he describes. They are taken from some memoranda of that writer in the Lambeth Library MSS. No. 306, and, it is believed, have never before been printed.

"Anno 1563, in September, the old bishops and divers doctors were removed out of the Tower into the new bishops houses, there to remain private.

and thus it continued too long ; for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the

soners under their custody (the plague then being in the city was thought to be the cause). But their deliverance, or rather change of prison, did so much offend the people, that the preachers at Paul's Cross, and other places both of the city and country, preached, as it was thought of many wise men, very seditiously : as Baldwin at Paul's Cross, wishing a gallows set up in Smithfield, and the old bishops and other papists to be hanged thereon.— Himself died of the plague the next week after."

"The twenty-sixth day of March in anno 1566, being Tuesday, the parsons and ministers of the churches in and about London were, by commandment, at Lambeth, before the archbishop of Canterbury and other of the council, where charge was given to them to serve their churches, and wear their apparel according to the queen's injunctions, or else to do no service ; and that same week, or the beginning of the next, came forth a book in print, subscribed by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, and divers other, which appointed the said ministers to wear their gowns and cloaks with standing collars, and cornered caps ; and at their service to wear surplices, or else not to minister, &c. After this followed much trouble with the ministers of the city of London : for in most parishes the sexton of the church did all such service as was done, and that in his coat or gown, as he commonly went about other business. In some places the ministers themselves did service in their gowns or cloaks with turning collars, and hats as they were wont to do, and preached stoutly against the order taken by the queen and council, and the bishops for consenting thereunto : and on the 2d day of April, a burying being at St. Giles without Cripplegate, six clerks wearing surplices before the corpse, Crowley, vicar of the church, stood in the church door, and withstood them there to enter, saying ' the church was his, and the queen had given it him during his life, and made him vicar thereof ; wherefore he would rule that place, and would not suffer any such superstitious rags of Rome there to enter : ' whereupon was like to have been a great tumult by the reason of part-taking. But in the end the clerks and those who took their part, according to the queen's proceedings, were fain to give over, and to tarry without the church door.

"The seventh day of April, being Palm Sunday, the parish of St. Mary Magdalene in Milk street, making labour to the bishop, had by him a minister appointed to serve them with communion that day : and when the said minister was at service in his surplice, and came down to read the epistle and gospel in the mean space, one of the same parish caused his servant to convey the communion cup, and the bread from the table, whereby many persons that were determined that day to have received were disappointed : the which fact was after but made a laughing game."

"The same Palm Sunday, in anno 1566, the 7. of April, a Scot who preached two times every day at Saint Magnus, and ministered every day to all comers of that parish, or any other, in his gown or cloak, preached in the afternoon at Little All-hallows in Thames-street. The most part of his ser-

church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied, but were still thirsting for more and more ; neglecting to

mon was, as the other of his sermons were and are, against the order taken by the queen and council for the apparel of ministers before named, with very bitter and vehement words against the queen not here to be named ; and also against (such) ministers as received the same order. The minister of the church, for safeguard of his living, had received the cap and surplice ; wherefore sometime in the sermon he smiled at vehement talk by the preacher used to the contrary. Whereupon after the sermon certain of the parish, namely Wilson a dyer, and Dickenson a fishmonger, reasoned with the minister for his smiling at the preacher, who reasonably answered : but they took the matter so grievously, that they fell from rough words at the last to blows, with them who took part with the minister.

“The like disquiet doings were that day in divers churches of the city ; and also the like on Easter day, or rather worse ; so that in some parish churches the people in great number being ready to receive, such quarrelling and contention was between the ministers and parishioners, that to quiet the matter, the church doors were fain to be closed, and the parishioners to depart unreceiving for that day.

“And on Low Sunday, being the 26. of April, the worshipful of the parish of St. Mildred in Bread-street, bringing a minister to serve the afternoon with a surplice, were withstood by the parson and his adherents : so that at the last the chief of the parish, with the alderman’s deputy of the ward were fain to cause the minister to put on his surplice, and to do his service, they standing by on either side to defend him till the end of service.

“The ministers and preachers that were prohibited to preach or minister, did many of them nevertheless minister and preach as they before had done ; using words of great vehemency against the order before-said set forth ; as also against the queen, council, and bishops, for setting forth the same.

“The like seditious libels were written and strewed about in the streets ; and two sorts of seditious books were set forth in print and given at their morning congregatings : the one entitled *The Voice of God*, set out by one Towers, a smatterer in musick, and hath of long time laboured to serve in Paul’s church, and there daily to wear a surplice, were it but for ten pounds the year. The other by the whole multitude of London ministers, every one of them giving their advice in writing unto Robert Crowley, sometime a bookseller, now reader of St. Antholine’s, parson of St. Peter the Poor, prebend of St. Paul’s, vicar of St. Giles without Cripplegate, and dean of Hereford in Wales, who compiled the same into one book, naming the same *The Unfolding of the Popish Attire*, against the which book another book, being *A Plain Confutation*, was set forth in print with the queen’s privilege. It is to be noted that the authors of these two books before named were no ways punished for the same, but only the printers were kept in the Counter nigh a fortnight, till they had opened who were the authors ; but they had friends enow to have set the whole realm together by the ears.

“On the third day of June, being Whitson-Monday, at night, the Scot,

pay that obedience, and perform those vows which they made in their days of adversities and fear : so that in short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs. They may for distinction be called the active Romanists, the restless non-conformists (of which there were many sorts) and the passive peaceable Protestant. The

who before had used to preach at St. Magnus, and so sore to inveigh against the caps, surplices, and such like, did service at St. Margaret Pattyns in Rood-lane, where he wore a surplice ; and a certain number of wives threw stones at him, and pulled him forth of the pulpit, renting his surplice, and scratching his face, &c.

“ On the fourth day of June, being Tuesday in Whitson week, Philpot, some time a scrivener, another reader at St. Antholine’s, parson of St. Michael’s in Cornhill, parson of Stepney, and other spiritual promotions ; and Gough, another scrivener, the third reader of St. Antholine’s, parson of St. Peter’s in Cornhill, for that they were the most earnest withstanders of the laws of this realm before named, concerning the order of ministrations, and the greatest animators of all the whole city to do the like, upon whom the great number of other ministers did depend, being appointed by the bishops to go to Winchester, to Robert Horne, the bishop, with him to persuade or be persuaded for the space of twenty-six days, took their journey over London bridge, through Southwark, and so forth toward Winchester, being accompanied with a great number of women, to the number of two or three hundred, laden with bags and bottles to banquet at their departing ; giving them gold, silver, sugar, spice, or otherwise such as they had, animating them most earnestly to stand fast in the same their doctrine, which they had taught touching surplices, caps, and such like.

“ At Michaelmas next following, Philpot subscribing to them, came to London again, where being much rebuked of his brethren, he sold up his moveable goods, and went to Rye, in Kent, where he had thirty pounds a year, and serveth without a surplice, and keepeth all his other promotions still, as Stepney, Cornhill, &c.

“ The twenty-sixth day of January next following, being Sunday, the bishop of London, coming to St. Margaret’s in Old Fish-street to preach in the forenoon, the people, especially the women, that were in the said church, unreverently hooted at him with many opprobrious words, and cried, ‘ Ware horns ! ’ for that he ware a cornered cap : for the which on the Saturday next, being the first day of February, one woman, being the wife of one Simson, a tinker, dwelling in Southwark, was set upon two ladders like a cucking-stool, before the same church ; where she sat the space of one hour ; greatly rejoicing in that her lewd behaviour, and that she was punished for the same : and likewise the beholders of the same did much rejoice therein, and animated the lewd woman to rejoice, and praise the Lord, that he had made her worthy to suffer persecution for righteousness, and for the truth’s sake (as they said), and for crying out against superstition (as they termed it).”

counsels of the first considered and resolved on in Rome: the second both in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles, both there, and within the bosom of our own nation: the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil; and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known laws happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the church and state, because what is principally intended in this digression is an account of the opinions and activity of the non-conformists, against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war; a war, which he maintained, not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of non-conformists, though some might be sincere well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of their errors; yet, of this party there were many that were possessed with a high degree of spiritual wickedness; I mean with an innate restless pride and malice. I do not mean the visible and carnal sins of gluttony and drunkenness, and the like (from which good Lord deliver us) but sins of a higher nature, because they are more unlike God, who is the God of love and mercy, and order, and peace; and more like the devil, who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil; but I mean those spiritual wickednesses of malice and revenge, and an opposition to government: men that joyed to be the authors of misery, which is properly his work that is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and thereby greater sinners than the glutton and drunkard, though some will not believe it. And of this party there were also many, whom prejudice and a furious zeal had so blinded as to make them neither to hear reason, nor adhere to the ways of peace: men, that were the very dregs and pest of mankind; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to overvalue their own pitiful, crooked wisdom, so much as not to be ashamed to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men whom they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed first to find out the faults, and then to speak evil of government, and to be the authors of confusion; men, whom company, conversation, and custom, had at last so blinded, and made so insensible that these were sins, that, like those that perished in

the gainsaying of Core so these died without repenting of these spiritual wickednesses; of which the practices of Coppinger and Hacket⁶ in their lives, and the death of them and their adherents, are, God knows, too sad examples, and ought to be cautions to those men that are inclined to the like spiritual wickednesses.

And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many of these scruple-mongers that pretended a tenderness of conscience, refusing to take an oath before a lawful magistrate, and yet these very men⁷, in their secret conventicles, did covenant and swear to each other to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the presbyterian doctrine and discipline; and both in such a manner as they themselves had not yet agreed on, but up that government must. To which end, there were many that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels⁸

⁶ *Coppinger and Hacket.*] See *Life of Whitgift*, in this volume, p. 591, and also see Cosin's *Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation, discovering the late Designments and Courses held by William Hacket, &c.* 1592; Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, book iv. chap. vi. 15; Hooker's *Preface*, chap. x., or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 389—91, and n.

⁷ *These very men.*] Of their refusing to be examined on oath, see Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, book i. chap. 1, and book iii. chap. 8, 9. But, where Walton says that they covenanted and *swore* to set up their discipline, it should seem that he exceeds the truth. That they *subscribed* to the discipline is most certain; but with regard to their taking *oaths* to maintain it, Bancroft observes, "Our men *as yet* talk in their plat-form *but of subscriptions.*"—*Survey*, chap. xxvi. p. 310.

The following incident, mentioned by Dr. Bancroft, while it exhibits an instance of a refusal to be examined, will further shew how this zeal about the discipline swallowed up all better knowledge in religion. "Having occasion to talke upon a time with an artizan of Kingston, about his refusal (after the *purest* fashion) to be examined upon his oath, because I saw how peart he was, and rapt out text upon text (full ignorantly, God knoweth), I was so bold as to examine him in the second petition of the Lord's praier, demanding of him what he thought was meant by this word *kingdome*, there mentioned. Whereunto he made in effect this answer, without any staggering: 'Wee pray,' (sayth he) 'that our heavenly Father would at the last grant unto us, that we might have pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons in every parish, and so be governed by such elderships as Christ's holy discipline doth require.'"—Bancroft's *Survey*, chap. xxxi. p. 399. edit. 1593.

⁸ *Pamphlets and libels.*] For copious extracts and specimens of these publications, see Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, book iii. Hooker, in his dedication to archbishop Whitgift, condemns "the scurrilous and more than satyrycal immodesty of Martinism; the first-published schedules whereof"

against the church and state, but especially against the bishops : by which means, together with venomous and indiscreet sermons⁹,

(says he) "being brought to the hands of a grave and very honourable knight, with signification given, that the book would refresh his spirits, he took it, saw what the title was, read over an unsavoury sentence or two, and delivered back the libel with this answer, I am sorry ye are of the mind to be solaced with these sports, and sorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your own."

⁹ *Venomous and indiscreet sermons.*] "It is pitiful to see how in many places of this land, he is thought the only zealous, learned and godly preacher, that can find most faults, pretend most wants, never giving God once thanks for the abundance of his blessings upon this church and nation, which for these thirty-two years hath been, yea even at this day is a nurse, nay rather a mother to all the churches almost in all Christendom. And whereas we ought to teach repentance, amendment of life, faith to God, obedience to superiors, and charity one to another; to rebuke pride, covetousness, wantonness, new-fangledness, slanderings, backbitings, and the like: if none of these be once named, but our spiritual pastors torn and traduced, our own vices not once touched, but the church and church-men paid home, then is he in many men's judgments, a zealous man, a child of God, never man spake on this wise."—Dr. Wm. James's Sermon at Paul's Cross, Nov. 9, 1589, in the dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton.—See also, *A Godlie Sermon preached before the Queenes Majestie at Greenwich the 26th of March (1574) by Dr. Whitgift, Deane of Lincolne.* Signat. A 8. Another writer, speaking of the manner in which the preaching ministers among the puritans treated the other clergy, tells us "Dumbe dog is a great word in their mouths. That sermon where dumbe dog is left out, is not worth a pin: it fits not their fancy."—Leonard Wright's *Summons for Sleepers*, p. 20. A.D. 1589.

Meanwhile, certain it is that there are circumstances in the case, which would have admitted, or did even call for allowance and indulgence towards the governors of the church, had the minds of the puritans been at all disposed to the admission of considerations of a prudential character. The queen and the bishops had great difficulties to contend against. One there was of a nature to which we should suppose they could hardly have been unwilling to listen. It is thus described by dean Nowell in his controversy with Dorman. "And where you have most cruelly murdered so many learned men, most mets for the ministerie of Christes church, and by a common conspiracie have withdrawen yourselves at once from all service in the ministerie of the gospel, upon a worldly policie, trusting that thereby the prince should be compelled of necessitie to beare with you, and let you remaine in place and authoritie, (which your fetch, as well as other your craftie compassings, God hath turned upon youre owne heades,) you have, by such crueltie, murdering our learned men, and by popish policie withdrawing yourselves from the ministerie, of mere necessitie inforced our bishops to admit certain honest artificers exercised in the Scriptures unto the ministerie; and to place them in smaller cures, not, as you do say, in *learned mens roomes*, but in the stead of your popish priests being most unlearned. . . . And now that you see that no

the common people became so fanaticke, as to believe *the bishops to be antichrist*, and the only obstructors of Gods discipline; and at last some of them were given over to so bloody a zeal, and such other desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that *antichrist was to be overcome by the sword*. So that those very men, that began with tender and meek petitions, proceeded to admonitions, then to satyricall remonstrances, and at last, having like Absalom numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause, they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the bishops, and then the queen and parliament; to all which they were secretly encouraged by the earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of conscience; his design being, by their means, to bring such an odium upon the bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaritious desire had at last so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes seemed to put him into a present possession of Lambeth-house.

And to these undertakings, the non-conformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that^a one told the queen openly in a sermon, “she was like¹ an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by

such troubles and tumultes, by reason of utter lacke of the ecclesiasticall ministerie, do arise, *as you looked for*, and that your popish ministers are neither desired nor missed, as you trusted; now you would avenge and wreake yourselves upon those honest poore men, whome *necessitie*, rising out of your owne crueltie and falsehoode, hath placed in the inferiour ministerie of the church. And a great many of you by this time, I beleve, do beshrewe their own heads, that they so at once gave over their bishopricks and livings upon a false hope of leaving the realme utterly destitute of ecclesiasticall ministerie.”—Nowell’s *Confutation of Dorman’s Disproof*, fol. 308. A.D. 1567. 4to.

But here, as in many other respects, the intemperance and self-will of the puritans led them in effect to do the work of those very papists of whom they were the bitterest enemies. Compare *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 420—4. 427—9, and n., p. 526—8, 538—42, 569—73, and n., p. 631.

^a *That one.*] Mr. Dering.

¹ *She was like.*] More accurately the passage stands thus. “If you have prayed in tymes past unto God, to mollifie your enemies hearts, and to bring their cruel practices to nothing, now that you yourself are in safetie, be not cruel unto Gods anointed, and do his prophets no harme. I neede not

God's people, but obstructed his discipline." And in Scotland they were more confident, for, there ^b they declared her an atheist, and grew to such an height, as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her, nor for treason against their own king, if it were but spoken in the pulpit; shewing at last such a disobedience to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress, and in prison, and in danger of death; the church denied the king their prayers for her; and, at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, the church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations; and, by these means there were distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the church and state; and these opinions were vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the governors of the church and state were forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had

seeke far for offences, whereat Gods people are grieved; even round about this chapel I see a great many; and God in his good time shall root them out. If you have said sometime of yourself, *tanquam ovis*, as a sheep appointed to be slaine, take heed you heare not now of the prophet, *tanquam indomita juvenca*, as an untamed and unrulie heifer. I will not with many words admonish your majestie, that are wise enough: onely I will say this, returne into your owne heart, and search your raynes. And here I set before you the tribunal seate of Christ." *A sermon preached before the queenes majestie by maister Edward Dering the 25. of Februarie, anno 1569, imprinted A.D. 1584. signat. A 7.* The great matter of offence in the queen's chapel, it should seem, was an organ: for thus speaks the famous *second Admonition to the Parliament*, A.D. 1572. "As for organs and curious singing, though they be proper to popish dens, I mean cathedral churches, yet some others also must have them. The queen's chapel, which should be a spectacle of Christian reformation, is rather a pattern and precedant to the people of all superstitions." In other parts of his sermon Dering expresses himself, perhaps, with still greater freedom. See signat. C 6, 7.

But the town of St. Edmunds Bury, remarkably affected with puritanism, exhibited an example of profane and sacrilegious insolence that was not surpassed by any other. After consultation and advice, they painted in the church, under the queen's arms, this sentence, from the book of Revelation, c. ii. v. 20, being the reproof of the church of Thyatira; *Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, that thou sufferest the woman Jezebel, which maketh herself a prophetess, to teach and to deceive my servants; to make them commit fornications, and to eat meat sacrificed unto idols.*"—*Strype's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 122.

^b Vide bishop Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*.

not been to prevent the gangrene of confusion, and the perillous consequences of it ; which, without such prevention, would have been first confusion, and then ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, and considering them, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, to this purpose, "That the common people of England were wiser than the wisest of his nation ; for, here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination, and to determine what laws were fit to be made concerning the church-government ; and then, what were fit to be obeyed or abolished : that they were more able (or at least thought so) to raise and determine perplexed cases of conscience, than the wisest of the most learned colleges in Italy ; that men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people, were mad for a new, or, super, or re-reformation of religion : and that in this they appeared like that man, who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful." And he concluded his letter with this observation, "That those very men that were most busy in oppositions, and disputations, and controversies, and finding out the faults of their governors, had usually the least of humility and mortification, or of the power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men² ; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of his Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they became the very slaves of vice, and had thereby sinned themselves into a belief of that which they would, but could not, believe ; into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe that there are many gods) but these had sinned themselves into a belief that there was no God ; and so, finding nothing in themselves but what was worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for ; namely, that they might be like the beasts that perish : and in wicked company (which is the atheist's sanctuary) were so bold as to say so, though the worst of man-

² *Of godless men.*] See Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book v. c. ii. Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 321.

kind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but is not then able to think it: even into a belief that there is no God. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the church was pestered with them, and with all those other forenamed irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn to pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin, (for heresies do usually out-live their first authors) when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden and attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others: when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others, and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority: in this extremity of fear, and danger of the church and state, when to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of an high and fearless fortitude, they were blest in all by John Whitgift his being made archbishop of Canterbury; of whom sir Henry Wotton that knew him well in his youth, and had studied him in his age, gives this true character²: that he was a man of reverend and sacred memory: and of the primitive temper; such a temper, as when the church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue. And indeed, this man proved so.

And, though I dare not undertake to add to this excellent and true character of sir Henry Wotton: yet, I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker where we left him, at the Temple.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family that was ancient, and noted to be both prudent and affable, and gentle by nature: he was educated in Cambridge; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke Hall, (where Mr. Bradford,

² *This true character.*] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 172, 3.

the martyr, was his tutor) from thence he was removed to Peterhouse, from thence to be master of Pembroke Hall, and from thence to the mastership of Trinity College: about which time the queen made him her chaplain, and not long after prebend of Ely, and then dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the bishoprick of Worcester, and (which was not with her a usual favour) forgiving him his first-fruits; then by constituting him vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having experimented his wisdom, his justice and moderation in the manage of her affairs, in both these places; she, in the 26 of her reign, made him archbishop of Canterbury, and not long after of her privy council, and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and in all his employments was like Jehoiada, that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares: in which place (to speak Mr. Cambden's very words in his annals of queen Elizabeth) he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his church. And yet, in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of church-affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness⁴ of bishop Grindall, his immediate predecessor, the activity of the non-conformists, and their chief assistant the earl of Leicester; and indeed, by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and, though he wanted neither courage, nor a good cause; yet, he foresaw, that without a great measure of the queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach that had been lately made into the lands and immunities of the church, or indeed, to maintain the remaining lands and rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa (*Agrippa, believest thou? I know thou believest;*) he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a great degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now both entered.

⁴ *Age and remissness.*] [Or rather by reason of his suspension and sequestration, which he lay under, together with the queen's displeasure, for some years, when the ecclesiastical affairs were managed by certain civilians. I. S.]

His merits to the queen, and her favours to him were such, that she called him "her little black husband," and called his servants her servants; and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the church's, and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor; of which she gave many fair testimonies, and of which one was, that she would never eat flesh in Lent without obtaining a licence from her little black husband: and would often say, "She pitied him because she trusted him, and had thereby eased herself, by laying the burthen of all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders; which he managed with prudence and piety."

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her majesty, and his care of the church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And, that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made archbishop, there passed an act or acts⁵ of parliament, intending the better preservation of the church-lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the crown: and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the queen's, the earl of Leicester was one; and the bishop having by his interest with her majesty, put a stop to the earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance; but the bishop made a sudden and seasonable return to her majesty (for he found her alone) and spake to her with great humility and reverence to this purpose.

"I beseech your majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that your's, and the church's safety, are dearer to me than my life; but, my conscience dearer than both; and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that princes are deputed nursing fathers of the church, and owe it a protection; and therefore God forbid that you should be so much as passive in her ruins, when you may prevent it; or that I should behold it without horror and detestation, or should forbear to tell your majesty

⁵ *An act or acts.*] 1 Eliz. cap. 19. 13 Eliz. c. 10, &c. See Burn's *Ecclesiast. Law., art. Leases.*

of the sin and danger of sacrilege. And, though you and myself were born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the church's lands and immunities are much decayed; yet (madam) let me beg that you would first consider that there are such sins as prophaneness and sacrilege; and, that if there were not, they could not have names in holy writ, and particularly in the New Testament. And I beseech you to consider, that though our Saviour said, *He judged no man*; and to testify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren; nor would judge the woman taken in adultery: yet, in this point of the church's rights he was so zealous, that he made himself both the accuser, and the judge, and the executioner too, to punish these sins; witnessed, in that he himself made the whip to drive the prophaners out of the Temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and drove them out of it. And I beseech you to consider that it was St. Paul that said to those Christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, and yet committed sacrilege; *Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?* supposing (I think) sacrilege the greater sin. This may occasion your majesty to consider that there is such a sin as sacrilege; and to incline you to prevent the curse that will follow it. I beseech you also to consider, that Constantine the first Christian emperor, and Helena his mother; that king Edgar and Edward the Confessor, and indeed many others of your predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God, and to his church, much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their own families, and did not; but, gave them for ever as an absolute right and sacrifice to God: and, with these immunities and lands they have entailed a curse⁶ upon the alienators of them. God prevent your majesty and your successors from being liable to that curse which will cleave unto church-lands as the leprosy to the Jews.

"And, to make you that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the danger of it, I beseech you forget not, that to prevent these curses, the church's land and power

⁶ *Entailed a curse.*] See sir H. Spelman, *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*. "The founders of religious houses, in the conclusion of their deed, following the example of Darius (Ezra, c. vi. ver. 12), imprecate a most heavy curse on those that violate or withdraw their gifts; *venientibus contra hæc et destruentibus ea occurrat Deus in gladio iræ, et furoris, et vindictæ, et maledictionis æternæ.*" Pref. p. 14. edit. 1704.

have been also endeavoured to be preserved (as far as human reason, and the law of this nation have been able to preserve them) by an immediate and most sacred obligation on the consciences of the princes of this realm; for, they that consult *Magna Charta*, shall find, that as all your predecessors were at their coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anointed you, *To maintain the church-lands, and the rights belonging to it*; and this you yourself have testified openly to God at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the bible then lying upon it. And, not only *Magna Charta*, but many modern statutes have denounced a curse upon those that break *Magna Charta*: a curse like the leprosy that was entailed on the Jews; for, as that, so these curses have and will cleave to the very stones of those buildings that have been consecrated to God; and, the father's sin of sacrilege hath and will prove to be entailed on his son and family. And now, madam, what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the last great day, either by your majesty, or by me, if it be wilfully, or but negligently violated, I know not.

“And therefore, good madam, let not the late lord's exceptions against the failings of some few clergymen, prevail with you to punish posterity, for the errors of this present age; let particular men suffer for their particular errors; but, let God and his church have their inheritance. And, though I pretend not to prophecy; yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible⁷ in many families; that church-land added to an ancient and just inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both: or like the eagle⁸ that stole a coal from

⁷ *Already become visible.*] See sir H. Spelman's *History and Fate of Sacrilege*: and his tract, *De non temerandis*, &c.

⁸ *Or like the eagle.*] “God of his infinite mercie multiplie her majesties daies, that she maie raigne manie and manie yeares still over us. If it had not been for her most princelie and most religious care of the church, the children of Edom had long before this time greatlie indaungered it. But this I will say unto them, that if ever they obtain their desires, which I know they shall never do in her highness time, they shall not possess a pennie worthe of the churches goods, which, I am persuaded, will not prove unto them to be like the gold of *Tholossa*, whereof none had part that ever prospered afterward. I could shew some reasons of this my persuasion, but I am a man not verie grateful to that sort of reformers.”—Bancroft's *Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline*, p. 247. edit. 1593.

the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles, and herself that stole it. And, though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of the church's rights, added to the vast treasure^o left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve them.

"And consider that after the violation of those laws, to which he had sworn in *Magna Charta*, God did so far deny him his restraining grace, that as king Saul after he was forsaken of God, fell from one sin to another; so he, till at last he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention. Madam, religion is the foundation and cement of human societies; and when they that serve at God's altar, shall be exposed to poverty, then, religion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible, as you may already observe it to be in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts of parliament entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the church's lands, yet, dispose of them for Jesus sake, as you have promised to men, and vowed to God, that is, as the donors intended: let neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise; but, put a stop to God's and the Levite's portion (I beseech you) and to the approaching ruins of his church, as you expect comfort at the last great day; for, kings must be judged.—Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear sovereign: and, let me beg to be still continued in your favour, and the Lord still continue you in his."

The queen's patient hearing this affectionate speech, and her future care to preserve the church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair testimony, that he made her's and the church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other; she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers; which were many; nor doubting his prudence to be equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as

^o *The vast treasure.*] See Spelman, *De non temerandis ecclesiis*, Pref. p. 43. Also *Christian Institutes*, vol. iii. p. 398—400.

those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years ; in which time, he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that had opposed him, especially the earl of Leicester : so that God seemed still to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining church lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she gratified and trusted him ; for, he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles. He eased her of all her church cares by his wise manage of them ; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many ; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions ; he lived to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed ; to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was the chief mourner at her sad funeral ; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that king James (her peaceful successor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader to allow me to say a little, and but a little, more of this good bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker. And, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the bishop's charity and humility ; but this of both. He built a large alm's-house¹ near to his own palace at Croydon in Surry, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women ; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions, and was so truly humble, that he called them brothers and sisters. And whensoever the queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace at Lambeth (which was very often) he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon, and dine with them at his hospital ; at which time, you may believe, there was joy at the table. And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommoda-

¹ *Alm's-house.*] The original draught of the statutes of this almshouse, with corrections, or observations in the archbishop's own hand-writing, still exists in the British Museum, Sloanian MS. 27.

tion and maintenance for the master and scholars; which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi², then ambassador for the French king, and resident here, at the bishop's death to say, "The bishop had published many learned books, but a free school to train up youth, and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor people, were the best evidences of Christian learning that a bishop could leave to posterity." This good bishop lived to see king James settled in peace, and then fell into an extreme sickness at his palace at Lambeth; of which, when the king had notice, he went presently to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after some short discourse betwixt them, the king, at his departure, assured him, "He had a great affection for him, and a very high value for his prudence and virtues, and would endeavour to beg his life of God for the good of his church." To which the good bishop replied, *Pro ecclesia Dei, Pro ecclesia Dei*; which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's church.

This John Whitgift was made archbishop in the year 1583. In which busy place, he continued twenty years and some months; and in which time, you may believe, he had many trials of his courage and patience; but his motto was, *Vincit, qui patitur*: and he made it good.

Many of his many trials were occasioned by the then powerful earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of non-conformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning, sometime contemporary with the bishop at Cambridge, and of the same college of which the bishop had been master: in which place there began some emulations (the particulars I forbear), and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them; and, in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the university can incline you to it.

And in this discontent after the earl's death (which was 1588) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of a party that were for the Geneva church-government; and to effect it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing at the last to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances, which

² *Boyse Sisi.*] Jean de Thumery, seigneur de Boissise: there is a joint commission to him and to Christophe de Harlay, comte de Beaumont, dated Dec. 11, 1601, in the British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 149. art. 32.

he caused to be printed, and to which the bishop made a first answer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the bishop having rejoined to his first reply, Mr. Cartwright either was³, or was persuaded to be, satisfied: for he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason.

[And to posterity he left such a learned and most useful book, as does abundantly establish the reformation and constitution of our church, and vindicate it against all the cavils of the innovators.]

After some silence, Mr. Cartwright received from the bishop many personal favours, and betook himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he was made master of an hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and, where the bishop gave him a licence to preach, upon promises not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation; and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the bishop surviving him but some few months; each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

[It is true the archbishop treated Cartwright with such civility as gained much upon him, and made him declare unto his patron, the earl of Leicester, how much the archbishop's humane carriage had endeared him to him; and withal shewed his desire that he might have liberty sometimes to have access to him: professing that he would seek to persuade all with whom he had concern and converse to keep up an union with the church of England. This I say is certain: but it is not so certain, that the archbishop gave Cartwright a licence to preach. It appears, that, in the year 1585, he refused to grant it him, however solicited by Leicester's own letter to do it: and notwithstanding Cartwright's promises, he required more space of time to be satisfied of his conformity. For the elucidation whereof, and some further light into this matter, let both these letters be read and considered;

³ *Either was.*] This statement is incorrect. One would be inclined to suspect, that the passage was intended to stand thus: "The bishop having rejoined to *this* first reply of Mr. Cartwright either was," &c. Whitgift's *Answer to the Admonition* came out in 1572, 4to, and again in 1573; Cartwright's *Reply to an Answer made of M. Doctor Whitgift*, without date, in 1573. Then appeared Whitgift's *Defence of his Answer*, fol. 1574: after which Cartwright published his *second reply*, 1575, 4to; and *the rest of the second reply*, 1577, 4to. After writing his very able and elaborate work, *the Defence*, 1574, Whitgift meddled no more, publicly, in that controversy.

the former of the earl to the archbishop, the latter of the archbishop to the earl.

“ My good Lord,

“ I most heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous usage of Mr. Cartwright, who hath so exceeding kindly taken it also, as I assure your grace, he cannot speak enough of it. I trust it shall do a great deal of good. And he protesteth and professeth to me to take no other course, but to the drawing of all men to the unity of the church : and that your grace hath so dealt with him, as no man shall so command him and dispose of him as you shall : and doth mean to let this opinion publicly be known, even in the pulpit (if your grace so permit him), what he himself [will] and would all others should do, for obedience to the laws established. And if any little scruple be, it is not great, and easy to be reformed by your grace : whom I do most heartily entreat to continue your favours and countenance towards him, with such access sometimes as your leisure may permit. For I perceive he doth much desire and crave it, &c. Thus, my good lord, praying to God to bless his church, and to make his servants constant and faithful, I bid your grace farewell.

“ Your grace’s very assured friend,

“ ROB. LEICESTER.”

“ *At the Court, this 14th
of July.*”

To which letter the archbishop returned this answer :

“ My singular good lord,

“ Mr. Cartwright shall be welcome to me at all times ; and, using himself quietly as becomes him, and as I hope he will, he shall find me willing to do him any good ; but to grant unto him as yet, my licence to preach, without longer trial, I cannot ; especially seeing he protesteth himself to be of the same mind he was at the writing of his book, for the matter thereof, though not for the manner ; myself also, I thank God, not altered in any point, by me set down, to the contrary ; and knowing many things [in his book] to be very dangerous. Wherefore, notwithstanding I am content and ready to be at peace with him, so long as he liveth peaceably ; yet doth my conscience and duty forbid me to give

unto him any further public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his conformity. And so being bold to use my accustomed plainness with your good lordship, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God, this 17th of July, 1585.”]

AND now after this long digression made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple; and, where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers, a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright’s, as the bishop had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself; and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this; that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and the bishop were now at rest, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possessors of a faith which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not; men that were become positive in asserting, *That a papist cannot be saved*: insomuch that about this time, at the execution of the queen of Scots, the bishop that preached her funeral sermon (which was Dr. Howland⁴, then bishop of Peter-

⁴ *Dr. Howland.*] “Dr. Richard Howland, master of John’s college in Cambridge, and the fourth bishop of Peterborough, died in 1600. It does not appear that he was the preacher on this occasion.

“Gunton, in his *History of the Church of Peterborough*, p. 73, has given a circumstantial account of the funeral of Mary, queen of Scots, on Tuesday, Aug. 1, 1587, six months after her death, for she was beheaded in the castle of Fotheringay, February 8, in that year. He relates that the bishop of Lincoln (Wickham) preached out of the 39th Psalm, 5, 6, 7, *Lord, let me know my end and the number of my days*, &c. In the prayer, when he gave thanks for such as were translated out of this vale of misery, he used these words: ‘Let us give thanks for the happy dissolution of the high and mighty princess Mary, late queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, of whose life and death at this time I have not much to say, because I was not acquainted with the one, neither was I present at the other. I will not enter into judgment further; but, because it hath been signified to me that she trusted to be saved by the blood of Christ, we must hope well of her salvation, for, as father Luther was wont to say, many one that liveth a papist, dieth a protestant.’ In the discourse of his text he only dealt with general doctrine of the vanity of all flesh.

“In the Supplement subjoined to Gunton’s *History*, p. 331, the subject of the sermon is resumed. ‘Bishop Morton, in his *Protestant Appeal*, l. iv. c. i. hath given the best account I meet with of that passage (which in the *Apology of the Roman Church* is taken out of *Martin Mar-prelate*) in the bishop of Lincoln’s sermon at her (the queen of Scots) funeral, which made

borough) was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And beside this boldness of their becoming gods, so far as to set limits to his mercies; there was not only one *Martin Mar-prelate*⁶, but other venomous books daily printed and dispersed; books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people⁶, till Tom Nash appeared against them all; who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing satirical merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind malicious senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they; Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these or like titles, *An Almond' for a Parrot*; *A Fig for my God-son, Come crack me this Nut*⁷, and the like: so that his merry wit made some sport, and such a discovery of their absurdities as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of father Alvie, who was master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of some citizens, and the younger gentlemen of that society; and for the most part approved by

so great noise among factious people, who reported, that he prayed *his soul and the souls of all there present might be saved with the soul of the queen deceased*. But the truth of the story he says is this, that the rev. bishop now mentioned, understanding how that great and honourable personage, in the last act of her life, renounced all presumption of her own inherent righteousness, and wholly affianced her soul unto Christ, in belief to be justified only by his satisfactory justice, did therefore conceive hope of her salvation by virtue of that cordial prescribed by the holy apostle, viz., that *where sin aboundeth, the grace of God doth superabound*.⁸ The above note is transcribed from Dr. Zouch.

⁶ *One Martin Mar-prelate.*] Under this name are included the scurrilous pamphlets of at least four writers, Penny, Throgmorton, Udal, and Fenner. See Fuller's *Church History* and Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, at this period: for full accounts of the writers, and lists of their works, the reader may consult Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss's edition), and the bibliographers, Ames, Beloe, &c.

⁶ *With the common people.*] See *Friendly Debate* (Patrick), part ii. p. 48. 1684.

⁷ *An Almond.*] "*An Almond for a Parrat, or Culbert Curry-Knaues Almes.*"

⁸ *This Nut.*] The real title is "*Pap with a Hatchet, alias A Fig for my God-son, or Crack me this Nut,*" &c., and the real author was not Tom Nash but John Lilly.

Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions: for he continued lecturer a part of his time: Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of a winning behaviour, and of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the presbytery in Antwerp (and with them some opinions, that could never be eradicated) and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation: for the promoting of which, he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in that design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that end used his most zealous endeavours to be master of it; and, his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved the occasion of a public opposition betwixt them, in their sermons; many of which were concerning the doctrine and ceremonies of this church: insomuch that, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their sermons; for, as one hath pleasantly exprest it, "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon, Geneva."

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able to prove his adversary's opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the oppositions became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers's preaching by a positive prohibition [and that chiefly because of his foreign ordination:] against which Mr. Travers appealed and petitioned her majesty's privy council to have it recalled: where besides his patron the earl of Leicester, he met also with many assisting friends; but they were not able to prevail with, or against the arch-bishop, whom the queen had intrusted with all church-power: and, he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker's principles, and of his learning and moderation, that he withstood all solicitations.—But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleasant to divers of his party; and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so publicly magnified by them and many others of that party, as never to be answered: so that intending the bishop's and Mr. Hooker's disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed, and scattered abroad: and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear and make as public an answer: which he did, and dedicated it to

the archbishop ; and it proved so full an answer, an answer that had in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of stile, that the bishop began to have him in admiration, and to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship, even, a familiar friendship, with a man of so much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented, (all or most of which, I have seen written,) would prove at least tedious ; and therefore, I shall impose upon my reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow, and by which, he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, "that the assurance of what we believe by the word of God, is not to us so certain as that which we perceive by sense." And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so ; and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following.

"First, I taught, That the things which God promises in his word are surer than what we touch, handle, or see ; but are we so sure and certain of them ? If we be, why doth God so often prove his promises to us, as he doth, by arguments drawn from our sensible experience ? For we must be surer of the proof than of the things proved ; otherwise it is no proof. For example : how is it that many men looking on the moon at the same time, every one knoweth it to be the moon, as certainly as the other doth ; but many believing one and the same promise, have not all one and the same fullness of persuasion ? For how falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sense, can be no surer of it than they are ; when as the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth, hath always need to labour, strive and pray, that his assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things may grow, increase, and be augmented ?"

The sermon⁹ that gave him the cause of this his justification makes the case more plain, by declaring "that there is besides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence ;" in which having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it, "Comfortable" (he says) "as to weak believers, who suppose themselves to be faithless not to believe, when notwithstanding they have their adherence. The holy Spirit hath his private operations, and

⁹ *The sermon.*] "Of the certainty and perpetuity of faith in the elect." Compare also Hooker's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 389. 408, 9, 422. edit. 1793.

worketh secretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward testimony of it."

Tell this, saith he, to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, Do not persuade me against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself; I do not, I know I do not believe. (Mr. Hooker's own words follow.) "Well then, to favour such men a little in their weakness, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it that they adhere not to God's promises, but are faithless and without belief; but are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confess they are. Do they not wish it might, and also strive that it may be otherways? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a secret love and liking that they have of those things believed? For, no man can love those things which in his own opinion are not; and, if they think those things to be, which they shew they love when they desire to believe them; then must it be, that by desiring to believe they prove themselves true believers; for, without faith no man thinketh that things believed are: which argument all the subtilties of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve." This is an abridgment of part of the reasons Mr. Hooker gives for his justification of this his opinion for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he in one of his sermons had declared, that "he doubted not but that God was merciful to many of our fore-fathers"¹⁰ living in popish

¹⁰ *To many of our fore-fathers.*] "And here I must answer" (says Latimer) "to an objection or doubt, that peradventure some of you may make. You will thinke, when ye heare what is the nature of false doctrine, ye will thinke, I say, Alas! what is done with our grandfathers? no doubt they are lost everlastingly, if this doctrine be true. For, after your saying, they have had the false doctrine; therefore they be damned; for the nature of false doctrine is to condemne. Such doubtles some will make; yea and there be some whiche in no wise will receave the gospel; it were even as much as to thinke their forefathers be damned.—Nowe to this objection or doubtfulness I will make you aunswere. It is with false doctrine like as it is with fire. The nature of fire is to burne and consume all that which is layd in the fire, that may be burned: so the nature of false doctrine is to condemne, to bring to everlasting damnation; that is the nature of false doctrine. But yet for all that, though the nature of the fire be to burne and consume all thynges, yet there hath been many thynges in the fire which have not been burned nor

superstition, for as much as they sinned ignorantly:" and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But first, [because Travers's argument against this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be saved, because they sought to be justified by the merit of their works, and so overthrew the foundation of faith,] he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith without works is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover the way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness; and

consumed: as the bush whiche appeared unto Moses, he burned in the fire, and yet he was not consumed. What was the cause? The power of God. . . . Even so is it with popery, and with false doctrine: the nature of it is to consume, to corrupt and bring to everlastyng sorrow; yet let us hope that our forefathers were not damned; for God hath many wayes to preserve them from perishing. Yea in the last houre of death God can worke with his Holy Ghost, and teach them to know Christ his sonne for their saviour, though they were taught otherwise before. . . .

"But now ye will say, Seeing then that God can save men, and bring them to everlastyng life, without the outward hearing of the worde of God, then *we have no neede* to heare the word of God, we neede not to have preachers amongst us. For, like as he hath preserved them, so he will preserve us too, without the hearing of God's word. This is a foolish reason: I will aunswere you this: I will make you this argument, God can and is able to preserve thynge from fire, so that they shall not burne nor consume; and therefore I go and set my house a fire, and it shall be preserved. Or this: God preserved those three men (Shadrach, Mesech and Abednego) from fire and so that they tooke no harme: *ergo*, I will goe and cast my selfe into the fire, and I shall take no harme.—Is this now a good reason? No, no: for these three men had their vocation to goe into the fire; they were cast in by violence: so if God will have thee to goe into the fire by violence for his wordes sake, then goe with a good will, and no doubt either he will preserve thee as he did them, or els he will take thee out of this miserable life to everlasting felicitie. But to cast my selfe into the fire without any calling, I may not: for it is written, *Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum*, thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. . . .

"This much I thought good to say agaynst the suggestion of the devil, when he putteth thee in mynde saying, *Thy forefathers are damned*; that thou mightest learne not to dispayre of their salvation, and yet not to be too careful, for they have their part. We must not make an accompt for their doynge: every one must aunswere for himselfe. For, if they be damned, they cannot be brought agayne with oure sorrowfulnesse. Let us rather indeavour *ourselves* to heare Gods word diligently, and learne the way of salvation, so that when we shall be called, we may be sure of it."—*Sermons*, fol. 210—212.

having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And, these two ways he demonstrates thus : (they be his own words that follow) "That, the way of nature ; this, the way of grace ; the end of that way, salvation merited, presupposing the righteousness of men's works ; their righteousness, a natural ability to do them ; that ability, the goodness of God which created them in such perfection. But, the end of this way, salvation bestowed upon men as a gift ; presupposing not their righteousness, but the forgiveness of their unrighteousness, justification ; their justification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in him for whose sake not doers are accepted, which is their vocation ; their vocation the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost children ; their election, a mediator in whom to be elected ; this mediation, inexplicable mercy ; this mercy, supposing their misery for whom he vouchsafed to die, and make himself a mediator."

And he also declareth, "There is no meritorious cause for our justification but Christ ; no effectual but his mercy ;" and says also, "We deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it." This belief (he declareth) is to destroy the very essence of our justification : and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. Yet nevertheless (and for this he was accused) "Considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this was one, that they hoped to make God some part of amends by voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves ; because of this or the like erroneous opinions which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be so bold as to write on their graves, such men are damned ; there is for them no salvation ? St. Austin says, *errare possum, hæreticus esse nolo*. And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved ? Give me a pope or a cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himself ; whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his gospel ; whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his

mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands, and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, *Lord, cleanse me from all my secret sins*; shall I think because of this or a like error such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? If they do, wherefore should I doubt but that virtue may proceed from Christ, to save them? No, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, You err in your opinion: but be of good comfort, you have to do with a merciful God who will make the best of that little which you hold well; and, not with a captious sophister, who gathereth the worst out of every thing in which you are mistaken."

"But it will be said," (says Mr. Hooker) "The admittance of merit in any degree, overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all possibility of salvation." (And now Mr. Hooker's own words¹¹ follow.)

"What, though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of Christian faith; although they have in some measure all the virtues and graces of the spirit; although they have all other tokens of God's children in them; although they be far from having any proud opinion that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds; although the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them be a little too much dejection, somewhat too great a fear arising from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves? although they be not obstinate in this opinion? although they be willing and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it? although the only cause why they do not forsake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be disproved? although the cause why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and are not to remove it;—Let me die, (says Mr. Hooker) if it be ever proved, that simply an error doth exclude a pope or cardinal in such a case utterly from hope of life. Surely I must confess, that if it be an error to think that God may be merciful to save men even when they err; my greatest comfort is my error: were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing

¹¹ *Own words.*] *Works*, vol. iii. p. 485.

them to be very material ; and that as they are thus contracted, they may prove useful to my reader ; as also, for that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal charity.—Other exceptions were also made against him by Mr. Travers, as, "That he prayed before and not after his sermons ; that in his prayers he named bishops ; that he kneeled both when he prayed and when he received the sacrament," and (says Mr. Hooker in his defence) "other exceptions so like these, as but to name, I should have thought a greater fault than to commit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of so great a controversy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. *That* like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "Your next argument consists of railing and of reasons ; to your railing, I say nothing ; to your reasons, I say what follows." And I am glad of this fair occasion, to testify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man ; and doubtless, if almighty God had blest the dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this church, with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal ; then, obedience and truth had kissed each other ; then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this church and state had been blest like *Jerusalem that is at unity with itself*:—but this can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people of this nation with a belief *that schism is a sin ; and, they not fit to judge what is schism* : and bless them also with a belief, *That there may be offences taken, which are not given ; and, That laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey*.

[Before we pass from these unhappy disputations between Hooker and Travers, as we have heard two articles of pretended false doctrine objected by the one to the other, so it is pity the rest should be wholly lost, and for ever buried in silence : therefore for the making this considerable part of the reverend man's life and history compleat, and to retrieve whatsoever may be gotten of the pen and mind of so learned and judicious a person, take this further account, not only of two, but of all the articles that his before-mentioned adversary had marshalled up against him, collected from a sermon or sermons he had heard him preach at the Temple, together with his endeavoured confutation of them : and likewise Hooker's own vindication of himself to each

of those articles. These articles seem to have been delivered by Travers to the lord treasurer. The same lord delivered them to Hooker to consider of, and to make his reply to. And of these articles the archbishop also was privy, and briefly declared his judgment and determination of them. I shall set all down exactly from an authentic manuscript.

“Doctrines delivered by Mr. Hooker, as they were set down and shewed by Mr. Travers, Mar. 30, 1585, under this title;

“A short note of sundry unsound points of doctrine at divers times delivered by Mr. Hooker in his public sermons.

“1. The church of Rome is a true church of Christ, and a church sanctified by profession of that truth, which God hath revealed unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect church.

“2. The fathers which lived and died in popish superstition were saved, because they sinned ignorantly.

“3. They which are of the church of Rome may be saved by such a faith as they have in Christ, and a general repentance of all their sins.

“4. The church of Rome holdeth all men sinners, even the blessed Virgin, though some of them think otherwise of her.

“5. The church of Rome teacheth Christ's righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sin.

“6. The Galatians which joined with faith in Christ, circumcision as necessary unto salvation, notwithstanding be saved.

“7. Neither the church of Rome, nor the Galatians deny the foundation directly, but only by consequent: and therefore may be saved. Or else neither the Lutherans, nor whosoever hold any error (for every error by consequent, denieth the foundation) may be saved.

“8. An additament taketh not away that whereunto it is added, but confirmeth it. As he that saith of any, he is a *righteous man*, saith that he is a man: except it be privative; as when he saith, he is a *dead man*: then he denieth him to be a man: and of this sort of [privative] additaments neither are works which are added to Christ by the church of Rome; nor circumcision added to him by the Galatians.

"9. The Galatians' case is harder than the case of the church of Rome ; for they added to Christ circumcision, which God had forbidden and abolished : but that which the church of Rome addeth are works, which God hath commanded.

"10. No one sequel urged by the apostle against the Galatians, for joining circumcision with Christ, but may be as well enforced against the Lutherans holding ubiquity.

"11. A bishop or a cardinal of the church of Rome, yea, the pope himself, denying all other errors of popery, notwithstanding his opinion of justification by works, may be saved.

"12. Predestination is not of the absolute will of God, but conditional.

"13. The doings of the wicked are not of the will of God positive, but only permissive.

"14. The reprobates are not rejected, but for the evil works which God did foresee they would commit.

"15. The assurance of things which we believe by the word, is not so sure, as of those which we perceive by sense."

Here follows an account given in by Mr. Hooker himself, of what he preached March 28, 1585. And then of what Travers in his Lectures excepted thereunto. And lastly of Hooker's reply and vindication of himself and his sermons.

"I doubted not but that God was merciful to thousands of our fathers, which lived in popish superstition : for that *they* sinned ignorantly. But *we* have the light of the truth.

"^c Which doctrine was withstood, because we are commanded to depart out of Babylon, else we should be partakers of those plagues there denounced against such as repent not of their superstitions : which they cannot who know them not.

"I answered that there were thousands in our days who hate

^c [Travers's own answer ;

Salvation belongeth to the church of Christ. We may not think that they could be capable of it which lived in the error held and maintained in the church of Rome, that seat of antichrist. Wherefore to his people God speaketh in this sort ; Go out of Babylon, my people ; go out of her, that you be not partaker of her sins, and that you taste not of her plagues.

The Galatians, thinking that they could not be saved by Christ, except they were circumcised, did thereby exclude themselves from salvation. Christ did profit them nothing. So they which join their own works with Christ.]

sin, desiring to walk according to the will of God ; and yet committing sin which they know not to be sin. I think that they that desire forgiveness of secret sins, which they know not to be sins, and that are sorry for sins, that they know not to be sins, [such] do repent.

“ It is replied that without faith there is no repentance. Our fathers in desiring mercy did but as divers pagans ; and had no true repentance.

“ They thought they could not be saved by Christ without works, as the Galatians did, and so they denied the foundation of faith.

“ I answered, although the proposition were true, that he who thinketh he cannot be saved by Christ, without works, overthroweth the foundation ; yet we may persuade ourselves that our forefathers might be saved. 1st. Because many of them were ignorant of the dogmatical positions of the church of Rome. 2dly. Albeit they had divers positions of that church, yet it followeth not that they had this. 3dly. Although they did generally hold this position, yet God might be merciful unto them. No exception hath been taken against any one of these assertions. 4thly. I add, that albeit all those of whom we speak, did not only hold this generally, but as the scholars of Rome hold this position now of joining works with Christ ; whether doth that position overthrow the foundation directly or only by consequence ? If it doth overthrow the foundation directly, &c. To make all plain, these points are to be handled. First, what is meant by the foundation ? Secondly, what it is to deny the foundation directly. Thirdly, whether the elect may be so deceived, that they may come to this, to deny the foundation directly ? Fourthly, whether the Galatians did directly deny it ? Fifthly, whether the church of Rome, by joining works with Christ in the matter of salvation, do directly deny it ?

“ I. To the first I answer : The foundation is, that which Peter Nathaniel, and the Samaritan, confessed ; and that which the apostles expressly [affirm], Acts iv. *There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.* It is, in fine, this, salvation is by Christ only. This word *only*, what doth it exclude ? [as when we say] This judge shall *only* determine this matter : this *only* doth not exclude all other things, besides the person of the judge ; as, necessary witnesses, the equity of the cause, &c. but *all persons* : and not all persons from being

present, but from determining the cause. So when we say, salvation only is by Christ, we do not exclude all other things. For then how could we say that faith were necessary? We exclude therefore not those means whereby the benefits of Christ are applied to us; but all other *persons*, for working any thing for our redemption.

“II. To the second point: We are said to deny the foundation directly, when plainly and expressly we deny that Christ only doth save.—*By consequence we deny the foundation*, when any such thing is defended, whereby it may be *inferred* that Christ doth not only save.

“III. To the third: The elect of God cannot so err that they should deny directly the foundation: for that Christ doth keep them from that extremity: and there is no salvation to such as deny the foundation directly. Therefore it is said, that they shall worship the beast, whose names are not found in the book of life. Antichrist may prevail much against them [viz. the elect] and they may receive the sign of the beast in the same degree; but not so that they should directly deny the foundation.

“IV. To the fourth: Albeit the Galatians fell into error; but not so that they lost salvation. If they had died before they had known the doctrine of Paul, being before deceived by those that they thought did teach the truth; what do you think? should they have been damned? This we are taught; that such errors [as are damning] shall not take hold, but on those that love not the truth. The Galatians had embraced the truth; and for it had suffered many things, &c. There came among them seducers that required circumcision. They being moved with a religious fear, thought it to be the word of God, that they should be circumcised. The best of them might be brought into that opinion; and dying before they could be otherwise instructed, they may not for that be excluded from salvation. Circumcision being joined with Christ doth only by consequence overthrow the foundation. To hold the foundation by an additament is not to deny the foundation, unless the additament be a privative. He is a just man, therefore a man: but this followeth not; he is a dead man, therefore he is a man. In the 15th chapter of the Acts they are called *Credentes* [i. e. such as believed] that taught the necessity of circumcision. That name could not have been given unto them, if directly they had denied the foundation. That which the apostle doth urge against the Galatians, in respect of cir-

cumcision, may be urged against the Lutherans in respect of their consubstantiation. So neither did the Galatians directly deny it.

“V. Lastly: Whether doth the church of Rome directly deny the foundation, by joining Christ and works? There is a difference between the papists and the Galatians; for circumcision, which the Galatians joined with Christ, was forbidden and taken away by Christ. But works are commanded, which the church of Rome doth join with Christ. So that there is greater repugnancy to join circumcision with Christ, than to join works with him. But let them be equal. As the Galatians only by consequent denied the foundation, so do the papists. Zanchy, Calvin, Moray: I need not go so far as some of these: but this I think, if the pope or any of the cardinals should forsake all other their corruptions and yield up their souls, holding the foundation again but by a slender thread, and did but as it were touch the hem of Christ’s garment, believing that which the church of Rome doth in this point of doctrine, they may obtain mercy. For they have to deal with God, who is no captious sophister, and will not examine them in quiddities, but accept them if they plainly hold the foundation.

“This error is my only comfort as touching the salvation of our fathers. I follow Mr. Martyr. I know *Ignorantia non excusat in toto*, but *in tanto*. It maketh not a fault to be no fault, but that which is a fault to be a less one.”

At length thus did the archbishop of Canterbury discreetly and warily correct and moderate these articles between them both.

“I. Papists living and dying papists may notwithstanding be saved. The reason; ignorance excused them. As the apostle alledgeth, 1 Tim. i. 13. *I obtained mercy because I did it ignorantly.*”

The archbishop’s judgment.

“Not *papists*, but *our fathers*. Nor they *all*, but *many of them*. Nor *living and dying papists*, but living in popish superstitions. Nor simply *might*, but *might by the mercy of God*, be saved. Ignorance did not excuse the fault to make it no fault: but the less their fault was, in respect of ignorance, the more hope we have, that God was merciful to them.”

“II. Papists hold the foundation of faith, so that they may be saved, notwithstanding their opinion of merit.”

Archbishop. "And papists overthrow the foundation of faith, both by their doctrine of merit, and otherwise, many ways. So that if they have as their errors deserve, I do not see how they should be saved."

"III. General repentance may serve to their salvation, though they confess not their error of merit."

Archbishop. "General repentance will not serve any but the faithful man. Nor him for any sin, but for such sins only as he doth not mark, nor know to be sin."

"IV. The church of Rome is within the new covenant."

Archbishop. "The church of Rome is not as the assemblies of Turks, Jews and Painims."

"V. The Galatians, joining the law with Christ, might have been saved, before they received the epistle."

Archbishop. "Of the Galatians, before they were told of their error, what letteth us to think, as of our fathers, before the church of Rome was admonished of her defection from the truth?]"

And this may also be worthy of noting, That these exceptions of Mr. Travers against Mr. Hooker, proved to be *Felix error*, for they were the cause of his transcribing those few of his sermons which we now see printed with his books, and of his Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication, and of his most learned and useful Discourse of justification of faith and works; and by their transcription they fell into such hands as have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings were; and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his answer to the petition of Mr. Travers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers and for his church discipline: insomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society, by the great reason, and as great meekness of this humble man: for though the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of master Travers's judgment; insomuch, that it turned to his extreme grief: and, that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate sober treatise of the church's power to make canons for the use of cere-

monies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*; intending therein to shew such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason, delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it. And that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface or epistle to the dissenting brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in holy writ, and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer, Philemon: than which, none ever was more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's; so that his dear friend and companion in his studies, doctor Spenser, might after his death justly say, "What admirable height of learning and depth of judgment dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man, great in all wise men's eyes except his own; with what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries; whose eyes in the humility of his heart were always cast down to the ground; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the spirit of love, as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove, had wanted gall;—let those that knew him not in his person judge by these living images of his soul, his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed, and he therefore earnestly solicited the archbishop for a remove from that place, to whom he spake to this purpose.

"My lord, When I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed, God and Nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture and other laws both human and divine, whether the conscience of him and others of his judgment ought to be so far complied with as to alter our frame of church government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as his and others tender consciences shall

require us. And in this examination I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend a justification of the Laws of our Ecclesiastical Polity: in which design God and his holy angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which my conscience now does, that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences; and I shall never be able to do this, but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessings spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, if your grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun."

About this time the parsonage or rectory of Boscum¹, in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The bishop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that see (which was three years betwixt the translation of bishop Pierce to the see of York, and bishop Caldwell's admission into it) the disposal of that and all benefices belonging to that see, during this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the archbishop of Canterbury, and he presented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in the said year instituted, July 17, to be a minor prebend of Salisbury, the corps to it being Nether-Havin, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were entered into the register book in Stationers' Hall, the 9th of March, 1592, but not published till the year 1594, and then were with the before-mentioned large and affectionate preface, which he directs "to them that seek (as they term it) the reformation of the laws and orders ecclesiastical in the church of England;" of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life, (of all which more properly hereafter) but at Boscum he finished and published but only the first four, being then in the 39th year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595 by a surrender of it into the hands of bishop Caldwell, and he presented Benjamin

¹ *Boscum.*] Boscombe, about four miles from Amesbury.

Russel, who was instituted into it the 23d of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishops Borne in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that archbishop's gift; but in the latter end of the year 1594, doctor William Redman, the rector of it, was made bishop of Norwich, by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the queen, and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Borne the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition² of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth place to this, where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Borne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four books and large epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594. Next I am to tell that at the end of these four books there was, when he first printed them, this Advertisement to the Reader.—“I have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first four books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of introduction unto the books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean time the reader is requested to mend the printer's errors, as noted underneath.”

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the archbishop. These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself also into foreign nations. And I have been told more than forty years past, that either cardinal Allen, “or learned doctor Stapleton,” (both Englishmen, and in Italy about the time when Hooker's four books were first printed,) meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author that both the reformed,

² *Without any addition.*] “It is a vulgar error, which the author of his life hath also taken up, that he was but meanly preferred. For to my certain knowledge, at the time when he wrote his celebrated books of Ecclesiastical Polity, he had very great preferments, of which he died possessed.”—*Defence of Pluralities* (H. Wharton's), p. 192. 2nd edit.

and the learned of their own Romish Church did so much magnify, and therefore caused them to be sent for to Rome; and after reading them, boasted to the pope (which then was Clement the eighth) "that though he had lately said he had never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of author, yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his holiness if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English priest had writ four such books of Laws, and Church Polity, and in a style that expressed such a grave and so humble a majesty, with such clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him:" and this begot in the pope an earnest desire that doctor Stapleton should bring the said four books, and looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin, which doctor Stapleton did to the end of the first book; at the conclusion of which the pope spake to this purpose: "There is no learning that this man hath not searched into; nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author: his books will get reverence by age, for there are in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books: for at the first coming of king James into this kingdom, he enquired of the archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker that writ the books of Church Polity. To which the answer was, that he died a year before queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow; to which the king replied, "and I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose books I have received such satisfaction. Indeed, my lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf or paragraph in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches, or church music, or the like, but especially of the sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very learned men: and I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language, but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason, and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the fathers and schoolmen, and with all law both sacred and civil. And though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of

Mr. Hooker's book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author." And it is so truly true that the king thought what he spake, that as the most learned of the nation have and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence, so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late king Charles the first, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious king, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Cambden^d mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished, "that for the honour of this, and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the universal language." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary and forsaken it; but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earl, now lord bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live and yet know him not) that since Mr. Hooker died, none hath lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper; so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself and our venerable Richard Hooker, and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language^e of our little island.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did, or can commend^f too much,

^d [In his *Annals*, 1599.]

^e *Confined to the language.*] It is to be regretted, that neither Earle's translation, nor any other, has hitherto been published.

To the wishes for such a work we may add that of the illustrious Grotius, as expressed in a letter to Meric Casaubon.

"Ricardi Hookeri scripta ante annos multos vidi, et quanquam in sermone mihi non percognito, facile cognovi exactissimi operis utilitatem; quæ tanta est, ut hunc quoque librum verti, sed in Latinum sermonem, pervelim. Quæro si quis hic est, qui id efficere cupiat. Cæterum tibi id ipsum cordi esse velim."—*Vindication of the Lord's Prayer*, p. 81. 1660.

^f *Or can commend.*] Hooker may justly be regarded as the genuine lineal descendant of the most enlightened English reformers: and, possessing learn-

but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his

ing equal to that of any of them, with more opportunities for meditation, and the accumulated advantage of their labours and experience, he may, perhaps not improperly, be considered as exhibiting in his writings a model of the true settled, most improved, mature, and catholic principles of the English Reformation. But these virtues did not screen him from having many adversaries. At the time when Hooker wrote, Calvinism, *doctrinal* as well as *disciplinarian*, had made considerable progress in England; and Hooker's, unhappily for his own peace of mind, were almost the only works of great extent which were calculated to arrest the progress of the doctrinal Calvinists. In the year 1599 a tract was published in 4to., entitled *A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants, unfained favourers of the present state of Religion, authorised and professed in England, unto that reverend and learned man, Mr. R. Hooker, requiring resolution in certaine matters of doctrine (which seeme to overthrow the foundation of Christian religion, and of the Church among us), expresslie contained in his five books of Ecclesiasticall Pollicie*. This book is one of the earliest productions of those mal-contents, who were afterwards called *doctrinal Puritans*. It is the *doctrines* of Hooker with which they quarrel: and they profess (in contradistinction to the abettors of the Geneva *Discipline*) an unfeigned attachment to the external establishments of the church of England. The work is further deserving of notice, as exhibiting, I believe, the earliest example, both in the matter and manner of the argument, of those numerous publications in which some Calvinistic writers have thoughtlessly and intemperately indulged themselves, from the days of this Christian Letter, and from Prynne and Hickman downwards, to Edwards, and Toplady, and Bowman, and sir Richard Hill, and Overton.—Can it be believed, the authors of the letter in question tax the meek, the wise, the virtuous, the saint-like Richard Hooker with betraying and renouncing the doctrines to which he had solemnly subscribed? They charge him with designs of bringing back popery. They accuse him of a wanton attack on the memory of Calvin. They condemn him of unsoundness of doctrine respecting grace, and free-will, and justification, and predestination, and the *conditions* of the Christian covenant, and the sacraments of the Christian church. It is curious to see the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Homilies, bishop Jewel's Apology, dean Nowell's Catechism, and the writings of many others of Hooker's protestant predecessors, solemnly cited against him, and confronted in due form with extracts from the Ecclesiastical Polity, for the purpose of convicting him of deserting and denying the principles of that church of which he was a minister, in whose cause he toiled day and night, and in the defence of which, I believe, it may truly be said, that it was God's good pleasure that he should die. The following extracts may serve as specimens of this performance.

"The reverend fathers of our church call Mr. Calvin one of the best writers, &c. (J. Whitgift, p. 300. Bp. Jewel, Defence of Apolog. part ii. p. 149. Read any English writer defending the church of England; and namely, Fulke against Stapleton's Fortress, p. 71. Read Apolog. Anglican.)

customary rules of mortification and self denial; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayer, enjoying those blessed

Howe greatlie all Christian churches are to prayse God for that man's faithfull labours, and how instantlie therefore all sortes of papistes have and doe indeavour and strive to diminish his credit, all the Christian world most aboundlie both by word and by writing do testifie. *Wherefore we wonder not a little, what moved you to make choyse of that worthie pillar of the Church above all other, to traduce him, and to make him a spectacle before all Christians.*" P. 37.

By the way, some may think it strange, and yet it is very true that this same character of Calvin, which is here referred to, and thus accounted of, has in the present day been more than once appealed to, as a proof of the high esteem in which Calvin was regarded by Richard Hooker; and, what shall we say? why, perhaps, as a proof that the Articles of the Church of England are Calvinistical. *Ex quovis ligno fit, &c.* Again, "In all your books—Reason is highlie sett up against Holie Scripture, and reading against preaching: the church of Rome favourablie admitted to be of the house of God: Calvin with the Reformed churches full of faults, and most of all they which indevoured to be most reformed from conformitie with the Church of Rome: almost all the principall pointes of our English Creede greatlie shaken and contradicted. If you do not sincerelie, plainlie, and trulie answer all these our necessarie doubttes and demandes, what shall we have cause to thinke of these your tedious and laborious writings? Shall we doe you wronge to suspect you as a privie and subtile enemy to the whole state of the English church, and that would have men to deeme her majestie to have done ill in abolishing the Romish religion, and banishing the Pope's authoritie?—Will you bring us to atheisme or to poperie?" P. 43. "We beseech you therefore in the name of Jesus Christ, and as you will answer for the use of those great giftes which God hath bestowed upon you, that you would returne and peruse advisedlie all your five bookes, compare them with the articles of our profession sett out by public authoritie, and with the workes apologeticall, and other authorised Sermons and Homilies of our church, and of the reverend fathers of our land, and with the holie booke of God, and all other the queenes majesties proceedings." P. 44. "All the articles of our religion, and many partes of our church government checked, blamed, and contradicted." P. 45. "Thirdly that you would be careful not to corrupt the English creede and pure doctrine, *whereunto you have subscribed*, either by philosophie &c." P. 47. "The church of England beleeveeth, that *Predestination unto life is the eternal purpose* &c. But you maister Hooker seem to us to affirme contrarie, when you saie, *If anie man doubt* &c." P. 15. "You make it (the Sacrament) a meanes *condicionall*, and no lesse required than faith itself.—And herein we are suitors unto you to tell us, whether the *condition* of sacraments make not for the additament of *works* unto *faith*, in that which the English church holdeth to be onelie and properly of *faith*." P. 28.

After some delay, Hooker was prevailed upon to undertake a reply to this letter, but death prevented the execution of his purpose. Dr. Covel, his

returns which only men of strict lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible ; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then or about that time made one of the prebends of Canterbury ; a German by birth, and some time a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning episcopacy and sacrilege ; and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both unto his brethren ministers of the Low Countries, which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others, against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts, writ in Latin, especially of three ; one of the *Degrees of Ministers*, and of the *Bishops superiority above the Presbytery* ; a second against *Sacrilege* ; and a third, of *Christian Obedience to Princes* ; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when in a time of church tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a

friend, then undertook the work : and he speaking of his own performance, and what Hooker's would have been if executed, expresses himself thus, " His answer would have been far more general and more speedy, if he could either have resolved to have done it, or after he had resolved, could have lived to have seen it finished. But first of all he was loth to intermeddle with so weake adversaries ; thinking it unfit (as himselfe said) that a man that hath a long journey should turne backe to beate every barking curre ; and having taken it in hand, his urgent and greater affairs, together with the want of strength, weakened with much labour, would not give him time to see it finished." Preface to a *Just and temperate Defence of the five books of Ecclesiastical Policie*, p. 12.

Somewhere I have seen the " Christian Letter " attributed to Dr. Andrew Willet, but I cannot at present recall the authority. I remember, however, that, at the time, it seemed to me to be good.

Some preparations of Hooker towards a reply to this letter were known to be in existence by a slight notice given of them in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica*, p. 411, A.D. 1748 ; thus, " *Some strictures on the Letter that was printed Anno 1599, against his Ecclesiastical Polity*, MS. in biblioth. C.C.C. Oxon. 215 ;" but very little notice seems to have been taken of remains, likely to prove so curious and interesting, and actually being so, till Mr. Keble has published them, at large, in his recent very valuable edition of Hooker's writings. The passages are subjoined as notes to the several places in the Ecclesiastical Polity to which they appertain. For a further account, the reader may consult Mr. Keble's Preface, p. xii—xix. vol. i.

treatise of a three-fold episcopacy (which he calls divine, human, and satanical) this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of bishop Whitgift, made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public, and he therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin and his adherents, leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of episcopacy. But of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the archbishop, and printed about the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world in the publication of his first four books of Ecclesiastical Polity.

This friendship being sought for by this learned doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and their designs, both for the glory of God and peace of the church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety. Which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired; and alas, as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, *What went they out to see? a man clothed in purple and fine linen?* no indeed, but an obscure, harmless man, a man in poor cloaths, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications; his face full of heat pimples, begot by his inactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person let me add this of his disposition and behaviour: God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily

look him out of countenance ; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face ; and he was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time. And to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak-sighted ; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended : and the reader has the liberty to believe, that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to chuse his wife.

This parish clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament ; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by sir William Cooper (who still lives) and the poor clerk had many rewards for shewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence : to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness ; and in all which discourses the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning. But it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the Long Parliament the then present parson of Borne was sequestered (you may guess why) and a Genevan minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, "They had sequestered so many good men, that he doubted if his good master Mr. Hooker had lived till now they would have sequestered him too."

It was not long before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the sacrament as in Geneva, to which end the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion-table, for them to sit and eat and drink ; but when they went about this work there was a want of some joint stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions (but not to kneel upon). When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder ; but the minister bad him "cease wondering, and lock the church-door ;" to whom he replied, "Pray take you the keys, and lock me out : I will never come more into this church ; for all men will say my master Hooker was a good man and a good scholar, and I am sure it was

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not used to be thus in his days." And, report says, the old man went presently home and died: I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth, possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations. His use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer: his sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice: his eyes always fixed on one place to prevent his imagination from wandering, insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake. The design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons, such a kind of rhetorick as did rather convince and persuade than frighten men into piety; studying not so much for matter (which he never wanted) as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and sub-distinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself, but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, was as discernible in a preacher as a natural from an artificial beauty.

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy; but especially the last, saying often, "That the life of a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing, that the most godless men (though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week take from the parish clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of *procession*⁶, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preserva-

⁶ *Procession*.] The well-known practice, now called beating the bounds.

tion of love and their parish rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation ; and most did so ; in which perambulation he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people ; still inclining them and all his present parishioners to meekness, and mutual kindnesses, and love ; because *love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities.*

He was diligent to enquire who of his parish were sick, or any ways distressed, and would often visit them, unsent for ; supposing that the fittest time to discover to them those errors to which health and prosperity had blinded them ; and having by pious reasons and prayers moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. John says) *he that lives in love, lives in God, for God is love.* And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the communion, and then to receive it often, for it was both a confirming and strengthening of their graces ; this was his advice. And at his entrance or departure out of any house he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name ; insomuch that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did, by walking with him in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world such examples are become barren, and almost incredible, yet let his memory be blessed with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker praises God, who hath given such gifts to men : and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern as may invite posterity to imitate these his virtues.

This was his constant behaviour both at Borne and in all places

in which he lived : thus did he walk with God, and tread the footsteps of primitive piety ; and yet as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man. His was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susanna by the wicked elders, or that against St. Athanasius, as it is recorded in his life, (for that holy man had his heretical enemies) a slander which this age calls *trepanning*⁶ ; the particulars need not a repetition ; and that it was false needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocence. It was said that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church ceremonies, hating him for his book's sake, which he was not able to answer ; and his name hath been told me, but I have not so much confidence in the relation as to make my pen fix a scandal upon him to posterity ; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months ; and being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dearest friends, Edwin Sandys, and George Cranmer, who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon : to which the good man's reply was to this purpose, "The Lord forgive them, and the Lord bless you for this comfortable news. Now I have a just occasion to say with Solomon, *Friends are born for the days of adversity*, and such you have proved to me ; and to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, *Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men*. And, oh my God ! neither my life nor my reputation are safe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who

⁶ *Calls trepanning.*] "Though he was not at all satisfied with the grounds of their expectation and proceedings, and therefore could not blame the wariness and reservedness of the other, and thought their apprehension of being *betrayed* (which in the language of that time was called *trepanned*) which befell some men every day, very reasonable ; yet the confidence," &c.—*Clarendon's Life, Continuation of*, vol. i. p. 344. edit. 1820.

didst take care of me when I yet hanged upon my mother's breast. Blessed are they that put their trust in thee, O Lord : for when false witnesses were risen up against me, when shame was ready to cover my face, when my nights were restless, when my soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth after the rivers of waters, then thou, Lord, didst hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer ; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a prey to mine enemies ; the net is broken, and they are taken in it. Oh blessed are they that put their trust in thee ! and no prosperity shall make me forget those days of sorrow, or to perform those vows that I have made to thee in the days of my affliction ; for with such sacrifices thou, O God, art well pleased, and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth. And it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable, so his Christian charity ought to be imitated : for though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, revenge being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know moderation) almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, *Vengeance is mine* : and though this be said positively by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it : and yet nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker of whom I write ; for when his slanderers were to suffer he laboured to procure their pardon ; and when that was denied him, his reply was, "That however, he would fast and pray that God would give them repentance and patience to undergo their punishment." And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to doctor Saravia, "Oh with what quietness did I enjoy my soul after I was free from the fears of my slander ! and how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of revenge !"

About the year 1600, and of his age 46, he fell into a long and

sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water betwixt London and Gravesend ; from the malignity of which he was never recovered ; for, after that time till his death he was not free from thoughtful days, and restless nights ; but a submission to his will that makes the sick man's bed easy by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable ; and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia (who saw him daily and was the chief comfort of his life) "That he did not beg a long life of God, for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of polity;" and then, "Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;" which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers⁷, though he denied the church the benefit of them, as compleated by himself ; and it is thought that he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books : but this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered, the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then, to have an aversness to all food ; insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretell him, that the day of his dissolution drew near ; for which, his vigorous soul appeared to thirst. In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed ; of which he having no-

⁷ *Heard his prayers.*] "Concerning those three books of his, which from his own mouth I am informed that they were finished, I know not in whose hands they are, nor whether the church shall ever be bettered by so excellent a worke."—Covel's *Just Defence*, p. 149. 1603.

Dr. John Spencer also, in the Preface to his edition of the Five Books, speaking of the other three, tells us, "And it pleased God to grant him his desire : for he lived till he saw them perfected. And though, like Rachel, he died as it were in the travail of them, and hastened death upon himself by hastening to give them life ; yet he held out to behold with his eyes these *partus ingenii*, these Benjamins, sons of his right hand, though to him they were Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. But some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice, or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian mid-wives, as soon as they were born, smothered them ; and by conveying away the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but certain old imperfect and mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces, and scattered like Medea's Absyrtus ; no favour, no grace, not the shadows of themselves almost remaining in them."—See below, p. 536 seq.

tice, his question was, "Are my books and written papers safe?" and being answered, "That they were;" his reply was, "then it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul, (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other) came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the church's absolution, it was resolved that the doctor should give him both that and the sacrament the day following. To which end, the doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company, and then the doctor gave him, and some of those friends which were with him, the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long: for, his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible, insomuch that the doctor apprehended death ready to seize him; yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the doctor occasion to require his present thoughts? to which he replied, "That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven; and oh that it might be so on earth!" after which words he said, "I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near; and, though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to him and to all men; yet, if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? and therefore, where I have failed, Lord show mercy unto me, for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits who died to purchase pardon for penitent sinners; and since I owe thee a death, Lord let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time, I submit to it; let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done;" with which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous, as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words, "Good doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions, for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from that blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world

can neither give nor take from me: my conscience beareth me this witness, and this witness makes the thoughts of death joyful. I could wish to live to do the church more service, but cannot hope it, for my days are past as a shadow that returns not." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and, after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep.—And now he seems to rest like Lazarus, in Abraham's bosom, let me here draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the patriarchs and apostles, and the most noble army of martyrs and confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man, shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity: and with it a greater degree of glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of.

In the mean time, bless O Lord! Lord, bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation; for, these will bring peace at the last: and, Lord! let his most excellent writings be blest with what he designed, when he undertook them; which was, glory to thee O God on high, peace in thy church, and good will to mankind. Amen, Amen.

ISAAC WALTON.

This following EPITAPH was long since presented to the world, in memory of Mr. HOOKER, by Sir WILLIAM COOPER, who also built him a fair monument in Borne Church, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual father.

Though nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious Hooker; though this cost be spent
On him that hath a lasting monument
In his own books, yet ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
Church ceremonies he maintain'd, then why
Without all ceremony should he die?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all to ask, why had he none?
Yet he that lay so long obscurely low
Doth now preferr'd to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise;
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man, Friend, sit up higher.

APPENDIX.

AND now having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life; I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death; of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following appendix.

And first it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged; but I have so examined it as to be confident I mistake not. And for the year of his death, Mr. Cambden, who in his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth 1599*, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599, and yet in that inscription of his monument set up at the charge of Sir William Cooper in Borne Church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is there said to be in anno 1603: but doubtless both mistaken: for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner, the archbishop's register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October 26, in anno 1600, and that it was proved the 3rd of December following*.

And that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicely, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave each of them an hundred

* [And the reader may take notice, that since I first writ this Appendix to the *Life of Mr. Hooker*, Mr. Fulman, of Corpus Christi college, hath shewed me a good authority for the very day and hour of Mr. Hooker's death, in one of his books of *Polity*, which had been archbishop Laud's. In which book, besides many considerable marginal notes of some passages of his time, under the bishop's own hand, there is also written in the title-page of that book (which now is Mr. Fulman's) this attestation:

Richardus Hooker vir summis doctrinæ dotibus ornatus, de ecclesia præcipue Anglicana optime meritus, obiit Novemb. 2, circiter horam secundam postmeridianam. Anno 1600.]

pounds ; that he left Joan his wife his sole executrix ; and that by his inventory, his estate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092l. 9s. 2d. which was much more than he thought himself worth, and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping of it ; of which will^a of Mr. Hooker's, I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer (of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more) was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a schoolmaster in Chichester, and are both dead long since. Margaret his youngest daughter was married unto Ezekiel Chark, bachelor in divinity, and rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown, near Canterbury, who died about 16 years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living, and in sacred orders, being at this time rector of Waldron, in Sussex ; she left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but very far from abounding ; and these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker their grandfather had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of 121 years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable ; and for his wife, she was so unlike Jephtha's daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her widowhood, nor lived long enough to bewail her second marriage, for which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death : but she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his estate, his wife, and his children. I am next to speak of his books ; concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight books, and

^a *Of which will.*] A copy of the will is given by Dr. Zouch, p. 47. 2nd edition.

that his first four were printed anno 1594, and his fifth book first printed, and alone, anno 1597, and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight: but whether we have the last three as finished by himself is a just and material question; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost 40 years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, bishop Whitgift, then archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his chaplains¹ to enquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her husband; of which she would not, or could not give any account; and that about three

¹ *Sent one of his chaplains.*] In the 8vo. edit. of the Works of Hooker, printed at Oxford, the following letter from bishop Andrews to doctor Parry is inserted from a MS. in the Bodleian Library.

“Salutem in Christo.

“I cannot chuse but write, though you do not. I never failed since I last saw you, but dayly prayed for him till this very instant you sent this heavey news. I have hitherto prayed *Serva nobis hunc*; now must I, *Da nobis alium*. Alas for our greate loss! and when I say *ours*, though I meane yours and myne, yet much more the common: with the losse since they have of so greate a damage, the more sad we neede to bewayle them and ourselves, who know his workes and his worth to be such as behind him he hath not (that I knowe) left anie neere him. And whether I shall live to knowe anie neere him, I am in greate doubt, that I care not how manie and myself had redeemed his longer life to have done good, in a better subject than he had in hand, though that were very good. Good brother, have a care to deal with his executrix or executor, or, him that is like to have a great stroke in it, his father-in-lawe, that there be special care and regard for preserving such papers as he left, besides the three last books expected. By *preserving*, I meane, that not only they be not embezzelled, and come to nothing, but that they come not into greate hands, whoe will only have use of them *quatenus et quousque*, and suppress the rest, or unhappily all: but rather into the hands of some of them that unfeignedly wished him well, though of the meaner sort; who may upon good assurance (very good assurance) be trusted with them; for it is pitie they should admit of any limitation. Doe this, and doe it *maturè*: it had bin more than time long since to have been about it, if I had sooner knowne it. If my word or letter would doe anie good to Mr. Churchman, it should not want. But what cannot yourself or Mr. Sandys doe therein? For Mr. Cranmer is away; happie in that he will gaine a weeke or two before he know of it.

“Almightie God comfort us over him! whose taking away I trust I shall no longer live, than with grief I remember; therefore with grief because with inward and most just honour I ever honoured him since I knew him.

“Your assured

“*At the Court,*
“*7th Nov. 1600.*

“poore loving friend,
“L. ANDREWES.”

months after that time the bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined, by some of her majesty's council, concerning the disposal of those books: but, by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the bishop invited her to Lambeth, and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, "That one Mr. Charke, and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen; and that she knew nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-street, in Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but he was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer (mentioned in the life of Mr. Hooker) was of Mr. Hooker's college, and of his time there, and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these books of Polity. This Dr. Spencer, the three perfect books being lost, had delivered into his hands (I think by bishop Whitgift) the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. And a fair testimony of this may appear by an epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publishers² seem to impose the three doubtful books to be the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer: in which epistle, the reader may find these words, which may give some authority to what I have here written of his last three books.

"And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his books, yet he held out with his eyes to

² *The publishers.*] This is bp. Gauden's edition. It is described in the title, in Gauden's rash and reckless stile, "to be now completed, as with the sixth and eighth books, so with the seventh, out of his own manuscripts, never before published."

behold these Benjamins, these sons of his right hand, though to him they proved Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. But, some evil disposed minds, whether of malice, or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them, and, by conveying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but the old imperfect mangled draughts dismembered into pieces; no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves remaining in them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them Benonies, the sons of sorrow. But being the learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, it is intended the world shall see them as they are; the learned will find in them some shadows and resemblances of their fathers face. God grant, that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the church for messengers of peace; so, in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work, and by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of these our civil wars.

“J. S.”

And next the reader may note, that this epistle of Dr. Spencer's, was writ and first printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies; and, then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is exprest by the said Dr. Spencer, in the said epistle, since whose death it is now 50 years.

And I do profess by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, “That her husband had made up, or finished Mr. Hooker's last three books: and that upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge that they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then archbishop of Canterbury which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, then bishop of London, and that she did as he enjoined her.”

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, and I know that these were to be found in several places, as namely, sir Thomas Bodlies library, in that of Dr. Andrews, late bishop of Winton, in the late lord

Conwayes, in the archbishop of Canterbury's, and in the bishop of Armagh's, and in many others: and most of these pretended to be the author's own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs; and for a proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies.

Dr. Barnard, sometime chaplain to Dr. Usher, late lord archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book called *Clavi Trabales*, printed by Richard Hodgkinson, anno 1661, that in his search and examination of the said bishop's manuscripts, he found the three written books which were supposed the 6, 7, and 8, of Mr. Hooker's books of Ecclesiastical Polity; and that in the said three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's) there are so many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherences: the omissions are by him set down at large in the said printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of some of the said omissions.

“First, as there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmoveable; even so in politic societies, there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment; for such punishments proceed always from superiors, to whom the administration of justice belongeth, which administration must have necessarily a fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the course of justice should go infinitely in a circle, every superior having his superior without end, which cannot be; therefore, a well-spring, it followeth, there is, a supreme head of justice whereunto all are subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which kind of prehemineny if some ought to have in a kingdom, who but the king shall have it? Kings therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to judge.

“If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them which judgeth; if magistrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is heaven, a tribunal, before which they shall appear; on earth they are not accountable to any.” Here, says the doctor, it breaks off abruptly.

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr.

Fabian Philips, a man of note for his useful books. "I will make oath, if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson, the late bishop of Lincoln, did a little before his death, affirm to me, he had seen a manuscript affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the king or supreme governors being accountable to the people; this I will make oath, that that good man attested to me.

"FABIAN PHILIPS."

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned bishop (whose writings are so highly and justly valued) gave a strict charge near the time of his death, or in his last will, "That nothing of his that was not already printed, should be printed after his death."

It is well known how high a value our learned king James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker, and known also that our late king Charles (the martyr for the church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his son Charles, that now is our gracious king; and you may suppose that this Charles the first was not a stranger to the pretended three books, because in a discourse with the lord Say, in the time of the long parliament, when the said lord required the king to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker (quoting him in one of the three written books) the king replied, "They were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books, but, however he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and, consent to what his lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful books, if he would but consent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker in the other five that were the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker's, my purpose was to enquire, then set down what I observed and know; which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now, leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to myself; but so, as to leave others the same liberty of believing or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's;—and it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these books, so

also, and chiefly with his dear pupil George Cranmer (whose sister was the wife of Dr. Spencer) of which this following letter may be a testimony, and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in this appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker, and is therefore added.—J. W.

George Cranmer's³ Letter unto Mr. Richard Hooker, Feb. 1598.

“What posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning church-discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered, that at first the greatest part of the learned in the land, were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The books then written for the most part, savoured of the disciplinary stile ; it sounded every where in pulpits, and in common phrase of men's speech : the contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course, many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it, not as not being the better form of government, but as not being so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby like to grow : one man⁴ alone there was, to speak of (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation), who in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries, had otherwise been prevented, wherein God hath made good unto him his own impress⁵. *Vincit qui patitur* ; for, what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness ; and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the discipline is

³ *George Cranmer.*] See p. 468.

⁴ John Whitgift, the archbishop.

⁵ *His own impress.*] The motto, then customarily chosen by archbishops, &c., on their advancement ; a practice still partially retained in the legal profession, viz. by serjeants-at-law, who, when first appointed, give rings with mottoes impressed upon them.

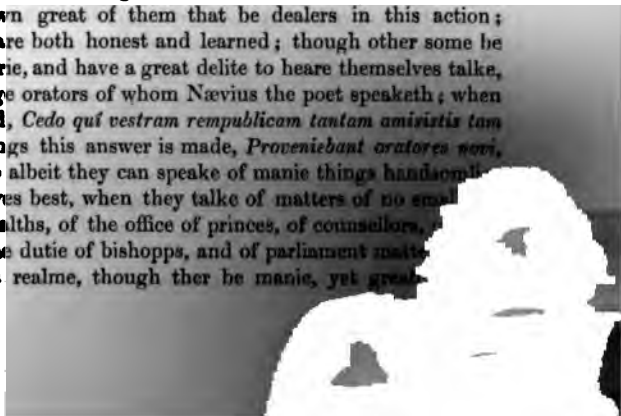
greatly decayed: their judgments begin to sway on the other side; the learned have weighed it, and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all governments. The cause of this change in men's opinions, may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth; which did mightily and violently possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, it lost that reputation, which before it had gained. As by the outside of an house the passers by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniency of the rooms within: so by the very name of discipline and reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but, now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of master-workmen and chief builders thereof: they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences, and they find them not answerable to that report which was made to them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived; so as now, the discipline which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

"This cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline, is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. —Another cause there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice, which the reformers have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about the cap and surplice⁶, but not such as

⁶ *Cap and surplice.*] Observations very similar to these are detailed in a valuable letter to the lord treasurer Burghley, by Hutton, then dean, afterwards archbishop of York, written so early as Oct. 6, 1573; not less than five and twenty years before this of George Cranmer; so long were the evils complained of exercising and diffusing their baneful influence.

"The number is grown great of them that be dealers in this action; whereof some doubtless are both honest and learned; though other some be puffed uppe with vaine glorie, and have a great delite to heare themselves talke, muche like to those yonge orators of whom Nævius the poet speaketh; when this question being asked, *Cedo quæ vestram rempublicam tantam amissis tan cito?* amongst other things this answer is made, *Proveniebant oratores novi, stulti, adolescentuli*; who albeit they can speake of manie things handsomely yet they please themselves best, when they talke of matters of no small importance: of commonwealths, of the office of princes, of counsellors, of the formes of churches, of the dutie of bishopps, and of parliament matters.

"Of this sort in this realme, though ther be manie, yet great



either bred division in the church, or tended to the ruin of the government established. This was peaceable; the next degr

number of those that favour them. Wherof some, I think, are perswaded that they hold with the truth, and so in conscience incline unto them: others no doubt, are papists indeede, and because they dare not openly promote poperie, egge them forward secretly, to deface the gospel: others are atheists and altogether without religion, and sett them on, neither for any hatred they beare unto the present state, nor for any love they beare unto a better; but because they gape for a spoile of the clergie, which they hope most easily bringe to passe under colour of reformation. Therefore they are resolved as fullie bent to promote and to preferre the cause.—

“Wherefore it is high time to see, that singular fantasies of private men not preferred before the general order established by publique authority confirmed and collected out of the word of God: but also for the civil magistrate to defend the lawes against wilful contemners. Yf it had bene looked unto about nine yeares agoe, this hurly burly had not now happened: and it be not looked unto now, it is like that some greater inconvenience will insue.

“At the beginning it was but a capp, and a surplice and a typpet; but now it is growen to bishopps, archbishopps and cathedral churches, and the overthrow of order established; and to speake plaine, to the queenes majestie authority in causes ecclesiastical.

“The supreme authority, you know, in ecclesiastical causes was justly taken from the pope, because he was an usurper, and gyven to the prince within his realme, to whome of right it doth appertaine. But these reformers take it from the prince, and gyve it unto themselves, with the grave seignior in every parish. For by them wold they have every cause debated where any ariseth in the congregation. If they cannot end it, then by the ministers and seigniories of the parishes adjoininge. If they cannot determine it, then by a national counsel. If it cannot be ended there, then to be referred to general counsel of all the churches reformed. They make no mention of the queene’s authority. I warrant you, she must draw forth her sword, and see that this order of theirs be observed and kept: and more she hath not to do if we beleve some of them.

“But to come nearer unto the matter. . . . We say, that the prince is not only φύλαξ νόμου, *custos legis*, armed with the sword to defend both the tables of Moses, and to see that both God be duelie honoured, and every man by his neighbour well used; but also that he hath authority to abolish idolatry and superstition; to make and constitute ecclesiastical lawes for the advancement of true worshipp of God; and if the ministers do not their due tie to punish them, and to displace them, and to appoint others more faithful and diligent in their rooms. We say also, that in civil and temporal things the prince is the vicegerent of God, and representeth here in earth the person of God; and in Scripture is called by the name of God; and that the majestie of a prince is a sacred thing; and therefore that the prince’s lawes, to the ecclesiastical and civil, not contrary to the word of God but tending either to edifie the church, or to profit the commonweale, ma

more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment; in defence

not with a safe conscience be disobeyed of any subjects. But some of these reformers speake more prophanelie of the prince, and saye, that the prince ruleth in *the commonwealth* herself; and in *the churche of God* that she seeth that all be ruled of the Lord. Whereas indeede, in both she ruleth but as vicegerent, and seeth that bothe be ruled of the Lord. . . .

"I knowe that of things some are simplie good, some simplie evil, and some indifferent, and that things indifferent do not binde the conscience. But I say, that lawes may be made of things indifferent, either for the profit of the commonwealth, or for comeliness in the church; and so things indifferent be made *not* indifferent, *but to be obeyed, even for conscience sake*. I confesse also, that this kinde of lawes bindeth not the conscience in such sorte, as doe the moral lawes of Moses, whereunto we are always bounde, without respect of time and place, or man, or man's lawe; but as the ceremonies of Moses' law, while they were in force, might not be violated with a safe conscience; so the good and godlie lawes of princes, though they be not gyven from God immediatelie, nor equal to Gods lawes; yet because they are the lawful commandements of his anointed and vicegerents heare in earthe, they may not be broken without disobedience unto God. Wherefore I thinke it muche better to say with Musculus, that the good lawes of princes binde the conscience, than to say with others the contrarie, though by a *quidditie* in learninge it might be defended. . . .

"I have heard others say, that rather than they will offend their brother, they will disobey the lawe; although it be made by publique authoritie, and may be obeyed with a safe conscience. Whereunto when I have replied, that in breaking the lawe, they do not only offend the quene, whome they ought at least to account for their sister, or rather for their mother, for *Princeps est pater patriæ*; but also they offend all them that like well of the lawe, and by their example move them to disobedience; they alleged, S. Paul, 1 Cor. x. And when I answered that St. Paul indeede doth speake of things of themselves indifferent, but not by the lawful and Christian magistrate commanded or forbidden; they were driven to this point at the length to say that the magistrate ought not by lawe to make any restraint of those things wherein we may shew our charitie towards our brother, in not offending him; whereas, indeede, neither may a subject restraine the prince in things indifferent: and it is a better worke of charitie charitable to obey the quene and her good laws; and also lovinglie to deale with thy brother in a friendlie persuasion, not to be offended at thy doinge than, disobeying the laws, and Gods vicegerent, to beare with thy brothers error, lest thou offend him.

"Furthermore, whereas we say, that it is a parcel of the prince's authoritie in causes ecclesiastical, to appoint bishopps and archbishopps, and other ministers, either by herselfe, or by other wise and learned persons, and to remove them, if they do not their duetie, as Salomon did remove Abiathar, and placed Sadoc in his roome; these men would not onlie have an equalitie of all ministers, (the mother of confusion and nurse of contention) but also wold deprive the quenes higheness of this authoritie, and gyve it to the

of them, volumes were published in English, and in Latin; yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to direct people; that every parish should choose their own minister. Which lawe, if it were put in practice in this countrie, divers parishes wold have none but a papist; others wold have the best companion at tables, not the best preacher in the pulpit. And whereas they allege, Acts xiv., that the apostles by voices and lifting up of the hands of the people did appoint ministers in everie church, though that were granted (for there are divers opinions) yet dothe not that bind the church, but ministers may be appointed other waies: for neither were they at that time any Christian magistrates to whose office it did appertaine (for then was the prophesie of David fulfilled, *Quare fremuerunt gentes*, &c.?) as S. Augustine sayeth;) but now, seeing that is fulfilled which folowethe in the same place, *Et nunc, reges, intelligite*, &c., and the saying of Esaias, *Et reges nutriti tui, et reginæ nutrices tuæ*, a Christian prince, by the advice of the sage counsel of the realme, and the counsel of the grave fathers of the church, can better discerne whome to place over Christes flocke, then the multitude, which have commonlie manie heads, manie wits, but not the best judgment. . . .

"In a *popular state* it is mete the people should rule; in an *aristocracy*, the wise and grave magistrates; but in a *kingdom* the people may not beare the sway, without doing [injurie] to the prince that representeth the person of God. Therefore to compell this realme to all the ecclesiastical policie of the church of Geneva, which is an aristocracy, a state differinge from a kingdom; or to all the accidental points of the policie used in the apostles time, when there was no Christian magistrate, but great persecution, is more than can be vouched by the word of God, and also dangerous to the present state, and derogatorie to her majesties authoritie. . . .

"I will not come to particulars. Mr. deane of Lincolne" (i. e. Whitgift, who succeeded Hutton, as master of Pembroke Hall, but was now head of Trinity College), "who is bothe learned and wise, and hath taken in hand to answere the platforme, which in manie points is drawne out of Calvine, I doubt not will satisfie them that be indifferent.

"And yet if there be things to be amended in the church of England, as it is hard to have a thinge so perfect, but it may be amended; God hath blessed her majestie above the capacitie of her sexe with singular learninge; her honourable counsel (some of them especiallie) are passing well learned, and the grave fathers of the church, so manie in number, so zealous in the truthe, so well learned in godlie learning, as I dare boldlie speake it to God's glorie were not in England at one time, since Christes religion was first preached in this land;—let them gather themselves together in the name of Christ; let them consult without affection; let them talke with the authors of *The Admonition and Platform*; let them answere them, and satisfie them also, if it be possible, by reason and God's word: and if there be either defect in the lawes, or disorder for want of execution of the lawes,—let it be reformed by publique authoritie: onlie, let us not through bitter and uncharitable contention, hinder the course of the gospel, gyve occasion to the enemye to rejoyce, and gratifie them that gape for the spoil of the clergie." Murdin's *Burghley State Papers*, p. 261—5. A.D. 1759, fol.

the practice of the discipline without authority ; yet, herein some regard of modesty, some moderation was used. Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in *writing* by Martin, in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed ; first, that whereas T. C. and others, his great masters, had always before set out the discipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God ; he contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the stage. 2dly. This conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare policy, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible) the state ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired by all the common people. 3. It may be noted, (and this I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action ; yet, were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, by acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the bishops ; and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his church ; as, indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4. contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction, at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander they were at length proceeded ; and were also likely to proceed further.

“ A further degree of outrage was also in *fact*. Certain prophets did arise⁶, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely, that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution ; and seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means ; and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope that upon their preaching out of a pease-cart in Cheapside, all the multitude

⁶ *Certain prophets did arise.*] Hacket and Coppinger, of whom see *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 389—91.

would have presently joined unto them ; and, in amazement of mind have asked them, *Viri fratres, quid agimus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer, (far unlike to that of St. Peter,) ‘Such and such are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down ; such and such are the dear children of God, let them be advanced.’

“Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration : yet so, that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear, what stirring affections the discipline is like to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

“Now if any man doubt of what society they were? or, if the reformers disclaim them, pretending, that by them they were condemned ; let these points be considered. ‘1. Whose associates were they before they entered into this frantic passion? whose sermons did they frequent? whom did they admire? 2. Even when they were entering into it, whose advice did they require? and when they were in, whose approbation? whom advertised they of their purpose? whose assistance by prayer did they request?’—But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reprovèd and condemned it.—How? did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they not rather content to stand aloof of, and see the end of it, as being loth to quench that spirit. No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness, they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft’s book.

“A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only *how far* the reformers *themselves* have proceeded, but what *others* upon their foundations have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions’: whereof, although their ancestors, the reformers, were never actually possessed, yet

⁷ *Of strange opinions.*] Any one desirous of a sufficiently copious supply of these, may find his satisfaction in a quarto volume entitled “A book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, and how unlike they are to Turks, and papists, and heathen folk. By me Robert Browne, Middleburgh, 1582.” See also, what may justly be styled the Hooker of these sectaries, “A brief Discovery of the false Church, by Henry Barrow, 1590.” It is a volume not deficient in talent, and will be read with profit by such as may have cause to agree with Clarendon, where he says, “I learn a great deal from bad books.” It was reprinted in 8vo, London, 1707.

by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists have taken possession of them; for, if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false; for, upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

“1. That because we have no church, they are to sever themselves from us. 2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own. And if the former of these be true, the latter, I suppose will follow; for if above all things, men be to regard their salvation; and, if out of the church there be no salvation; it followeth, that if we have no church, we have no means of salvation: and therefore separation from us, in that respect, is both lawful and necessary; as also that men so separated from the false and counterfeit church, are to associate themselves unto some church; not to our's; to the popish much less; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, (*That in our church there is no means of salvation*) is out of the reformers principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied; there can be no means of salvation; but in the church of England, the discipline (by them accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation,) is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. Ergo.

“Again, (but this reason perhaps is weak) every true church of Christ, acknowledgeth the whole gospel of Christ. The discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the gospel, and yet by our church resisted, Ergo.

“Again, the discipline is essentially united to the church: by which term essentially, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any church.—If therefore between them and the Brownists, there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers: it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, wherewith they may be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion (for all the premises are their own) or rather ingenuously to reverse their own principles, before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built.—What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points,

I am desirous this one should be strongly inforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others, (for ought I see) the most unanswerable. You may notwithstanding say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might be so salved as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins ; but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that they have cast the seed whereout these tares are grown.

“ Another sort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of episcopal, and erection of presbyterial authority, and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men’s ends in all their actions, is distraction, their pretence and colour, reformation. Those things which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable, and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring cathedral churches, and bishops livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the church, they have carried their own corrupt dealing in the civil state more covertly ; for such is the nature of the multitude, that they are not able to apprehend many things at once : so as being possessed with a dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the clergy, in entertaining a conceit in men’s minds, and confirming it by continual practice, ‘ That men of learning, and specially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted to matters of state ^s ;’ contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

^s *Matters of state.*] Compare *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 661. Sanderson, and n.

“ A third sort of men there are, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them : namely, the cursed crew of Atheists. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection ; as, in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves (although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book,) yet here again they may be touched. But the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two, namely, *senseless preaching*, and *disgracing of the ministry* ; for how should not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of reason, nor by authority of persons is maintained ? But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of atheism, 1. more abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning, whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore, men of sound learning for the most part, but smatterers ; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing ; which humour of scoffing, and turning matters most serious into merriment, is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the prophet means by the seat of scorers, nor, what the apostles by foretelling of scorers to come ; for our own age hath verified their speech unto us ; which also may be an argument against these scoffers and atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the later days of the world should afford : which could not be done by any other Spirit, save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily ! was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, ‘ Where is the promise of his coming ? ’ Against the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken, the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment.—A second cause of atheism is sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life ; among which, because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come : they therefore whet

their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But, what conceit can be imagined more base, than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the secret instinct (no doubt) of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal and corruptible with the body? Against which barbarous opinion, their own atheism is a very strong argument. For were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive any thing of heaven, no not so much as to dispute against heaven and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly and derived from God.

“The last which have received strength and encouragement⁹ from the reformers are papists; against whom although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For, what can any enemy rather desire than the breach and dissention of those which are confederates against him? Wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves, especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matter of faith and salvation? which over-reaching speech of theirs, because it is so open an advantage for the Barrowist and the papist, we are to wish and hope, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did so often overflow.

“From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these. 1. That in this cause between them and us, men

⁹ *Strength and encouragement.*] Compare *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 420—4; Hooker, p. 526—8; Mason, p. 538—42; Sanderson, p. 569—73; and Sanderson, n. p. 631.

are to sever the *proper* and *essential* points and controversy, from those which are *accidental*. The most essential and proper are these two: overthrow of episcopal, and erection of presbyterial authority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of bishops not unlawful, and of elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things therefore, which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose; for what if all errors by them supposed in our liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts desire? if non-residence, pluralities, and the like were utterly taken away? are their lay-elders therefore presently authorized? or their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

“But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in church-government, they are many ways faulty: 1. In their *end*, which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As therefore in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign, or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depraving the present: so, in all causes belonging either to church or commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or innovation; and, accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, Why may not men speak against abuses? Yes; but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their *manner* of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also it is to the common people, who are judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss, and, for want of skill and authority, to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective. 3. Thirdly, those very *exceptions* which they take are frivolous and impertinent.—Some things indeed they accuse as impious, which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

“Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived; for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, This must give place, because a better may be devised; because in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in devise, with those which are in practice; for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered: the others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged), they do not see that for the most part when they strike at the state ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the civil state. For *personal* faults, What can be said against the church, which may not also agree to the commonwealth? In both states men have always been, and will be always, men; sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. And as for abuses which they pretend to be *in the laws themselves*, when they inveigh against non-residence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the civil state for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, himself continually remaining in the south? He that hath an office, let him attend his office. When they condemn plurality of livings spiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of the infinite of temporal promotions? By the great philosopher, (Pol. lib. ii. c. 9.) it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to commonwealths, that by the same man many great offices should be exercised. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in parliament, and all courts of justice are used? Were it hard to argue even against circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony? against the passover, as being ridiculous?—shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb.

“To conclude: you may exhort the clergy (or what if you direct your conclusion not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in or of both universities?) you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem of valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and the excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a Christian

should be to know; of a minister, to preach Christ crucified: in regard whereof, not only worldly things, but things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base: whereas now by the heat of contention, and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted, to preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the spirit; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but (passions being allayed) are vain and childish.

“G. C.”

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

For the church of England, in casting out papal tyranny and superstition, to have shewed greater willingness of accepting the very ceremonies of the Turk, Christ's professed enemy, than of the most indifferent things which the church of Rome approveth; to have left not so much as the names which the church of Rome doth give to things innocent; to have rejected whatsoever that church doth make account of, be it never so harmless in itself, and of never so ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, than only that it hath been the hap thereof to be used by the church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the word of God: this kind of proceeding might happily have pleased some few men, who having begun such a course themselves, must needs be glad to see their example followed by us. But the Almighty, which giveth wisdom, and inspireth with right understanding whomsoever it pleaseth him, he foreseeing that which man's wit had never been able to reach unto; namely, what tragedies the attempt of so extreme alteration would raise in some parts of the Christian world, did for the endless good of his church, (as we cannot chuse but interpret it) use the bridle of his provident restraining hand to stay those eager affections in some, and to settle their resolution upon a course more calm and moderate.

HOOKEE.

One man alone there was to speak of (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation), who, in the defiance of one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence; which, by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries, had otherwise been prevented: wherein God hath made good unto him his own impress, *Vincit qui patitur*. For, what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness: and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves, though nothing glad thereof, must needs confess.

GEORGE CRANMER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Life of Archbishop Whitgift, which was first published in the year 1612, is here printed intire from the second edition, intituled "The Life of John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, in the times of q. Elizabeth and k. James I.; written by sir George Paule, comptroller of his grace's houshold. London, 1699." 8vo.

TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

GEORGE¹,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN;

ONE OF THE LORDS OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MOST REVEREND AND MY EVER HONOURED LORD,

I SEE it incident to personages of high place and deserving, to win by their living favours many obsequious followers, who, after their decease, prove but cold remembrancers of their bounty, or other virtues: which slackness in others forced that boldness in me, rather to chuse the hazard of disreputation to my pen, which was never cunning, than to my heart, which shall never be ungrateful. And therefore I have presumed to set down the godly and religious courses of the most reverend archbishop WHITGIFT, your grace's late predecessor, to shew mine own obligation to his memory, and to make known his worthy parts to future ages. And because your grace's beginnings shew how careful an embracer you are of his chiefest virtues, as well in your industrious studies, as in your private and public government; I held it my duty to present both this, and my best services to your grace; that here you may see, if nothing else, those virtues in another, that are so aimed at by yourself: which make many true affected hearts pray, that by your godly, vigilant, and prudent guidance, his church may long and happily flourish among us.

To your grace most bounden.

GEO. PAULE.

¹ *George.*] George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1611—33.

TO THE READER.

IT was far from my thoughts that these first draughts of mine, which I only intended as minutes and directions for a more skilful penman, should ever have shewed themselves to the world, had not the backwardness of some, and the importunity of others, driven me to the orator's resolution; who saith, *I had rather any man should do it than myself; yet myself, rather than none at all.* The argument may peradventure sooner find some maligners, than just reprovers. Wherein yet, as far as the importance and necessity of the cause will suffer, I have so warily tempered the sharpness of my pen, that I hope none of moderate humour himself, will justly charge me of being immoderate herein. But yet, if any where I shall seem otherwise, the discreet reader will see it is out of the instructions, records, and authors, whom I follow, and not out of mine own disposition, who desired as well herein, as in other of my courses, rather to imitate my master in his mild and moderate carriage, than willingly to be offensive or displeasing to any. Neither is it my purpose to have the ashes of the dead raked up again. But as no man can rightly commend a commander, or skilful pilot, without relating their past exploits, and dangerous storms: so neither could I, without wronging my reader, and the principal subject, commend him for so worthy and prudent a governor, unless I had withal given a taste of his adventures, and the stormy time wherein he lived. And therefore I pray thee, courteous reader, both charitably and modestly to censure my travel and pains herein.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

A WISE and excellent historian¹ saith; *It hath always been a matter of free liberty, and least subject to detraction to speak of those, whom death hath exempted from hatred or favour:* a speech that moved me to write (whilest many other, better able, look on) the Life of the most reverend and worthy prelate John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, to the end that posterity might take true notice of the worth of such, as have well guided the stern of this church, and settled the peace thereof; and render unto him, as unto other men, the due honour and commendation, which he hath deserved.

He came of the ancient family of Whitgift, of Whitgift in Yorkshire. His grandfather, John Whitgift, gentleman, had many children; some whereof he made scholars, others he placed abroad in several courses of life, disposing his father, Henry Whitgift, to be a merchant at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire, where he married Ann Dynewell, a virtuous young woman, of good parentage in that town, of whom this our archbishop came, and was there born in the year of our Lord, 1530, being the eldest of his father's sons, who were five in number, besides himself, viz. William, George, Philip, Richard, and Jeffery.

He had an uncle called Robert Whitgift, abbot of the monastery of Wellow, in the county of Lincoln, near Grimsby, who teaching divers young gentlemen, took like pains also with him. In which time (as he was pleased often to remember) he heard his uncle, the abbot say, *That they, and their religion, could not long continue; because* (said he) *I have read the whole Scripture over and over, and could never find therein that our religion was*

¹ *Excellent historian.*] [Tacit. Annal. lib. iv.]

founded by God. And for proof of this opinion, the abbot would allege that saying of our Saviour; *Omnis plantatio quam non plantavit Pater meus cœlestis eradicabitur*: "Every planting which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up." (Matth. 15. 13.)

His uncle, finding an extraordinary towardliness in him, sent him afterwards to London, where he became a scholar in St. Anthony's school, and boarded at his aunt's house in Paul's Church-yard; she being the wife of Michael Shaller, a verger of that church. There he escaped a great danger, lying with another scholar that had the plague, and coming in the summer-time hot and thirsty from school, drank his urine out of a pot or cruse, standing at his bed's head instead of drink²; and was not sick after it, though his bedfellow died.

From St. Anthony's school he repaired to Grimsby to his parents, being thrust out of doors by his aunt because he would not (as she often required and solicited him by the Canons of Paul's) go with her to morrow mass³; imputing all her losses and domestic mis-

² *Instead of drink.*] "Pater ei (Justo Jonæ) fuit vir honestus, consul ejus oppidi: qui cum peste esset correptus, et cepe abscessui impositum removisset; idque in scamno deposuisset, supervenit hic Justus filiulus, admodum puer, et cepe totum avide devoravit; citra tamen ullam contagionem."—Melchioris Adami *Vitæ Germanorum Theologorum*, p. 258. De Justo Jona.

³ *To morrow mass.*] We have here an instance of those domestic dissensions and acts of insubordination, to which the workings of the public mind in the early stages of the Reformation frequently gave birth; and of which a Roman Catholic preacher, to whom we have repeatedly been indebted in the course of these notes, gives the following description in the reign of queen Mary:

"Besides this, it would pitie anye good mans harte, to thinke what disorder and disobedience came of this liberty. Wold not the servauntes contrroll their maysters, and tel them, when they were chekked for leaving their busines undone, that they had bene occupyed eyther in readynge Gods word, or in hearing some sermon; yea and so godly lessons had they learned, since they had tasted of this newe doctrine, that very few of theyr maysters could after truste them. And if the mayster were a Catholike man, and one that feared God, then wold his servaunte, if he were of a contrary judgement, handel hym like a warde, and in manner make a loute of him, and do his busynesse as he lyst, and lette it be undone if he list. For the mayster fearing that he shuld have displeasure by him, durst neyther put hym away from hym, nor ones as much as rebuke hym for any matter.

"After the same sorte dyd children order their parentes, wyves, their husbandes, and subjectes their magystrates; so that the fete ruled the head, and the cart was set before the horse. For children, when they had bene brought

fortunes to her harbouring of such an heretic within her doors ; and, for a farewell told him, " That she thought, at the first, she

up in schole a while with some lewd Lutherane, then would they write letters to their Catholike parentes, and exhorte them, in the Lordes name, to leave their papistry and blind ignorance that they were in, and fall at length to follow Goddes worde, and gladly to receave the truth. And if the parentes would not folowe this their childishe advise, streightway would they not let to talke with their companyons, and tell them that their parentes were blinde papistes : yea and make a mery mockinge stocke of them, and say, My father is an old doting foole, and wil fast upon the Fryday ; and my mother goeth alwayes mumbling on her beades : but you shall see me of another sorte, I warraunt you ; for I will never folowe no suche superstitious folye, nor walke in the papistical pathes of my parentes.—Were not men well at ease, trow you, when they had bestowed a great deale of money upon such graceless graftes, who neyther feared God, nor revered their parentes ?

" Thus did mens wyves too, that were become systers of the new fraternitie, order their husbandes. For whereas the husbande dyd not favoure their secte, then would the wyfe no longer go to schole with hym in silence, as S. Paule byddeth her, but would boldlye fall to teache hym, and tell hym of his duety. And many of them were offended with S. Paule, that hadde commaunded them, that they shuld holde their peace in the churches. For gladly would they have preached, if they might have bene suffred ; as some of them nevertheles did in corners. At which tyme also the devil, for the better furtheraunce of heresy, picked out two sorts of people, that shuld, in tavernes and innes, at common tables, and in open streets, set forwarde his purpose, as well as false preachers dyd in the pulpet ; that is to say, minstrels and players of enterludes :—the one to singe pestilente and abominable songes, and the other to set forth openly before mens eyes the wicked blasphemy that they had contrived for the defacing of all rites, ceremonies, and all the whole order, used in the administration of the blessed sacramentes."—Christopherson's *Exhortation against Rebellion*, signat. T 1—T 3. A.D. 1554. 12mo.

And again : " Was there not beside such deadly dissension for our diversitie in opinions, that even amonges those that were most verye deere frendes, arose most grevouse hatred. For the sonne hated hys owne father, the sister her brother, the wyfe her husband, the servaunte hys mayster, the subject the ruler. And in every house, at every mans table, in every corner, in every strete, at everye tavern and inne, at all tymes, was there suche unreverente reasonynge of Gods highe mysteries, that those that mette together frendes, departed enemyes, and sometymes were at daggers drawing for the matter." Ibid. signat. T 7.

But Christopherson's, no doubt, are partial representations. We must remark, therefore, that even Latimer himself notices, and censures, in very intelligible terms, a serious change, which had largely diffused itself, in the character of an uncontrollable and presumptuous temper, contrary to that meekness and humility, which ought to be the ornament of the gospel, and is in the sight of God of great price.

" I never

had received a saint into her house, but now she perceived he was a devil."

His parents finding that he had much profited in his learning, sent him, by the advice and direction of his uncle, the abbot, to Cambridge, where he was first of Queen's college; but liking not the education and disposition of some there, he went to Pembroke-hall; Dr. Ridley (afterwards bishop of London) being there master; who hearing by Mr. Bradford, his tutor, of his great towardliness and small means, (by reason of his father's losses at sea) made him scholar, and then Mr. Gurth became his tutor; from thence he was chosen fellow of Peterhouse, (May 1555) Dr. Pearne being then master there.

Whilst he was fellow of that house, he fell grievously sick, and

"I never saw surely so little discipline as is now adayes. Men will be masters. They will be masters, and not disciples.

"Alas, where is this discipline now in England? The people regard no discipline; they be without all order. Where they should give place, they will not sturre one inch. Yea, where magistrates should determine matters, they will breake into the place before they come, and at their coming not move a whit for them. Is this discipline? Is this good order? If a man say any thing unto them, they regard it not, they that be called to answer, will not answer directly, but scoffe the matter out. Men, the more they know, the worse they be. It is truely said, *Scientia inflat*, knowledge makes us proud, and causeth us to forget all, and set away discipline. Surely in popery they had a reverence; but now we have none at all: I never saw the like." Seventh Sermon before k. Edward: *Sermons*, fol. 84.

History will be of little use to us, if we do not learn from it to discern, as in a glass, what is in our human nature; and to be put upon our guard against the abuses and corruptions to which even the best things, in human hands, are liable.

Practices such as this of young Whitgift, natural as they were under the circumstances, and little to be wondered at, were not warranted by the laws, and we possess against them the grave authority of Cranmer, in a letter from Croydon, July 13 [1539], at which time Whitgift was about ten years old.

"As concerning such persons as in time of divine service do read the Bible, they do much abuse the king's grace's intent and meaning in his grace's injunctions and proclamations; which permitteth the Bible to be read, not to allure great multitudes of people together, nor thereby to interrupt the time of prayer, meditation, and thanks to be given to Almighty God, which, specially in divine service, is, and of consequence ought to be, used; but that the same be done and read in time convenient, privately, for the condition and amendment of the lives both of the readers and of such hearers as cannot themselves read; and not in contempt or hindrance of any divine service or laudable ceremony used in the church."—*Remains*, vol. i. p. 284. The letter is addressed to lord Lisle, the king's deputy at Calais.

was by commandment of Dr. Pearne (who much tendered him in regard of his good parts) carried to an house near the college, whither Dr. Pearne came often to visit him, and willed the woman of the house that he should want nothing; neither should she spare any cost for his good, and the recovery of his health, saying, that if he lived, he would be able to defray the charge himself; but if he died, the said Dr. Pearne would satisfy her, and pay for all things.

When it pleased God to restore him to his former health, he determined to travel beyond the seas, purposely to avoid certain visitors sent in queen Mary's time to the university, to establish popery, and to enjoin the young fellows and scholars to take *Primam tonsuram*, being their first entrance into popish orders.

Dr. Pearne hearing of this his purpose, talked with him, and found him resolute in his religion, yielding (as Dr. Pearne often acknowledged afterwards) many good and sound reasons therefore; whereupon the doctor willed him to be silent, and not troublesome in uttering his opinion, whereby others might take occasion to call him in question: and he for his part would wink at him, and so order the matter, that he might continue his religion, and not travel out of the university; which accordingly the good old man justly performed. For which his favour the archbishop carried a loving, faithful, and true heart towards him unto his dying day.

He commenced batchelor of arts in the year 1553; master of arts, 1556; batchelor of divinity, 1562; doctor of divinity⁴, 1569, at which time he answered the divinity act publicly in the commencement, wherein he maintained this position, *Papa est ille Antichristus*.

After he was entered into the ministry, (which was upon the year 1560,) being to preach his first public sermon in St. Mary's, he chose for his text that excellent saying of St. Paul, *I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ*, &c. wherein his singular method, choice of matter, and judicious handling thereof, were such, that his whole auditory, especially the chief of the university, grew into great admiration of those great parts in so young years.

From being fellow of Peterhouse, he succeeded Dr. Hutton,

⁴ Doctor of divinity.] This was in the year 1567.—*Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 9.

late archbishop of York, in the mastership of Pembroke hall⁵; being then chaplain to Dr. Cox, bishop of Ely, by whose means he had a prebend in Ely, and the parsonage of Teversham near Cambridge.

He was also chosen divinity reader⁶ of the lady Margaret's lecture, which he discharged with so great liking of the whole university, that for his sake they increased the stipend from twenty marks to twenty pounds; and afterwards he was made the queen's public professor of divinity.

Whilst he read these two lectures, the public schools were frequented with throngs of students in divinity, young and old; such was his diligence, great learning, and extraordinary gifts shewed in the reading thereof; insomuch as many of the precise faction were his daily auditors, and the lectures themselves so highly accounted of (especially those, which he read upon the Apocalypse, and the Epistle to the Hebrews) that through the importunity of divers his honourable friends (then his pupils) and others of great learning, and judgment, he was persuaded to set down those his lectures in writing; which are like shortly for their excellency and worth, to be published⁷ for the common benefit.

His singular, and extraordinary gift in preaching, caused him, upon the recommendation of sir Nicholas Bacon, the then lord keeper of the great seal of England, and sir William Cecill, principal secretary (afterwards lord treasurer of England) to be sent for (A.D. 1567) to preach before her majesty, who took so great liking of him, for this method, and matter, that, hearing his name to be Whitgift, she said he had a *white-gift* indeed. And as his gifts were then esteemed white, so his fortune afterwards proved

⁵ *Of Pembroke hall.*] In the year 1567. See Neve's *Fasti*, p. 424.

⁶ *Divinity reader.*] In the year 1563. The augmentation of his salary took place July 5, 1566. See Baker's Catalogue of Professors, inserted in his edition of bishop Fisher's *Funeral Sermon of the Lady Margaret*.

⁷ *To be published.*] "Whatever was the reason, they have not to this day appeared in publick. I remember I have seen many years ago, this manuscript of Whitgift's own hand, in the possession of Dr. Pain, minister sometime of Whitechapel, London: which after his death was intended to be purchased by the late learned Dr. Moore, lord bishop of Ely. But where that manuscript now lies, I know not, unless in the treasure of the aforesaid right reverend prelate. In this volume of his lectures was also his Thesis, when he kept his act for doctor in divinity, viz. *That the Pope is that Antichrist.*"—*Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 8.

white, and happy; his good name and reputation white, and spotless: so that it may be properly said of him, that he was *gallinæ filius albæ*.

Her majesty within four months after that he was master of Pembroke hall, made him master^a of Trinity college, and caused him immediately after to be sworn her chaplain.

In the college, at his first entrance, he found much division (especially amongst such as laboured innovation in the church) being begun and headed in the government of his predecessor master Dr. Beaumont. Yet did he in short time wisely appease these stirs, and governed for five years space with great quietness both of the whole company, and himself, until master Thomas Cartwright's (a fellow of that college) last return from beyond the seas.

The first-discontentment of the said master Cartwright grew at a disputation in the university before queen Elizabeth, because master Preston (then of King's college, and afterwards master of Trinity hall) for his comely gesture, and pleasing pronunciation was both liked and rewarded by her majesty, and himself received neither reward, nor commendation; presuming of his own good scholarship, but wanting indeed that comely grace and behaviour which the other had. This his no small grief^b he uttered unto divers of his inward friends in Trinity college, who were also very much discontented, because the honour of the disputation did not redound unto their college.

Mr. Cartwright, immediately after her majesty's neglect of him, began to wade into divers opinions, as that of the discipline, and to kick against her ecclesiastical government; he also then grew highly conceited of himself for learning, and holiness,

^a *Made him master.*] [July 4, 1567.]

^b *This his no small grief.*] "Reports have commonly been spread, that the true cause of Cartwright's setting himself so openly against the hierarchy as he did soon after, (to the great disturbance of the peace of the English church) was from a disgust he took at this time; as though the queen shewed more countenance to the other disputants than to him. But by the relation of the queen's reception at Cambridge (now in the hands of a learned member of that university) there appears no clear ground for any such discontent. For the queen is there said to have approved them all: only that Preston pleased her most; and was made her scholar, with the settlement of a yearly honorary salary on him." Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 446, edit. 2. Fuller's *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 139.

and a great contemner of others that were not of his mind. And although the learning and qualities of any were never so mean, yet if he affected master Cartwright, and his opinions, he should be in great estimation with him, according to the saying of the poet :

“Præcipui sunt, sitque illis aurea barba.”

But if he were against him in his fanciful conceits, though he were never so good a scholar, or so good a man, he could not brook or like of him ; as of Dr. Whitaker, and others. And although in their elections of scholars into that college, they made as good choice as any other, either before, or in their time, yet could he never afford the electors, nor parties elected, a good word, unless they sided with him in his fancies.

And that he might the better feed his humour with these conceited novelties, he travelled to Geneva ; where observing the government and discipline of that church to be by certain ecclesiastical superintendents, and lay-elders, or presbyters, (as they called them,) he was so far carried away with an affection of that new devised discipline, as that he thought all churches and congregations for government ecclesiastical, were to be measured and squared by the practice of Geneva.

Therefore, when he returned home, he took many exceptions¹ against the established government of our church, disallowing the vocation of our archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers ; the administration of our holy sacraments, and observation of our rites and ceremonies : and buzzing these conceits into the heads of divers young preachers and scholars of the university, he drew after him a great number of disciples and followers. And upon a Sunday (doctor Whitgift being from home) master Cartwright with some of his adherents, made three sermons² in that one day ; wherein they so vehemently inveighed

¹ *Took many exceptions.*] Compare Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 623—9.

² *Made three sermons.*] “I know one preacher” (says Alley, bishop of Exeter, in a paper laid before the upper House of Convocation, about the year 1564), “not of the basest sort nor estimation, which did glory and boast that he made eight sermons in London against surplices, rochets, tippetts and caps, counting them not to be perfect that wear them. And although it be all one in effect, to wear either round caps, square caps, or bottomed caps, yet it is thought very meet, that we being of one profession, and in one ministry, should not vary and jangle one against the other for matters indifferent ;

(amongst other ceremonies of our church) against the surplice, as those of Trinity college were so moved therewith, that at evening prayer they cast off their surplices³ (though against the statutes of the house) and were all placed in the chapel without surplices, three only excepted; doctor Legge, Mr. West, and the chaplain. By reason of which stirs, both that private college was greatly distracted, and the whole university much perplexed and troubled.

For these his opinions were now broached not only at home in their college sermons, and domestical common-places, but by master Cartwright himself, and his adherents, in the public church of the whole university; wherein they mightily declaimed against the ordination of our priests, and deacons, and greatly traduced the heads and governors of the colleges, because they attended the service of those places. The reverend bishops, and fathers of the church, for their due observing ecclesiastical rules, and constitutions, were by them much perstringed; the established church paralleling (as they termed it) the Romish hierarchy, was also much reproached and disgraced.

Dr. Whitgift, after that master Cartwright and his accomplices had broached this his dangerous doctrine, would always the Sunday following in the same church, answer and confute their opinions, with such commendation, and applause, as thereby he much quieted and settled the judgment of many, that otherwise were inclining to this innovation, and gained a singular opinion of the most learned and judicious throughout the whole university.

which are made politick by the prescribed order of the prince. Therefore if your honourable wisdoms do not take some way, that either they may go as we go in apparel; or else that we may go as they do, it will be a thing as it is already, both odious and scandalous unto no small number." *Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 348, edit. 2d.

³ *Cast off their surplices.*] A similar outrage was committed by the fellows and students to the number of near three hundred, in the neighbouring college of St. John's, about the beginning of December, 1565. See *Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 478. And about the same time George Withers preached at Cambridge very loudly "against the superstitious figures in glass windows. And thus, being seconded by some zealots, a great many fine paintings were destroyed." *Collier's Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 504.

Under this same year (1565) I find the following entry, in a Book of Church-wardens' Accounts of the parish of Lambeth, fol. 65:

Item, paid to Matthew Allen for writing, when the crosse, and	} 12d.
chalice, and other vestments were defaced	

When by this cause he had somewhat appeased these stirs, master Cartwright did not yet cease, but by secret instigations set on others of his own humour to continue them; who in their college exercises (which they call common-places) and also in their open sermons, would prick at him with the swords of their tongues, and other-whiles uncharitably through the sides of others pierce and wound him; sometimes furiously without regard of duty, shame, or modesty, would strike downright at him. For it then was (and I pray God it still be not) a thing too frequent with that generation to tax their superiors and to accuse their government, as also to asperse them and it with many unjust calumniations.

Notwithstanding, so far was he from entering into any rigorous course of proceeding against them (as justly he might have done by the statutes of the college, and public laws of the state) as that with great sufferance he winked at and passed by many of these wrongs and enormities, and instead of revenge, he by gentleness and goodness heaped coals upon the adversaries heads; as also for rough and unseemly speeches, he breathed nothing but sweet breath of love, and peace, often exhorting them to call to God for grace, that they might have more sober consideration and better judgment of orders established, which then they mistook to be amiss. For (as a learned man truly saith of them) "those fervent reprehenders of things established by public authority, are always confident, and bold spirited men: but their confidence, (for the most part) riseth from too much credit given to their own wits; for which cause they are seldom free from errors." (Hooker's Eccles. Polity, lib. 5.)

The state of the university being in this sort marvellously disquieted by master Cartwright, and his abettors, doctor Whitgift wisely foresaw that these sparks of sedition, if in time they were not quenched, would grow to a great flame, to the endangering not only of the university, but of the whole church (as every one knoweth it afterward fell out); and therefore to cure this evil, if it might be, in the beginning, he oftentimes sent to master Cartwright, and in friendly and kind manner, advised him to surcease from those courses. But finding him always wilfully bent, and finally obstinate; to prevent further mischief, he with the seniors of the house, called him in question; and having sufficient matter of expulsion against him, for uttering some errors in his lectures, and not recanting, nor expounding them, being by the master and

seniors so appointed ; and for exercising the function of a minister, having no letters of orders (which he had either torn, or suppressed, for that he thought it not lawful by his own doctrine to use them) and for transgressing the statutes of the house in divers other points, he expelled him the house ; and being vice-chancellor, caused him likewise to be deprived of the lady Margaret's Lecture, which then he read.

Before which course of proceeding with him, doctor Whitgift (understanding that master Cartwright had given it out, that his dangerous assertions were rather repressed by authority, than refuted by truth, and strength of reason) wished him to forbear such disturbance of the public peace of the church, and often offered him to enter a quieter course for trial of the truth of his cause by conference and writing ; which he always refused to accept, as may appear by an act recorded in the registry book of the university of Cambridge, under the testimony and subscription of the chief heads, bearing date the 18th of March, 1570, in these words.

“ Whereas it is reported that master Cartwright, offering disputations and conference, touching the assertions uttered by him, and subscribed with his hand, could not obtain his request, therein ; This is to testify, that in the presence of us, whose names are here under written, and in our hearing, the said master Cartwright was offered conference of divers, and namely of Mr. doctor Whitgift, who offered, that if the said master Cartwright would set down his assertions in writing, and his reasons unto them, he would answer the same in writing also ; the which master Cartwright refused to do. Further, the said doctor Whitgift, at such time as master Cartwright was deprived of his lecture, did in our presence ask the said master Cartwright, whether he had both publickly and privately divers times offered the same conference unto him by writing or not. To which master Cartwright answered, that he had been so offered, and that he refused the same. Moreover, the said master Cartwright did never offer any disputation, but upon these conditions ; viz. That he might know who should be his adversaries, and who should be his judges ; meaning such judges as he himself could best like of. Neither was this kind of disputation denied unto him, but only he was required to obtain licence of the queen's majesty, or the counsel, because his assertions be repugnant to the state of the com-

mon-wealth, which may not be called into question by public disputation, without licence of the prince, or her highness's counsel.

“JOHN WHITGIFT, vice-chancellor.

Andrew Pearne.

John Mey.

Edward Hawford.

William Chadderton.

Henry Harvy.

Thomas Ithell.

Thomas Bing.

“Et ego Matthæus Stokis Sarum Dioces. in artibus magister, publicus autoritate legitima notarius, quia interfui deprivationi dicti Cartwright factæ undecimo die Decembris, anno 1570, et tunc et ibidem audiui doctorem Whitgift interrogantem eum Cartwright de præmissis allegatis, et M. Cartwright eadem confitentem; ideo, in fidem et testimonium præmissorum, nomen meum requisitus superscripsi, anno Domini 1570.”

Not long after (at which time her highness had summoned a parliament) some of the principal note amongst these disciplinarians thought that the fittest time either to effect their desires by some abettors in that high assembly, or at least to disperse their opinions into all the parts of the kingdom. To which end they then published a seditious treatise, entituled, *an Admonition to the Parliament*; being indeed the very summary both of their opinions touching church matters, and of their shameless slanders against the governors thereof.

And albeit Dr. Whitgift considered that this libel was unworthy any serious confutation, yet in regard of the great applause it found among the green heads of the university (who were greedy of novelties) and to stop the current of so dangerous positions, he spared not his pains in writing a learned answer; therein laying open the weakness of that cause, and the strength of their malice, who so hotly pursued the same; which being published upon the year 1572, won him no less reputation with the learned sort, than the former had with the young and weaker brains. Yea even those who had formerly thought the *Admonition* unanswerable, found the rashness of their censures by the soundness of that refutation.

Whereupon master Cartwright, notwithstanding his former refusal to enter into the list with Dr. Whitgift (as is aforesaid) seeing both the walls and foundation of his new founded church-government already shaken, and tottering, endeavoured to underprop the same with a reply. The weakness whereof doctor Whitgift displayed in his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, against the Reply*.

But master Cartwright (glorying belike to have the last word) published a second Reply, fraught with no other stuff than had been before refuted: yet doctor Whitgift addressing himself to answer it, was by the advice of some (whose judgments he much esteemed) dissuaded from troubling himself, in refuting that which he had already overthrown. Amongst others who dissuaded him, the learned doctor Whitaker was one; against whose judgment the adversary can no way justly except. His words in his letter to doctor Whitgift are these: "Quem Cartwrightus nuper emisit libellum ejus magnam partem perlegi. Ne vivam, si quid unquam viderim dissolutius, ac pene puerilius. Verborum satis ille quidem lautam, ac novam suppellectilem habet, rerum omnino nullam, quantum ego judicare possum. Deinde, non modo perverse de principis in rebus sacris atque ecclesiasticis auctoritate sentit, sed in papistarum etiam castra transfugit, a quibus tamen videri vult odio capitali dissidere. Verum nec in hac causa ferendus, et aliis etiam in partibus tela a papistis mutuatur. Denique ut de Ambrosio dixit Hieronimus, verbis ludit, sententiis dormitat, et plane indignus est, qui a quopiam docto refutetur." 'I have read over,' saith he, 'a great part of the book which master Cartwright hath lately set forth. Let me not live if I ever saw any thing more loose, and almost more childish. As for words, indeed he hath store of them, both trim, and fresh enough; but as for matter he hath none at all. Besides this, he hath not only peevish assertions touching the princes authority in matters sacred, and ecclesiastical, but he also flatly revolteth from us to the camp of the papists⁴, from whom he would seem to fly with deadly hatred. And not in this cause only is he unsufferable, but in other points also he borroweth his weapons and arguments from the papists.

⁴ *To the camp of the papists.*] See Bancroft's *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, chap. 23, p. 258—68, and *Sermons by Dr. Thomas Balguy*, p. 63. That the puritans, notwithstanding their bitter hostility against the papists, symbolize with them often in principles and practice, see *Christian Institutes*, iii. 31, 2. Sanderson, and n. iv. 38. Casaubon.

And in a word, as Hierome sometime said of Ambrose ; he is in his words but a trifier, and for his matter but a dreamer, and altogether unworthy to be refuted by any man of learning.'

Master Cartwright after these controversies thus begun and continued by himself as you see, lived sometimes beyond the seas, now in one place, and then in another, without attaining any eminent or certain place in the commonwealth, save only the mastership of an hospital in Warwick.

But doctor Whitgift having continued master of Trinity college ten years, and being twice vice-chancellor, was by her majesty preferred also to the deanery of Lincoln⁵, which he held for the space of seven years ; so long as he remained in Cambridge.

By his government in Trinity college he made many excellent scholars, that came afterwards to great preferment in the church and commonwealth, five whereof⁶ were in his time bishops, that then were fellows of the college when he was master, and some of them his pupils ; besides many deans and others of dignity and estimation in the church at this day.

He had divers earls and noblemen's sons to his pupils⁷, as namely, the earls of Worcester and Cumberland, the lord Zouch, the lord Dunboy of Ireland, sir Nicholas, and sir Francis Bacon, now his majesty's solicitor general, in whom he took great comfort, as well for their singular towardlineness as for their observance of him, and performance of many good offices towards him. All which, together with the rest of the scholars of that house, he held to their public disputations, and exercises, and prayers, which he never missed, chiefly for devotion, and withal to observe others absence, always severely punishing such omissions and negligences.

He usually dined and supped in the common hall, as well to have a watchful eye over the scholars, and to keep them in a mannerly and awful obedience, as by his example to teach them to be contented with a scholar-like college diet.

⁵ *Deanery of Lincoln.*] He was installed Aug. 2, 1571. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 146.

⁶ *Five whereof.*] [*Norwich*, Redman. *Worcester*, Babington. *St. David's*, Rud. *Glocester*, Golsborough. *Hereford*, Bennet.]

⁷ *To his pupils.*] "It must not be forgotten, that doctor Whitgift, afterward archbishop of Canterbury, sent unto his pupil" (sir Edward Coke) "when the queen's attorney, a fair New Testament, with this message: *He hath long enough studied common law ; now let him study the law of God.*" Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 824, edit. 1670. Life of Sir Edward Coke.

The sway and rule he then did bear through the whole university, the records themselves will sufficiently testify; for by his mere travail and labour, and the credit he had with her majesty, and the lord Burghley then lord treasurer of England, and chancellor of Cambridge, he procured an alteration and amendment of the statutes of the university. In which kind of affairs and business all the heads of the houses were directed and advised by him, as from an oracle; for commonly whatsoever he spake or did, they still concurred with him, and would do nothing without him.

He never took the foil at any man's hands, during his ten years continuance in Trinity college; being therein not unlike unto Pittacus in his ten years government of Mitilene, *Cui nunquam, per id tempus, contigit in aliqua causa, quam in se susciperet, cadere*⁸. For as the causes he dealt in were always just, so his success was ever prosperous, wherein his singular wisdom was to be noted, and his courage and stoutness in his attempts were observed of the greatest; and the general fame thereof remaineth yet fresh in the university, and will continue as his badge and cognizance so long as his memory lasteth. And yet that stoutness of his was so well tempered, and mingled with his other virtue of mildness and patience, that master Hooker made this true observation of him, "He always governed with that moderation which useth by patience to suppress boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer," which I think well suited with his posey or motto⁹: *VINCIT QUI PATITUR*.

The first wound which those fervent reproachers received at doctor Whitgift's hands, and his prudent order of government, together with his singular gift in preaching, made his fame spread, and gained him so great estimation, that her majesty was pleased to make choice of him, before many others of eminent place in the church, to be bishop of Worcester¹. Upon which his advancement he first took his leave of the whole university by a public sermon, which he preached in St. Mary's church; wherein he exhorted them to peace. And afterwards by a private sermon in Trinity college he gave unto that society such a godly and learned exhortation for their continuance and

⁸ *Susciperet, cadere.* [Diog. Laert. de Vit. Philosoph.]

⁹ *Motto.* [See *Life of Hooker*, p. 540, n. (4.)]

¹ *Bishop of Worcester.* [Consecrated bishop of Worcester, April 21, 1577.]

constancy in peace and unity, as it so moved their affections that they burst out into tears, insomuch that there were scarce any dry eyes to be found amongst the whole number. He chose for his text the same farewell which St. Paul gave unto the Corinthians: "*Finally, brethren, fare you well: be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.*" (2 Cor. 13. 11.)

In June following he was attended, and accompanied on his way from Cambridge towards Worcester, with a great troop of the heads and others of choice account in the university, and with exceeding lamentation, and sorrow of all sorts, for the loss they conceived they had of so worthy a governor.

But their grief for the loss of him was not so great as was the joy of them who had found him; amongst whom it pleased her majesty to grace his very first entrance both in forgiving him his first-fruits² (a princely and extraordinary bounty) as also in bestowing on him (for the better encouragement and provision of his chaplains, and other learned men about him) the disposing of all the prebends of that church of Worcester during his continuance there.

He found the bishopric at his first coming much impaired by his predecessors granting away in long leases, divers manors, parks, and mansion-houses. But that which much troubled him, and wherein he most of all stirred, was the letting to master Abington, cofferer to the late queen, the rent-corn of his two best manors, Hollow and Grimley, which is the chief upholding of the bishop's hospitality, and without which (especially in dear years) he is not able to keep house. This lease being let to master Abington (a great man then to contend withal, his wife also being sometimes the queen's bed-fellow) the bishop notwithstanding did call it in question; having now (besides his honourable friends the lord keeper and the lord treasurer) gained by his attendance at court many more about her majesty, who much favoured him, and professed great love unto him; especially the earl of Leicester, sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain; and sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary: all in special grace with her highness. Master Abington, by his wife's greatness, procured her majesty's gracious letters, written very earnestly in his behalf. The bishop returning answer unto her majesty, and

² *His first fruits.*] See above, Walton's *Life of Hooker*, p. 492.

informing her by means of his honourable friends, how prejudicial it was unto the bishopric, she was thereupon much displeased with master Abington, and took part with the bishop ; insomuch that master Abington was willing to have yielded the said rent-corn for the bishop's own time, so that his lease might have still stood on foot against his successor ; which the bishop utterly refused, and in the end was rather contented, by way of composition (notwithstanding that the lease was void, because the rent-corn was never before let) to give master Abington three hundred pounds out of his own purse to have the lease surrendered, and to redeem the said corn ; which yet remaineth, and I hope ever will, unto his successor in that see.

Some have accounted Worcestershire happy in having so kind and loving men to their bishops ; and others impute it to the good nature and disposition of the people, that so love and kindly use their bishops, that thereby (unless they be too inflexible and harsh) they cannot but in requital of their loves, entertain them with reciprocal kindnesses. But howsoever it be, such was the mutual love betwixt this bishop and the gentlemen there, that they delighted much to converse together ; especially at assizes and sessions the bishop would commonly reside at Worcester, to give the judges and justices entertainment. There was no speeding of commissions for service of the country, nor any appointment for the justices meeting for such purposes, but ever the bishop's pleasure was first known for time and place, and the rest of the gentlemen accordingly attended him. He would oftentimes make appointment of meetings, either at his own house or some of theirs, for some commendable recreation or exercises ; whereby still to keep the gentlemen, by their continual repair to each other, in mutual love and concord.

If he had understood of any jar or discord, he would send for both parties, unawares to each other, under pretence of some service to be done, or some meeting appointed, and before their departure would make them friends. If he perceived a frowardness in either of them, and that by intreaty he could not prevail, then would he leave persuasion and intreaty, and, as being vice-president of the marches of Wales (which place her majesty, shortly after he was made a bishop, bestowed upon him) threaten the obstinate with imprisonment or safe custody till he should reform himself. Of which his resolution, when the gentlemen of

the chiefest sway and account had experience, they then would grow calm, and submit themselves, and he as mildly and gently did use them when he saw them coming. One particular instance (among many) I will give you, of sir John Russell² and sir Henry Berkeley, betwixt whom was so deadly a quarrel³, as that great bloodshed was like to have ensued at a sessions in Worcester, by reason of their many friends and followers, had not the bishop wisely prevented it, by providing a strong watch at the gates and about the city, and requiring them to bring both parties, with their attendance, well guarded, to his palace; where he caused them all, to the number of four or five hundred, to deliver their weapons into his own servants custody; and after two hours pains taken, sometimes in persuading, and otherwhiles in threatening them, he made them so good friends as they both attended him hand in hand to the town-hall, where they performed the service of their country in amity and love, and ever after held him in great honour and estimation therefore. Wherein he was much happier than Bias, who reporteth of himself, that "He never arbitrated any controversy between two of his friends, but he made one of them his enemy⁴."

A year after his consecration to that bishopric he was (as before is mentioned) made vice-president of the marches of Wales, (sir Henry Sidney, his very honourable friend, being then lord president, and at that time lord deputy of Ireland,) where albeit the bishop might immediately have taken upon him, according to his place, to direct the court, having an excellent quick understanding, a good facility of speech, and a deep and sound judgment, gained by his long experience in government at Cambridge and elsewhere, where his sufficiency and patience were tried to the proof; yet notwithstanding it was a whole year before

² *Sir John Russell.*] Sir John Russell of Strensham, in Worcestershire, of a different family from that of the earls of Bedford. "A.D. 1582, was ended a controversy of long standing touching the course of the river Avon, between John Russell of Strensham, esq., and Thomas Handford of Wollahull; who, by stopping the stream to annoy each other, did great damage to the poor inhabitants thereabouts. The cause was brought before the privy council, and by them recommended to bishop Whitgift, to make up the matter between the contending parties." Nash's *History of Worcestershire*, ii. 390. Sir Henry Berkeley was of Spetchley in the same county.

³ *Deadly a quarrel.*] Compare *Life of Gilpin*, above, p. 407.

⁴ *His enemy.*] [Diog. Laert. de Vit. Philos. lib. i.]

he would almost speak in the public affairs, much less take upon him to bear any sway, but still observed the orders and practice of the court, and looked into the affections and dispositions of his associates; hearing the complaints of the suppliants, and informing himself by others of integrity and honesty, and sometimes noting their partial orders and corrupt dealings; but at the years end he then took upon him the directing and ordering of things himself, taking exceeding pains from morning till bed-time, affording himself only some small times for meals and study.

And when he had found the corruption of some of his associates, as well by his own observation as by the confession of the parties that corrupted them, (for the property of some amongst them, was to leave nothing unassayed to corrupt any man to serve their own turn for the present, though they ever after hated him to the death and would revile him,) he would dismiss these associates by sending for others under pretence of ease to the parties.

He had also a special care (as behoved him) of his own family, and attendants near unto him; and therefore to avoid all colour and suspicion of corruption, he would never hear any cause or informations, or receive petitions in his private chamber, but abroad, by the petitioners themselves, either in going to the chapel, court, dinner, supper, or at the council-board; insomuch as a gentleman of his bed chamber (employed sometimes by him) making request unto him that he might have the delivery of suitors' petitions, and indorse their answers, he grew into such dislike of the young gentleman (as supposing he had been tampered withal) that he presently discharged him of his chamber, and could never afterwards very well brook him.

For this his integrity and just dealing, the people of Wales especially had a very reverend and honourable opinion of him, the rather because they observed in him a temperate and mild government, without reviling or harsh speeches; and oftentimes moderating their fines and punishments, which in strictness of law, and opinion of his associates, would have lighted heavily upon them; for which they highly esteemed him as their patron and protector, and said he was sent amongst them to deliver them from the oppression of the mighty, and corruption of the wicked: yea, such was their opinion and conceit of him, that if he had imprisoned, whipped, or inflicted any other grievous

punishment upon them, they would have undergone it with patience, confessing their offences, and lauding his uprightness and justice.

Her majesty, out of her experience of his wise and prudent government, was pleased (upon complaint made unto her, of the many discords and disorders that were in the two cathedral churches of Lichfield and Hereford) to make choice of him alone, amongst a number of worthy prelates, for redress thereof; directing two commissions unto him for the visiting of the said churches, which accordingly he did, and reformed them both (being very far out of order) and ordained them statutes for their better and more peaceable government afterwards.

These his courses thus held for his government, and reforming both of church and people, gained him so general an opinion and liking in the life-time, and disgrace of archbishop Grindall, that her majesty designed him archbishop of Canterbury, as was signified unto him and earnestly wished by some of his honourable friends about the queen, and also by archbishop Grindall himself much desired, who, out of the great estimation he had conceived of his government, and other his many virtues, and worthy parts, and by reason of his own years and infirmity, laboured him in like earnest manner, presently to accept thereof, being himself well contented to shake off those cares, and receive from her majesty some yearly pension; which bishop Whitgift utterly refused, and in presence of the queen herself besought pardon in not accepting thereof upon any condition whatsoever in the life-time of the other. Whereupon the queen commiserating the good old man's estate (being a grave and learned father of the church; and at that time blind with years and grief) was graciously pleased to say, "That as she had made him an archbishop, so he should die an archbishop," as he did shortly after¹.

Upon whose decease, bishop Whitgift receiving letters from a great counsellor for his repair unto the court; and the speech thereof, together with the report of archbishop Grindall's death, being spread abroad, you would have wondered to have seen the repair, and flocking of gentlemen and others, unto him, both out of Worcestershire, and the marches of Wales, not to con-

¹ *Shortly after.*] Grindal died July 6, 1583. *Strype's Life of Grindal*, p. 289.

gratulate his advancement (which they upon such his preparation to the court, conjectured was to follow) but to express their true love, and hearty affection towards him, and to beseech him not to depart from thence; and so with tears and sobs took their leave of him, as kind-natured children used to part from their parents, whose face they are out of hope ever to see again. Plutarch observeth, that it falleth out very seldom with magistrates, and those who are in authority, that they should please the multitude, or be acceptable to the common people; because they, striving still to reform the disordered, do grieve them as much as surgeons do their patients, when they bind up their aches with bands to cure them. For though by that binding they restore and bring to their natural places again the broken bones, and members out of joint, yet put they the patient to great pain. But this bishop was not so boisterous a surgeon, for he had learned the art of curing the diseases of a commonwealth, from a more skilful surgeon, even from him that taught, that as wine was to be poured into the wound to search, so oil was also necessary to supple, but both expedient for the cure. And therefore as he always resolutely endeavoured the redress of the ill-affected, so with an excellent temper of rare mildness, he ever effected it without exasperation of those, whose good he was desirous to procure. For which singular mixture of two so requisite virtues in a magistrate, he was most worthily, and most happily, both for the church and commonwealth, advanced from the bishoprick of Worcester, to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, September 24, 1583.

At his first entrance he found the archbishoprick surcharged in the valuation, and procured an order out of the exchequer, for the abatement of one hundred pounds, for him and his successors, in the payment of his first-fruits. He also shortly after recovered from the queen, as part of the possessions of the archbishoprick, Long-Beachwood in Kent, containing above a thousand acres of land, which had been many years detained from his predecessor by sir James Croft, then comptroller of her majesty's household, farmer thereof to her majesty. In letting leases of his impropriations, if he found the curates wages but small, he would abate much of his fine to encrease their pensions, some ten pounds by the year, some more, some less, as at Folkstone, Maidstone, and others.

But to leave these particular affairs, and to come to those

public employments, for which he was specially made archbishop; her majesty fearing the danger that might ensue by the assembly of divers ministers to exercises, and *prophesying*, (as they termed it) straightly charged him to be vigilant, and careful for the reducing of them, and all other ministers by their subscription and conformity to the settled orders, and government; adding that she would have the discipline of the church of England formerly established of all men duly to be observed, without alteration of the least ceremony; conceiving belike, that these novelists might have wrought the same mischief here, which the turbulent orators of Lacedemonia did in that commonwealth, so wisely settled by Lycurgus's laws; which whilst they took upon them to amend, they miserably defaced and deformed. The inconvenience of which kind of reforming, that prudent and judicious queen had learned out of the poet Aratus's answer to one who asked him how he might have Homer's poems free from corruptions, and faults? "Get" (saith he) "an old copy not reformed: for curious wits labouring to amend things well done, commonly either quite mar them, or at least make them worse¹."

The archbishop endeavouring to perform this her majesty's commandment, had notwithstanding much ado, and many conflicts with them. For they had gotten such strength by his predecessor's connivency, that many of them were then planted both within his province, and particular diocese: in whose favour sundry gentlemen of the chiefest account there came to entreat the archbishop; and some of the younger sort would needs argue and dispute matters in controversy in their behalf. But he gave so good satisfaction unto them all by his mild and temperate answers (albeit he yielded not unto their requests) that they loved him after; some of the chiefest of them preferring their sons unto him, and the rest performing many kind offices and services towards him.

The next year following, (Decemb. 1584) for farther satisfaction of some of the greatest, and most honourable counsellors of state in these points, the two archbishops, and the bishop of Winchester were pleased to hear the reasons of some ministers that refused to conform themselves unto the orders of the church established. At which time albeit the said learned prelates suffi-

¹ *Them worse.*] [Diog. Laert. de Vit. Philos.]

ciently cleared all their doubts, and exceptions; yet after this, these honourable personages affying much in the sufficiency and scholarship of some others, not yet dealt withal, and supposing that they had been able to have said much more in defence of themselves, and the impeaching of the ecclesiastical government established (for so they were borne in hand) were desirous to hear at Lambeth the controversies further debated on both sides. Whereunto the archbishop, for their satisfaction, yielded; and after four hours conference spent, these honourable personages professed, that they would not have believed that the archbishop's grounds and reasons had been so good and strong, and the others so weak and trivial, but that they heard them once and again with their own ears; and so, they said they would inform her majesty; seeming to be there well resolved: and also they persuaded the ministers to conformity.

Howbeit afterwards, when those honourable personages⁹ saw that they might not sway (as formerly in the restraint of archbishop Grindall) and prefer whom they listed unto ecclesiastical promotions; they with some others linked themselves against the archbishop, and gave him, (being yet no counsellor of state) many thwarts at the council board; wherewith he was so much perplexed, and grieved to see things thus carried, as thereupon advising with some of his honourable friends (whose assistance he knew might avail him) if their affections were not otherwise overswayed by the potency of so great personages, he thus imparted his mind in several letters, as followeth.

"God knoweth how desirous I have been, from time to time, to have my doings approved by my ancient and honourable friends. For which cause, since my coming to this place, I have done nothing of importance against these sectaries, without good advice. I have risen up early, and sate up late, to yield reasons, and make answer to their contentions and their seditious objections. And shall I now say, I have lost my labour? Or shall my just dealing with disobedient and irregular persons, cause my former professed and ancient friends, to hinder my just proceedings, and make them speak of my doings, yea and of myself, what they list? Solomon saith, that an old friend is better than a new. I trust those that love me indeed will not so lightly cast off their old friends for any of these new fangled and factious sectaries,

⁹ *Personages.*] Leicester, Walsingham, and others. See p. 587 and 588.

whose fruits are to make division, and to separate old, and assured friends. In mine own private affairs I know I shall stand in need of friends ; but, in these public actions, I see no cause why I should seek friends, seeing they, to whom the care of the common-wealth is committed, ought, of duty, therein to join with me. And if my honourable friends should forsake me (especially in so good a cause) and not put their helping hand to the redress of these enormities (being indeed a matter of state, and not of the least moment) I shall think my coming unto this place to have been for my punishment, and my hap very hard, that, when I think to deserve best, and, in a manner, consume myself to satisfy that, which God, her majesty, and the church, requireth of me, I should be evilly rewarded. *Sed meliora spero.*

“ It is objected by some, that my desire of uniformity, by way of subscription, is for the better maintenance of my book. They are mine enemies that say so ; but I trust my friends have a better opinion of me. Why should I seek for any confirmation of my book after twelve years approbation ? or what shall I get thereby more than already I have ? And yet, if subscription may confirm it, it is confirmed long ago by the subscription¹⁰ almost of all the clergy of England before my time.—Mine enemies likewise, and the slanderous tongues of this uncharitable sect report that I am revolted, become a papist, and I know not what. But it proceedeth from their lewdness, and not from any desert of mine.—I am further burthened with wilfulness. I hope my friends are better persuaded of me, to whose consciences I appeal. It is strange, that a man of my place, dealing by so good warrant as I do, should be so encountered, and, for not yielding, be counted wilful. But I must be content ; *Vincit qui patitur*. There is a difference betwixt wilfulness and constancy. I have taken upon me, by the place which I hold under her majesty, the defence of the religion, and the rites of the church of England, to appease the schisms and sects therein, to reduce all the ministers thereof to uniformity, and to due obedience, and not to waver with every wind ; which also my place, my person, my duty, the laws, her majesty, and the goodness of the cause do require of me, and wherein the lords of her highness’s most honourable privy council (all things considered) ought in duty to assist and countenance

¹⁰ *By the subscription.*] “ Subscription to the queen’s supremacy, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Book of Common Prayer, that had long been before now enjoined and submitted to.” *Strype’s Life of Whitgift*, p. 57.

me. But how is it possible that I should perform the charge which I have undertaken, after so long liberty, and lack of discipline, if a few persons, so meanly qualified (as most of these factious sectaries are) should be countenanced against the whole state of the clergy of greatest account both for learning, years, staidness, wisdom, religion, and honesty; and open breakers and impugnors of the law, young in years, proud in conceit, contentious in disposition, should be maintained against their governors, seeking to reduce them to order, and to obedience? *Hæc sunt initia hæreticorum, et ortus, atque conatus schismaticorum male cogitantium, ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnunt. Sic de ecclesia receditur, sic altare profanum foris collocatur, sic contra pacem Christi, et ordinationem, atque unitatem Dei rebellatur.* "The first fruits of heretics, and the first births and endeavours of schismatics are these, to admire themselves, and in their swelling pride to condemn any that are set over them. Thus do men fall from the church of God: thus is a foreign unhallowed altar erected; and thus is Christ's peace, and God's ordination and unity rebelled against."—For mine own part, I neither have done, nor do any thing in these matters, which I do not think myself in conscience and duty bound to do, and which her majesty hath not with earnest charge committed unto me, and which I am not well able to justify to be most requisite for this church and state; whereof, next to her majesty (though most unworthy, or at the least most unhappy) the chief care is committed unto me; which I will not by the grace of God neglect, whatsoever come upon me therefore. Neither may I endure their notorious contempts, unless I will become Æsop's block, and undo all that which hitherto hath been done. And how then shall I be able to perform my duty, according to her majesty's expectation? It is certain, that if way be given unto them, upon their unjust surmises and clamours, it will be the cause of that confusion, which hereafter the state will be sorry for. I neither care for the honour of this place I hold, (which is *onus* unto me,) nor the largeness of the revenue, neither any worldly thing (I thank God) in respect of doing my duty; neither do I fear the displeasure of man, nor the evil tongue of the uncharitable, who call me tyrant, pope, knave¹¹, and lay to my charge things that I never did, nor thought. *Scio enim hoc esse opus diaboli, ut servos Dei mendaciis*

¹¹ Tyrant, pope, knave.] Compare Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions, under pretence of Reformation*, book ii. chap. 12.

laceret, et opinionibus falsis gloriosum nomen infamet; ut qui conscientie suae luce clarescunt, alienis rumoribus sordidentur. “For I know that this is the work of that accuser the devil, that he may tear in pieces the servants of God with lies, that he may dishonour their glorious name with false surmises, that they, who through the clearness of their own conscience, are shining bright, might have the filth of other men’s slanders cast upon them.” So was Cyprian himself used, and other godly bishops, to whom I am not comparable. But that which most of all grieveth me¹², and is to

¹² *Most of all grieveth me.*] We saw before, under the *Life of Hooker*, p. 487, n. one occasion of the scarcity of learned preachers, and of the anxiety of the queen and bishops on that account. Here we have another, much more direct and immediate, infinitely more dishonourable to its authors, and such therefore as might well affect the archbishop in the manner described in the text. We have in the Preface to the English translation of Bullinger’s *Decads*, published in the year 1584, a further account of these evils, so interesting that I need make no apology for giving it a place here.

“What great want there is in many to discharge their duty in feeding their flocks, is very lamentable, and ought by some means, as much as possible, to be supplied and remedied, rather than to be made a common theme and argument of raillery, which at this day many do. The cause of this great want needs not here to be disputed; but in very deed any man may judge, how impossible it is for so populous a kingdom, abounding with so many several congregations, all to be furnished with fit and able pastors, and that immediately after such a general corruption and apostacy from the truth. For, unless they should suddenly have come down from heaven, or have been raised up miraculously, they could not have been. For the ancient preachers of king Edward’s time, some of them died in prison; many perished by fire; many otherwise; many also fled into other countries, of whom some died there, and a few returned; which were but an handful to furnish this whole realm. The universities were also at the first so infected, that many wolves and foxes crept out, who detested the ministry, and wrought the contempt of it every where. But very few good shepherds came abroad. And whereas, since that time, now eighteen years, the university being well purged, there was good hope that all the land should have been overspread and replenished with able and learned pastors, the devil and corrupt patrons have taken such order that much of that hope is cut off. For patrons now-a-days search not the universities for the most fit pastor, but they post up and down the country for the most gainful chapman. He that hath the biggest purse to pay largely, not he that hath the best gifts to preach learnedly, is presented.

“The bishops bear great blame for this matter, and they admit, they say, unworthy men. See the craft of Satan! falsely to charge the worthiest pillars of the church with the ruin of the church, to the end that all church-robbers, and caterpillars of the Lord’s vineyard may lie unespied! There is nothing that procures the bishops of our time more trouble and displeasure, than that they zealously withstand the covetousness of patrons, in rejecting

be wondered at, and lamented is, that some of those which give countenance to these men, and cry out for a learned ministry, should watch their opportunity, and be instruments and means to place most unlearned men in the chiefest places and livings of the ministry, thereby to make the state of the bishops and clergy contemptible, and I fear saleable. This hypocrisy and dissembling with God and man (in pretending one thing, and doing another) goeth to my heart, and maketh me to think that God's judgments are not far off. The day will come, when all men's hearts shall be opened. In the mean time I will depend upon him, who never faileth those that put their trust in him."

Thus far his letters.

After this he linked himself in a firm league of friendship with sir Christopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain to the queen's majesty: and by the means of Dr. Bancroft (his then household chaplain, and afterwards lord archbishop of Canterbury) had him most firm, and ready upon all occasions to impart unto the queen, as well the crosses offered him at the council-table, as also sundry impediments, whereby he was hindered from the performance of many good services towards her majesty and the state. He had always the lord Burghley (then lord treasurer of England) his firm and constant friend, and one that would omit no opportunity for his advancement; who prevailed so far, that when the earl of Leicester (one of those honourable personages afore-mentioned ¹) was in the Low Countries, the archbishop, and the lord Cobham ², were first sworn counsellors ³ of state, and Thomas lord Buckhurst ⁴

their unsufficient clerks. For it stands them upon above all others, that the church of God should prosper, in the decay and fall whereof they cannot stand, but perish."

¹ *Afore-mentioned.*] In p. 583.

² *Lord Cobham.*] William Brooke, lord Cobham.

³ *Sworn counsellors.*] This was in February 1585. Fuller, in his Church History, book ix. p. 197, gives the following account of Whitgift's discharge of this new dignity. "Archbishop Whitgift repaired daily to the council table, early in the morning, and after an usual appreciation of a *good-morrow* to the lords, he requested to know if there were any church business to be debated; and if the answer was returned in the affirmative, he stayed and attended the issue of the matter. But if no such matter appeared, he craved leave to be dispensed withal, saying, *Then, my lords, here is no need of me*; and departed. A commendable practice, clearing himself from all aspersions of civil pragmatism, and tending much to the just support of his reputation."

⁴ *Buckhurst.*] Thomas Sackville, afterwards the first earl of Dorset. Seep. 602.

was sworn the day after, whereat the earl was not a little displeased. The lord Buckhurst was joined in like affection to the archbishop as the other two were, and continued after he came to be lord treasurer, his faithful and loving friend to the time of his death.

When the archbishop was thus established in friendship with these noble personages, as aforesaid, their favours, and his place, wrought him free access to the queen, and gracious acceptance of his motions in the church's behalf. His courses then at the council-board were not so much crossed nor impeached as heretofore: but by reason of his daily attendance and access, he then oftentimes gave impediment to the earl's designments in clergy causes.

About this time, (April 12, 1587,) sir Thomas Bromely (the then lord chancellor) died; whereupon it pleased her majesty to discover her gracious inclination to have made the archbishop lord chancellor of England. But he excusing himself in many respects, that he was grown into years, and had the burthen of all ecclesiastical businesses laid upon his back (which was as much as one man could well undergo, considering the troubles with so many sectaries that were then sprung up) desired to be spared, and besought her highness to make choice of sir Christopher Hatton, who shortly after was made lord chancellor in the archbishop's house at Croydon, thereby the rather to grace the archbishop. His advancement did much strengthen the archbishop and his friends; and withal, the earl of Leicester and his designments came soon after to an end. For, the year following, taking his journey to Kenelworth, he died in the way at Cornbury Park, whereby the archbishop took himself freed from much opposition.

Upon the death of the said earl, the chancellorship of Oxford being void, divers of the heads and others of the university made known unto the archbishop their desire to chuse him their chancellor, although he was a Cambridge man. To whom he returned this answer, That he was already their friend, whereof they might rest assured; and therefore advised them to make choice of some other in near place about the queen, that might assist him on their behalf; and both at the council-board, and other places of justice, right them many ways, both for the benefit of the university, and their particular colleges. And therewithal recommended unto them sir Christopher Hatton, being sometime of that university; whom accordingly they did chuse for their chancellor,

and whom the archbishop ever found a great assistant in bridling and reforming the intemperate humour of these novelists, who by the countenance of the aforesaid great personages (earl of Leicester, &c.) were now grown to a strong head.

For, in the year 1588, came forth those hateful libels^a of *Martin Marprelate*; and much about the same time, the *Epitome*; the *Demonstration of Discipline*; the *Supplication*; *Diotrephes*; the *Minerals*; *Have you any Work for a Cooper*; *Martin Junior*, alias *Theses Martinianæ*; *Martin Senior*; *More Work for a Cooper*; and other such like bastardly pamphlets, which might well be *nullius filii*, because no man durst father their births. All which were printed with a kind of wandering press, which was first set up at Moulsey, near Kingston upon Thames, and from thence conveyed to Fausly^b in Northamptonshire, and from thence to Norton, afterwards to Coventry, from thence to Welstone in Warwickshire, from which place the letters were sent to another press in or near Manchester, where (by the means of Henry, that good earl of Derby) the press was discovered in printing of *More Work for a Cooper*. Which shameless libels were fraughted only with odious and scurrilous calumniations against the established government, and such reverend prelates as deserved honour with uprighter judgments.

Some of the printers, whilst they were busied about the last libel, were apprehended; who, with the entertainers, and receivers of the press, were proceeded against in the star-chamber, and there censured; but upon their submission (at the humble suit of the archbishop) were both delivered out of prison, and eased of their fines. The authors and penners of some of these libels were, John Penry and John Udall; the chief disperser of them was Humphrey Newman a cobbler, a choice broker for such sowerly wares, and in regard of his hempenly trade, a fit person to cherish up Martin's birds, who (as Pliny writeth) do feed so greedily upon hemp-seed, that they be oftentimes choaked there-

^a *Hateful libels.*] For a further account, with extracts and specimens of several of these pamphlets, which perhaps were never surpassed in scurrility and malignity, see Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 288—290. 298—309. Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, book ii. chap. 3—14. See also Walton's *Life of Hooker*, p. 502 of this volume, and the note there.

^b *Fausly.*] Fawsley, the seat of the family of Knightley, the head of which was a great favourite of the puritans. See Baker's *History of Northamptonshire*, vol. i. p. 380.

with. Such was the unfortunate end of some of his Martin birds; as appeareth upon record in the King's-Bench, against John Penry, clerk, *Termino Pasch.* 1593, and at an assize in Surrey against John Udall, whose pardon the archbishop afterwards obtained.

Thus the factious ministers, zealous of pretended discipline, having with these seditious libels (as the fore-rangers and harbingers of their further designs) made way in the hearts of the vulgar (who ever are apt to entertain novelties, though it be with danger and detriment to themselves; and specially if it have a shew of restraining the authority of their superiors) they thought it the fittest time to prosecute their projects. And while one sort of them were maliciously busied in slandering the state of the church already settled, the other were as seditiously employed in planting the discipline which they had newly plotted. Whereupon shortly after Thomas Cartwright, and Edmund Snape, with others, were called in question, and proceeded withal in the star-chamber, for setting forth, and putting in practice (without warrant or authority) a new form of common prayer¹, and administration of the sacraments and presbyterial discipline. The particularities of which their dangerous plots, and positions (though most secretly carried amongst men only of their own combination) were by Dr. Bancroft first discovered, and by the archbishop and the lord chancellor farther brought to light, as the records themselves in the star-chamber do testify, and may at large appear in doctor Bancroft's *Survey of the Pretended Discipline*; and *Dangerous Positions under pretence of Reformation*: wherein also you shall see these disciplinarians to exceed other ministers, from whom they have their presbyterial platform, in threatening, railing, and undutiful speeches, against their sovereign, the high court of parliament, the most honourable privy council, the archbishops and bishops, the reverend judges of the land, and lawyers of both professions: and generally against all magistrates, and other inferior ministers of justice, and officers under them, that do maintain the present government of the church of England, and withstand their desire.

It was therefore high time for the archbishop and state to look strictly to these perturbbers of our church's happy quiet.

¹ *Form of common prayer.*] "A booke of the Forme of Common Prayers, Administration of the Sacraments, &c. agreeable to God's worde, and the use of the reformed churches; Middleburgh, 1586." 12mo.

But if we shall take a further view of those enormous, and desperate courses, which after ensued (though all branches growing out of the same root) we shall be far from accusing either the archbishop of too much vigilancy, or the civil magistrates of overmuch severity, in cutting off some of those outrageous and unbridled sectaries.

Three principal there were among them deeply infatuated with this reforming spirit ; William Hacket^a, yeoman ; Edmund Copping, and Henry Arthington, gentlemen ; all of them strongly possessed, at the first, with an earnest desire of the late invented discipline, and carried violently with the strength of their erroneous fancy, into a desperate and lamentable course ; whereof, though I will suppose that many are innocent, who were led with the same spirit and desire of reformation with them in the beginning ; yet I am induced by just and weighty reasons to conceive, that, unless the vigilancy of the magistrates had timely prevented their courses, the intemperate zeal of these novelists, finding no certain ground to stay itself upon, nor any determinate end where it might finally rest, would have broken out into some like combustion, and flame, as these aforementioned did, whereof I will give you but a little taste. Two of these, Edmund Copping and Henry Arthington, came into Cheapside, July 16, 1591, and there in a cart, proclaimed news from heaven, to wit, " That one William Hacket, yeoman, represented Christ, by partaking his glorious body in his principal spirit ; and that they were two prophets, the one of mercy, the other of judgment, called and sent of God to assist him in his great work, &c." But because the weight of the matter requireth a larger discourse than is fit to be inserted in this work, I refer the reader for the rest unto doctor Cosin's book, intituled *Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation* : where he shall find their purposes, plots, and designments, with many other markable things at large discoursed, and taken truly out of their conference and writings under their own hands, with their confessions and examinations, subscribed by themselves before sundry honourable and worshipful personages, of great gravity and wisdom, employed in those affairs. By all which, together with their temperate, direct, and pertinent speech, and congruity of phrase and matter, both before and after their apprehension, it will clearly appear, that the said conspirators were not madmen (unless it be

^a Hacket.] See Walton's *Life of Hooker*, p. 486 of this volume.

a kind of madness to be a violent prosecutor^a of this reformation, as indeed it is), howsoever some of that fraternity and sect have so given it out; chusing thereby rather to accuse the honourable justice of the realm, and all the ministers thereof, than that any professing desire of pretended reformation, should be noted with deep disloyalty, as they were charged withal.

When the queen and state saw the incredible height of these audacious attempts, so dangerous to the commonwealth, thus knotted and countenanced under pretence of reforming the church, they found it necessary to stop the fountains of these proceedings, lest it might grow to the like outrage. Amongst whom there were very forward to the like presumption Henry Barrow, gentleman, and John Greenwood, clerk, who were convented before the high commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, in November 1587, for their schismatical and seditious opinions, viz. That our church is no church, or at the least, no true church; yielding these reasons therefore: first, That the worship of the English church is flat idolatry: secondly, That we admit into our church persons unsanctified: thirdly, That our preachers have no lawful calling: fourthly, That our government is ungodly: fifthly, That no bishop or preacher preacheth Christ sincerely and truly: sixthly, That the people of every parish ought to chuse their bishop; and that every elder, though he be no doctor nor pastor, is a bishop: seventhly, That all the precise, which refuse the ceremonies of the church, and yet preach in the same church, strain at a gnat and swallow a camel; and are close hypocrites, and walk in a left-handed policy; as master Cartwright, Wiggington, &c. also in Norwich, master Moare, Pawmone, and Burgess. That all which make catechisms, or teach and expound printed and written catechisms, are idol shepherds; as Calvin, Ursin^a, Nowell, &c. That the child of ungodly parents ought not to be baptised, as of usurers, drunkards, &c. nor any bastards. That set prayer is blasphemous.

The foresaid broachers of these opinions at this their first

^a Promoter.

^a Ursin.] Zacharias Ursinus, the son of Caspar Beer of Breslau. "—— the church of the palatinate obtained the second place among the reformed churches, and its influence and reputation were so considerable, that the *Form of Instruction*, which was composed for its use by Ursinus, and which is known under the name of the *Catechism of Heidelberg*, was almost universally adopted by the Calvinists." Mosheim's *Ch. Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 383. ed. 1782.

convention made shew of their conformity upon conference with some divines; and in hope thereof, were enlarged upon bonds; but all in vain. For after their liberty they burst forth into further extremities, and were again committed to the Fleet, July 20, 1588, where they published their scandalous and seditious writings; for which they were proceeded withal at Justice-Hall, near Newgate in London, March 21, 1592.

For suppressing this kind of people (which as you see were grown unto a great height of violence and outrage) the state held it fit at the next parliament following to make a law of abjuration, or banishment, of such as should either persuade others, or be present themselves at these their conventicles or meetings, which law is entituled "An Act to restrain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due obedience."

Let the reader now consider with what contagion and leprosy many poor souls had like to have been infected through the divulging of their wicked libels and dangerous positions, tending to innovation and rebellion, had not the stroke of justice, and providence of the state, wisely prevented the same, selecting out of an hundred thousand seditious mutineers (for so many they confessed were ready for that purpose) only four persons, as the chief ringleaders, whose lot it was to be proceeded withal, for the quenching of the fiery outrage of the rest, kindled already to the like attempts as those in Germany of the cabinet-teachers and reformers, both at Mulhusin, and Munster in Westphalia¹⁰; which seditions could not be appeased till fifty thousand of them were killed and cut in pieces by the united forces of most of the princes of the empire. And though some, not of the greatest foresight, may think that the fear which our archbishop conceived of dangers to ensue out of these sectaries attempts, was far greater than there was just cause, yet the examples of those foreign pretenders of like reformation as is aforesaid, compared with these our reformers designs, taught him not to be without fear, or care for preventing these dangerous events at home. For all their intendments sorted to one end, viz. reformation, and to be brought to pass by one and the self-same means, viz. by commotion of the unbridled multitude.

For was it not in their assemblies classical and synodical concluded, "That the discipline should, within a time limited, be put in practice, and erected all in one day by the ministers

¹⁰ *In Westphalia.*] In 1533.

together with the people?" whom these disciplinarians bragged to be already inflamed with zeal to lend so many thousand hands¹¹ for the advancement of their cause, by whom they hoped and said such reformation must be brought in. And how, I pray you, did they incense the common people, not only in their private conventicles, (decreeing that the queen's authority ought to be restrained in causes ecclesiastical,) but in their public sermons and exhortations; alienating the hearts of their auditors from all obedience of the ecclesiastical magistrates? As namely, master Cartwright, who saith, That no obedience ought to be given unto them, either in doing that which they command, or abstaining from that which they prohibit: and that it should not be lawful for any one of the brotherhood to take an oath, whereby he may discover any thing prejudicial to himself or his brother, especially if he be persuaded the matter to be lawful for which the punishment is like to be inflicted; or, having taken it¹², he need not discover the very truth. And in his prayer before his sermons he used thus to say: "because they (meaning the bishops) which ought to be pillars in the church do band

¹¹ *Many thousand hands.*] Compare Hooker's *Preface*, chap. vii. § 13, or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 437, and n.

¹² *Or, having taken it.*] "Under pretence of not accusing themselves, if they find anything to be come to light which may any ways touch them, they will utterly refuse for the most part to answer it, either upon oath, or without oath; saying, that neither by the laws of God nor man, they are bound so to answer. Under colour whereof, they exempt themselves from the ordinary course held in justice for criminal causes, throughout all the world: which is, that before witnesses be produced against any supposed offender, the party accused shall first answer to the accusation, yea or nay; as we use in England. He must first plead, Guilty, or not guilty.

"And as they deal for themselves, so do they for their confederates . . . affirming it to be against the rules of charity to bring their Christian brethren and friends into any danger for doing of those things, which both the sorts of these seducers have drawn them into, and they do themselves judge to be religious and just.

"From these points all the judges of the land, and divers divines that have dealt with them, as yet cannot bring them; both the sorts are so settled in this seditious doctrine of Rhemes, which is as followeth: If thou be put to an oath (*Annot. Rhemish* on c. xxiii. Acts) to accuse Catholics for serving God as they ought to do, or to utter any innocent man to God's enemies and his, thou oughtest first to refuse such unlawful oaths: but if thou have not constancy and courage so to do, yet know thou that such oaths bind not at all in conscience and law of God, but may and must be broken under pain of damnation." Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, p. 3, 4. 4to. 1593.

themselves against Christ and his truth, therefore, O Lord, give us grace and power, all, as one man, to set ourselves against them." Which words, by way of emphasis, he would often repeat. And how, I pray you, doth Penry, in his *Supplication to the Parliament*, incite both the lords and commons, threatening them with plagues and bloodshed, if they gathered not courage and zeal? And withal, scoffing at their unwillingness hitherto for disturbing of the state, forsooth, to set upon the hierarchy of the bishops; telling them, if they refused so to do, they should declare unto their children "That God had raised up but a company of white-livered soldiers to teach them the gospel in the sincerity under queen Elizabeth." And doth not Udall threaten that "the presbytery shall prevail and come in by that way and means, as shall make all their hearts to ach, that shall withstand or hinder the same?"

And when, I pray you¹, were these classical assemblies, and these seditious stirs and hurly-burles of Martinists, and that reforming sect put in practice? In the year 1588, at that time when the invincible Spanish navy (as some vainly termed it) was upon our coasts, and should have invaded us, albeit it was by the gracious providence of our omnipotent God prevented, and their ships so dispersed as that no enemy was able to put foot on English shore but as a prisoner or captive. At which time, as the care of her majesty for the preparation of forces to encounter and resist them was very great, so might her grief also be to behold a discord and dissention of her own subjects within her

¹ *And when, I pray you.*] The puritans, alleging the greatness of their numbers, and pleading for privileges and indulgences, as the price of their uniting to repel the foreign enemy, Bancroft demands of them, "Why wanting your desires, would you have taken no part, if the Spaniard had come? Or purposed you to have made a more ready passage for him, by rebelling at home, before he should have come? Or would you have joined with him if he had come? Or meant you, thereby, through terror, to have enforced her majesty to your purposes, least you should have taken some of these courses? Chuse which of them you list: the best is seditious." *Dangerous Positions*, book iv. chap. 3.

"Was it not distressing the government and the hierarchy, to revile them in the bitterest language, on the eve of an invasion from Spain, when the only security that government had was the people's love, and their consequent attachment to church and state? Did not these pamphlets abate the people's love and reverence for both, in which they were told that the government was unjust and tyrannical; and the hierarchy, anti-christian?" Warburton's *Remarks on Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*; *Works*, vol. xii. p. 383, 4. 8vo.

realm. The archbishop also himself had not the meanest part to perform in so great and weighty an action, when the whole forces of the clergy, not only within his particular diocese, but through his whole province were committed unto his care and charge, to have in readiness, besides his own family and tenants, which were by him gathered together, all prepared, mustered, and trained for defence of prince and country.

Now of the aforesaid stirs and seditious attempts of sundry persons in this our archbishop's time, that master Cartwright was the fountain and principal author it may appear by sundry passages, and also by the opinion and dependencies which all the afore-named had upon him, especially in their proceedings, as their conferences and conventicles do sufficiently declare, which are extant in the records of the star-chamber, whence I have taken my chiefest instructions in this behalf. The recourse of Hacket, Coppinger and Arthington, unto him and his fraternity, and the vain conceits of extraordinary callings which they were put into, both by speech and letters, and the opinion which they all three conceived of master Cartwright by name, both before and after their apprehension, may appear sufficiently, both by the records and books published², whereof mention is already made. That Penry, Udall, and the rest of the libellers, were of his consort, by his sight of divers of the books, and knowledge both of the authors and publishers, and his not revealing them to the state, he could not deny, being examined thereupon. And that he approved their hateful libels it appeared by his own words; when, being asked his opinion of such books, he said, "Seeing the bishops, and others there touched, would not amend by grave books and advertisements, it was therefore meet they should be dealt withal to their further reproach." Which was not unsuitable to one of his own decrees in a synod, where it was determined, "That no books should be put in print but by consent of the classes; that some of those books must be earnest, some more mild and temperate; whereby they may be both of the spirit of Elias and Elizeus."

That Barrow and Greenwood were so infected with his grounds and opinions which brought them unto their fatal ends, shall manifestly appear unto you upon Barrow's own confession. For when Dr. Ravis (then chaplain to the archbishop, and late lord

² *Books published.*] Doctor Bancroft's two books; and Cosin's *Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation*.

bishop of London) at the earnest desire of Barrow himself, and direction of the archbishop, dealt with master Cartwright to confer with Barrow, they being then both prisoners in the Fleet : master Cartwright (having been once before with him at the entreaty of master Sperin, a minister) would by no means be drawn to further conference with him again : which his refusal, when it was by doctor Ravis signified to Barrow, in the presence of divers of good reputation and account, he fetched a great sigh, saying, "And will he not? Hath he only brought me into this brake, and will he now leave me? For from him received I my grounds, and out of his premises did I infer, and make the conclusion of the positions which I now hold, and for which I suffer bands."

Again, when sentence of death was given against the said Barrow, doctor Andrews (now lord bishop of Ely), doctor Bisse, and doctor White, were sent unto him, to counsel him for his soul's health. There also accompanied them doctor Parry, now lord bishop of Worcester. After many passages of speech with doctor White (unto whom he then seemed especially to address himself) he brake forth into these words. "You are not the men³ whom I most dislike in these differences. For although you be out of the way, yet you think you are in the right. But I cannot but complain of master Cartwright and others of his knowledge, from whom we have received the truth of these things, and have been taught that your callings are antichristian, who yet utterly against their consciences forsake us in our sufferings, and will not come out of Babylon for fear of their lives." It being farther replied by doctor White, that those callings which Barrow reproached as antichristian were the very same which archbishop Cranmer and Ridley, and many other holy bishops, &c. (that suffered martyrdom in queen Mary's time) did embrace; Barrow replied in this vain-glorious manner: "True it is that Cranmer and others were martyrs in queen Mary's days, but these holy bands of mine (and therewithal shook the fetters which he did wear) are much more glorious than any of theirs, because they had the mark of antichrist in their hands." Thus he, in Newgate at that time, in the presence of many, with great insolency, did triumph.

Men therefore, not partially affected, may hereby observe and

³ *You are not the men.*] Compare Hooker's Pref. to *Ecclesiast. Polity*, chap. 8.

conceive what danger innovation bringeth to the people, and what hazard to a state; when by little and little, it increaseth like the swelling or flowing of the sea, which if it surpass the bounds wherewith it was confined, or gain never so small a breach, it spreadeth itself over a whole country, and groweth to that violence and stream that it cannot by any contrary force be kept back, but without pity or mercy putteth all things to wreck where it rageth. Which, as it seemeth, master Cartwright himself did now find, when, after his first conference, he perceived how impossible it was for him to make up the breach which he had unfortunately begun; for that Barrow, like a tempestuous surge, would have forced him (by finding his own oversight and errors) back again from his former positions, or drawn him inevitably to his conclusions.

And therefore observable it is, that master Cartwright, having upon his first discontentment (as hath been delivered) made a desperate assault and breach in Sion's peaceable and blessed city, now like a sly captain did steal away secretly (after summons given) from his own siege, fearing upon his entry by the force and press of his own soldiers to be environed and kept within the walls (as Pyrrhus was) to the loss of his life; or doubting belike the outrage and violence of his army, whose fury he could not have appeased when he list, but have been enforced (as Titus was) to see his soldiers sack, spoil, and burn the holy city of Jerusalem, though he vehemently laboured, and with great earnestness cried out unto them (whom yet himself first set on work) to save the sanctuary of the Lord, but could not be heard, or at least was not able to stop their rage and fury, until it was with fire consumed and destroyed.

Not much differing from the said positions of Barrow and Greenwood were the opinions of Robert Brown (sometime of Bennet college, in Cambridge) from whom that sect beareth the name even to this day. But because in this archbishop's time the said Brown was changed from those fancies, and afterwards obtained a benefice called Achurch, in Northamptonshire, (where he became a painful preacher) I will not much insist upon him.

I let pass many like schisms in other parts of the realm which this good archbishop suppressed, and the controversies⁴ in both

⁴ *And the controversies.*] Such as those respecting Barret and Baro at Cambridge; the drawing up of the Lambeth Articles; the support which he gave to Dr. Howson, the vice-chancellor at Oxford; the disputes between

universities, which by his wisdom were appeased; as also the reverend opinion which divers honourable personages had of him for his great temper and moderation in handling these businesses towards some of great place, (whose reputations, if he would, he might have blemished with her majesty, for favouring the said libellers and libels, which had stowage and vent in their chambers,) as also in procuring, at her majesty's hands, both pardon and dismissal for master Cartwright and the rest out of their troubles.

For which, and sundry other his favours, master Cartwright held himself much obliged unto him, as he confessed in his letters, written with his own hand to that effect. In which letters he is also pleased to vouchsafe him the stile of a "right reverend father in God, and his lord the archbishop's grace of Canterbury." Which title of grace he also often yieldeth him throughout his letters, acknowledging his "bond of most humble duty so much the straighter, because his grace's favour proceeded from a frank disposition, without any desert of his own." Yea the archbishop hath often been heard to say, That if master Cartwright had not so far engaged himself as he did in the beginning, he thought verily he would in his latter time have been drawn to conformity^a.

Hooker and Travers at the Temple, &c. &c. all of which are deserving of the attention of the student of ecclesiastical history.

The best account of the disputes respecting Barret and Baro, and of the compiling the Lambeth Articles, may be found in Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, and in a manuscript, formerly belonging to that archbishop, now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (b. 14. 9). See also *Hist. of the Lambeth Articles*, subjoined to Ellis's and Ford's *Expositions of the 39 Articles*. Of Dr. Howson, &c. see Wood's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 271—8, A.D. 1602. The disputes between Hooker and Travers are sufficiently related in the preceding life of Hooker.

Of the Lambeth Articles, Warburton thus expresses himself. "How deplorable are the infirmities of human nature!—These men could set church and state in a flame for square caps, surplices, and the cross in baptism; while they swallowed, and even contended for, these horrible decrees; the frightful and disordered dreams of a crude, sour-tempered, persecuting bigot, who counterworks his Creator, and makes God after *man's image*, and chuses the worst model he can find, *himself*."

"The puritans, by Dr. Reynolds in the name of the brethren, at the Hampton Court conference, desired that these godly articles might be inserted among the 'Thirty-nine.'" *Remarks on Neal's History of the Puritans*. Works, vol. xii. p. 385, 6.

^a *Been drawn to conformity*.] That Brown, the founder of the sect called by his name, the first sect of separatists from the Church of England, after-

For when he was freed from his troubles he often repaired to the archbishop, who used him kindly, and was contented to tolerate his preaching in Warwick divers years, upon his promise that he would not impugn the laws, orders, and government in this church of England, but persuade and procure so much as he could, both publicly and privately, the estimation and peace of the same. Which albeit he accordingly performed; yet when her majesty understood by others that master Cartwright did preach again (though temperately, according to his promise made to the archbishop) she would by no means endure his preaching any longer without subscription, and grew not a little offended with the archbishop for such connivancy at him. Not long after master Cartwright died rich, as it was said, by the benevolence and bounty of his followers⁶.

wards conformed, and lived for many years a minister of that church, which by his zeal and authority he had induced a multitude of followers to renounce as anti-christian, and as a congregation with which it was unlawful to hold religious communion, is a fact universally acknowledged. It is equally certain, that Cartwright, the great leader of the puritans, in his later years, grew much more temperate, and repented of the heat, and the narrow principles which he had so vehemently and so extensively espoused and propagated. In truth, he became himself a controversialist in behalf of the established church of England. See Bancroft's *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, p. 447—9. And more particularly in the Lambeth Library MS. No. 113, is a long controversial paper written by him against Robert Brown, and pleading against separation from the church. "And now at the end of Cartwright's life, to take our leave of him with a fairer character, it is remarkable what a noble and learned man (sir H. Yelverton in his Epistle to the Reader, before bishop Moreton's *Episcopacy Justified*) writes of some of his last words—'that he seriously lamented the unnecessary trouble he had caused in the church, by the schism he had been the great fomentor of; and wished that he was to begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways.' And in this opinion he died." Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 554. And of Penry it is related that he confessed: "He deserved death at the queen's hand, for that he had seduced many of her loyal subjects to a separation, from hearing the word of life in the parish churches, which though himself had learned to discover the evil of, yet he could never prevail to recover divers of her subjects whom he had seduced; and therefore, the blood of their souls was justly required at his hands." Stillingfleet's *Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 51, 1681.

⁶ *Bounty of his followers.*] Of the ways and steps by which the puritan ministers obtained their extraordinary popularity and influence, the reader may find an incomparable description, forming a most instructive moral picture, in the third chapter of Hooker's Preface to his *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

Cartwright complaining of the persecution and hard treatment he met

After these stirs, thus suppressed, they began to tamper with the earl of Essex, who was grown into a great height of favour with the queen; and by reason that sundry of his kindred and allies were inclined that way, they so far prevailed with him that he did privily, and far as he durst for fear of the queen's displeasure, give way and countenance unto them. But upon better consideration, finding by the heady courses of some of them the danger that thereby was like to grow to her majesty and the state, and the resolution had of all hands to cut them off by the law aforesaid, he grew very calm, and was careful how to carry himself uprightly betwixt both. And yet the archbishop had still a vigilant eye over him, that he could not, though he would, do any great hurt'.

For, to say the truth, by this due execution of laws in the

with on account of his opinions, Whitgift reminds him, "What commodities you want, that I have, I cannot conjecture. Your meat and drink is provided with less charges and trouble unto you, and in more delicate and dainty manner, than mine is. Your ease and pleasure ten times more. You do what you list, you go when you list, you come when you list, speak when you list, at your pleasure. What would you have more? I know not why you should complain, except you be of the same disposition with the Franciscan friars, who when they have filled their bellies at other men's tables, were wont to cry out, and say, *How many things are we forced to endure!*" Whitgift's *Defence*, p. 283. Sandys, bishop of London, thus expresses himself in a letter to the lord treasurer Burghley: "There is a conventicle, or rather a conspiracy, breeding in London. Certain men of sundry callings are as it were in commission together, to procure hands for Mr. Cartwright's book, and promise to stand in defence thereof untill death.—The city will never be quiet untill these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cartwright, and others, be far removed from the city. The people resort unto them, as in popery they were wont to run on pilgrimage. If these idols who are honoured for saints, and greatly enriched with gifts, were removed from hence, their honour would fall into the dust. And they would be taken for blocks as they are." Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 19. Records.

¹ *Any great hurt.*] Of this nobleman the following anecdote is told. "When the bishops (that felt the smart of it) had cried out against that lashing pamphlet, called, *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and there was a prohibition published, that no man should presume to carry it about him, upon pain of punishment, and the queen herself did speak as much when the earl was present, 'Why then,' said the earl, 'what will become of me?' And pulling the book out of his pocket, he did shew it unto the queen. I have heard grave men, and of great judgment say that he was the less inclined to Dr. Whitgift, a reverend divine, and his tutor also, because he was a bishop." Codrington's *Life of Robert Earl of Essex*, Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 219. edit. 1808.

beginning, and the provident courses of the archbishop, with the assistance and painful endeavours of doctor Bancroft and doctor Cosin, and the publishing of their learned and unanswerable books, the state of the clergy was in good quiet⁸, especially so long as sir Christopher Hatton, the lord chancellor, did live.

Immediately after whose death, the archbishop attending upon her majesty, and advising with her who was fittest to succeed him in the chancellorship of Oxford, found her graciously inclined toward the lord Buckhurst, in whose behalf she presently dispatched her letters to the university, and prevailed⁹: whereat the earl of Essex was so offended (his friends having laboured exceedingly therein on his behalf) that being then lord general of her majesty's forces in France, he made open profession of his dislike of the archbishop. But upon his return into England, finding how firm her majesty stood for him, and that his stirring in the matter must needs call in question her majesty's judgment, did therefore in a temperate manner expostulate the matter with the archbishop, from whom he received such an answer, as he knew not well whom to be angry withal, unless with the queen herself; who thought him too young a man (being yet no counsellor) for so grave a title; and fearing happily least if she should have committed the guiding of that university unto his young years and unexperienced judgment, some hot and unruly spirits there (like Phaëton's untamed horses) might have carried him in such an headlong course of government as that the sparks of contention, which were then scarce kindled in that university, might have broken forth into open flames, to the utter destruction and devastation of the whole state ecclesiastical. And besides this, she held the lord Buckhurst (being an ancient counsellor and her kinsman¹⁰) more fit for the place a great deal. And so much it seemed the queen had told the earl in justification of the archbishop before his questioning of the matter with him; for in effect,

⁸ *In good quiet.*] See Geo. Cranmer's Letter to Hooker, p. 540, above. Also Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 520—43. Hervey, in a letter to the poet Spenser, written about the year 1580, speaking of the "news at Cambridge," says, "No more ado about caps and surplices. Mr. Cartwright quite forgotten. The man you wot of comfortable with a *square* cap on his *round* head." Sir Christopher Hatton died Nov. 20, 1591.

⁹ *Prevailed.*] He was elected chancellor 17th December, 1591.

¹⁰ *Her kinsman.*] "He was a person of a wise foresight, and the queen's kinsman, by his mother, who was a Boleyn, as the learned Camden relates, in his history of queen Elizabeth." Collins, ii. 108. See p. 587.

he acknowledged so much, and thereupon they parted in no unkind terms, but with due respect of each other in very friendly manner. The queen, not long after, was the mean of their entering into further friendship; having oftentimes recommended unto the archbishop the earl's many excellent parts and virtues, which she then thought rare in so young years. And the earl likewise confessed to the archbishop, that her majesty's often speech of her extraordinary opinion of him and his worth was the cause of his seeking after the archbishop; and therefore did offer to run a course for clergy causes according to his directions and advice, and to cast off the novellists, as indeed he did immediately after sir Francis Walsingham's death; which was a special cause of the archbishop's constancy and firmness to the earl in his disgrace and trouble afterwards.

But now to return to our former course. The lord chancellor's death much troubled and perplexed the archbishop, fearing that new troubles would befall him and the church. Howbeit, things were then so well and firmly settled that he had no great ado afterwards, saving with their dispersing of pamphlets, and that some few persons (though thanks be to God not powerful) both in court and country, did attempt, as much as in them lay, by motions in parliament, and bills there preferred, to bring in I know not (nor they themselves) what kind of new government in the church; but were prevented by the wisdom of her majesty, who always suppressed those bills and motions, and still comforted the archbishop (who was oftentimes much grieved with their causeless complaints) and assured him they should not prevail to do any hurt, except it were to hurt themselves. For she did see in her princely wisdom how dangerous they were to her and all imperial government. And when she found them still bent to pursue such bills and motions, she (to deliver the archbishop from farther trouble and vexation) before it was expected, and as it were with silence, brake up the parliament.

After the death of sir Christopher Hatton, sir John Puckering was made lord keeper of the great seal of England, of whom (because he lived not long) I shall not have occasion to say much: but for ought I ever heard, he shewed himself a friend to the church, unto the archbishop and his proceedings, and acknowledged him to have been, amongst his other good friends, a furtherer of his advancement.

Sir Thomas Egerton¹¹, master of the rolls, succeeded him, May 6, 1596. Her majesty and the state had long experience of his integrity and wisdom, as may appear by the great places which he worthily held, being first her highness's solicitor, and then attorney-general. In which time (besides his many great and weighty services) he was very careful and industrious in labouring earnestly to suppress the aforesaid libellers; a lover of learning, and most constant favourer of the clergy, and church government established; as also a faithful loving friend to the archbishop in all his affairs; insomuch, that after his advancement to that honour, and that the earl of Essex and the archbishop concurred together, being also (out of the affection of his most honourable friend, the lord Burghley, lord treasurer) further strengthened by the friendship and love of sir Robert Cecyll, principal secretary, (and now earl of Salisbury, and lord treasurer of England,) he began to be fully revived again, and as well fortified by them as ever he was, when he was most and best friended. And her majesty finding in him a zealous care and faithful performance of his duty and service towards the church and her highness, shook off those clergy cares, and laid the burthen of them upon his shoulders, telling him, "That if any thing went amiss, be it upon his soul and conscience to answer it; for she had rid her hands, and looked that he should yield an account on her behalf unto almighty God."

And now, though the archbishop was in this singular favour and grace with her majesty, so that he did all in all for the managing of clergy affairs, and disposing of bishoprics and other ecclesiastical promotions, yet was he never puffed up with pride, nor did any thing violently (by reason of his place, and greatness with her majesty) against any man. For he ever observed this rule, that he would not wound where he could not salve. And I leave to the report of the adversaries themselves, when he had that sway in government, and favour with her highness, whether his carriage were not exceeding mild and temperate, and whether he did not endeavour rather by gentle persuasions and kind usages to win them, than (as the law and his place required) to pronounce

¹¹ *Sir Thomas Egerton.*] A natural son of sir Richard Egerton. He was created lord Ellesmere, 17 July, 1603; viscount Brackley, 7 Nov., 1616: in 1596 he was appointed lord high chancellor. He died in 1616. From him descended all the earls and dukes of Bridgewater. The head of all the Egertons and all the Cholmondeleys is sir Philip De Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart.

sentence, or lay any sharp censure upon them. Hath he not many a time, when sentence hath been ready to be given by consent of all the commissioners, found some occasion to delay the sentence to another court day, and in the mean time so plied the delinquents, and set on others to persuade them, as thereby many of them were won, which otherwise would never have been brought into conformity? Wherein he was of Antoninus Pius's mind, who said, when he was taxed by Aurelius for like remissness and lenity, "That he had rather save one citizen of Rome than kill a thousand enemies." And yet they knew this archbishop had courage enough in him, and credit and authority to back him, if he would have extended it unto severity.

But it was truly noted in him by a great counsellor¹ in the star-chamber, when Pickering was there censured for libelling against him after his death, "That there was nothing more to be feared in his government (especially toward his latter time) than his mildness and clemency." And he said that which was most true; for did he not, after that Udall and others were condemned unto death, draw upon him the dislike of his dear and honourable friend, sir Christopher Hatton, in making suit, and never ceased until he had obtained pardon for them at her majesty's hands? And, besides the dismissal of master Cartwright and his consorts out of the star-chamber, did not divers gentlemen of special note find the like favour there by his intercession, and were eased both of fine and punishment for entertaining the presses and printers before-mentioned? The very truth is, I cannot sufficiently express his singular wisdom and clemency; albeit some younger spirits were of opinion, that he was much to blame in that kind, and imputed it unto his years and want of courage, and sometimes would be bold to tell him, that he knew not his own strength with her majesty.

But he knew the court well, and that queen Elizabeth was the wisest governor of any prince then living; and that she had always entreated her subjects graciously, and ruled with all mildness and moderation, and that she brought her subjects oftentimes rather by gentle means to yield unto her just and profitable demands, than enforced them thereunto by rigour and authority; which peradventure she would have used, considering her absolute sovereignty and great occasions, had she not found out, of her

¹ *A great counsellor.*] [The earl of Salisbury's observations on him.]

singular wisdom and long experience in government, that she was the more observed and revered of her people by intermingling and tempering her authority and sovereignty with mildness and lenity. And this her highness's example the archbishop followed, agreeable to that which was said of Pericles, "That he would steer and govern the commonwealth with two principal rudders, fear and hope; bridling with the one the fierce and insolent rashness of the common people when they were in prosperity, and in their jollity; and reviving and comforting with the other their discontented spirits, by giving way for the time unto their humour and passion." And happy surely was it for that crazy state of the church (for so it was at this archbishop's first coming, and a long time after) not to meet with too rough and boisterous a physician; for he preserved it with conserves and electuaries, and some gentle purges, which with strong purgations in all likelihood might have been much more endangered; so that it may be very well verified of him which Ennius wrote of Fabius Maximus.

"Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret."

As you may perceive his clemency towards the irregular sort, so towards the conformable he was carried with an exceeding tender respect and kindness. He loved a learned minister, virtuous and honest, with all his heart; framing himself unto that rule of Aristotle, (*Polit. lib. i.*) "which directeth a good magistrate to be as careful in encouraging good men according to their merits, as in punishing the bad according to the quality of their offences." If he found a scholar of extraordinary gifts or hopes, that out of want grew discontented, and inclined to popery or puritanism, (as most of their discontentments and waywardness proceeded thence,) him would he gain both with supplies of money out of his purse, and preferments of his own gift, or otherwise, as opportunity served.

Now as our own countrymen of all sorts had daily taste of the kind disposition of this our archbishop, so it was not wanting unto sundry men of learning and quality, of foreign countries, whom he entertained both with his love and his bounty. He sent sundry times much money to master Beza out of his own purse, besides the general collections and contributions to Geneva, which he also greatly furthered. Upon which occasion many letters

passed betwixt them, especially towards his latter time. In some of which ² letters master Beza confesseth, "That in his writings, touching the church-government, he ever impugned the Romish hierarchy, but never intended to touch or impugn the ecclesiastical policy of this church of England, nor to exact of us to frame ourselves or our church to the pattern of their presbyterial discipline; and that as long as the substance of doctrine were uniform in the church of Christ, they may lawfully vary in other matters, as the circumstance of time, place, and persons requireth, and as prescription of antiquity may warrant. And to that end, he wished and hopeth, that the sacred and holy college of our bishops (for so he calleth them) will for ever continue and maintain such their right and title in the church's government, with all equity and Christian moderation." Yea, so far was he from denying our church to be a church, that often, and in most pithy manner he confesseth, "That as queen Elizabeth was the true nursing mother of the church of Christ, so England and our English church was both the harbour of all the godly, and the preserver of all other reformed churches." So far was he also from esteeming the archbishop an antichristian prelate, as he never omitted to term him "A most reverend father in Christ, and his most honoured good lord." I wish that our disciplinarians, who seem to direct themselves by the rule of Geneva, would learn thus to discipline their tongues with him, and imitate his modesty.

The archbishop, as from master Beza, so from other famous men beyond the seas, received many letters arguing their great love and due respect of him. At their request and recommendation he relieved and entertained in his house, for many years together, divers distressed ministers out of Germany and France, who were enforced to forsake their own countries; some by banishment, others by reason of wars and extremity which they were put unto. And at their departure he dealt bountifully with them; as namely, Drusius, Renicherus, Frigevill, and Monsieur Buse, a French minister, who read weekly a lecture in Latin in his chapel. And although his French pronunciation and want of good delivery did somewhat blemish the goodness of the matter which he handled, yet the archbishop's property ever was to cherish and encourage him, and all others that preached before him, and was never heard to give the preacher distaste, but rather

² *In some of which.*] [March 8, 1591.]

would commend, or excuse him against other men's censures; saying, if he were young, better experience would correct his defaults; and if he were in years, he was in that respect to be borne withal; alleging for both, that some would take exceptions sometimes rather to satisfy their own too much curiosity than for any just cause of dislike in the preacher.

Wherein he shewed a disposition very rarely to be found; in that, having himself an excellent gift in that faculty, his modesty in prizing himself, and his mildness in censuring others, was extraordinary and very singular: so that thereby he gave great encouragement unto some, whom otherwise his exquisite judgment might have daunted.

Neither herein did he, as in service of war the trumpeters use to do, who encourage others to fight, never taking weapon in hand themselves, or as Plutarch noteth in Aristogiton, who animated others to take arms, but himself in excuse pleaded lameness, and came halting to the musters in pretence thereof. But as his continual endeavours were to reward those of best gifts, and to encourage those of meaner, so (as often as church and state affairs gave him leave) he was industrious in propounding wholesome doctrine unto the people, and a worthy pattern of true divinity and diligence unto all others of the clergy to follow him therein. When he was bishop of Worcester, unless extraordinary businesses of the marches of Wales hindered him, he never failed to preach upon every sabbath-day, many times riding five or six miles to a parish church, and after sermon came home to dinner. The like he did also when he was archbishop, and lay at Croydon, the queen being in her progress. No Sunday escaped him in Kent, as the gentlemen there can well witness, who would exceedingly resort unto him: and he would oftentimes preach so early in the morning in some parish church, both in Worcester and Canterbury, that he came afterwards to the sermon in the cathedral church.

His gift that way was excellent, as if you had heard Saint Augustin himself, or some of the ancient bishops in the primitive church. His gesture and action in the pulpit, so grave and decent, his words coming from him so fatherly, and comely, and though plainly (for the most part) and without affectation, yet always elegantly, with special choice, and substantial matter, full of good and sound learning, plentiful in authorities out of Scripture, fathers, and school-men, so singularly applied, that he much

affected his auditory therewith. Thus he oftentimes stirred and moved men's minds and affections; and that not by the force of eloquence only, but by his pious life, answerable to his religious sentences; the opinion and confidence which the people had of his integrity being very great, because he did live unspotted of the world, and would not any way be corrupted.

He never preached, but he first wrote his notes in Latin, and afterwards kept them during his life. For he would say, That whosoever took that pains before his preaching, the elder he waxed, the better he should discharge that duty; but if he trusted only to his memory, his preaching in time would become prattling. Wherein (out of a true religious care, and divine wisdom) he did express the grave and prudent counsel that Demosthenes held in his orations, and pleadings in the court. For (as Plutarch saith) "He would never offer to speak unto the people, before he had made briefs of that which he had to deliver, alleging that he loved the people well, that would be careful beforehand what to say unto them. And this preparation (saith he) doth shew that a man honoureth and reverenceth them too. Contrariwise, he that passeth not how the people taketh his words, it is a plain token that he despiseth them, and their authority, and that he lacketh no good will to use force against them, if he could, rather than reason or persuasion."

When he was bishop of Worcester, and vice-president of the marches, he did exceeding good by that his continual preaching, as also by his often conference, and conventing of the papists, whom he used with mild and temperate speeches, and thereby got many of them to conform themselves, both gentlemen and others; whereby, as at his first coming unto the see of Worcester, he found many recusants, so he left very few at his coming thence.

Immediately after he came to be archbishop, he convented before him the chiefest and most learned recusants throughout all England. He also wrote letters to the bishops, his brethren, within the province of Canterbury, to proceed with the recusants by their authority ecclesiastical, and censures of the church, and called yearly upon them for an account of their doings. He sent forth also many warrants, by virtue of her highness's commission for causes ecclesiastical, and thereby had daily brought before him both recusants and priests; who according to the quality of their

offences were restrained, and proceeded against, or delivered over unto the civil magistrate to be dealt withal, as to justice appertained, after the laws were enacted against recusants and seminary priests.

Thus this grave and prudent archbishop always carried a most vigilant eye, and strait hand over the subtle-headed papists; as fearing lest they conceived an hope of advancing their cause and quarrel by help of the aforesaid contentions betwixt the bishops and these sectaries; and so soon as they should have found the forces on both side sufficiently weakened and enfeebled by a long continuance of the conflict, to have destroyed the vanquished with the vanquishers, whereby to re-establish their papal jurisdiction, and superstitious impieties; as not long after this archbishop's death they attempted to do, by the devilish device of that damnable powder-treason; which if it had succeeded, their intendment then was, to have put both alike to the sword.

You may perceive by the premises, how untruly some of the uncharitable and precipitate sectaries traduced him for a papist, and called him *the pope of Lambeth*, in their libels, and conventicles, and most unjustly reproached him with the title of *doctor Pearn's servant*, whom they likewise taxed with popery, and falsely charged him to have infected the archbishop therewith, because of his affection and love unto him, for the reasons specified before. The truth is, as the archbishop was of his own nature a very loving kind man, so he did hate ingratitude in any, and could never be taxed with that fault. He was likewise (as the gentlemen of Worcestershire and Kent had daily experience) very firm, and marvellous constant, where he affected and professed love; which brought him in great displeasure in the cause of the late earl of Essex; with whose life, and actions, though I have nothing to do (having only taken upon me to report another man's), yet thus much I may truly say, that his misfortune drew upon the archbishop the greatest discontentment, and severest reprehension from her majesty, that he had ever before undergone in all his life.

For after that the earl began to fall upon courses displeasing and distasteful unto her majesty, nevertheless such was the confidence the archbishop had in the earl's loyalty, and his own steadfastness in that friendship which he had formerly professed unto him, that he could not be drawn from being a continual inter-

cessor for him ; wherewith her majesty was so highly displeased, and so sharply rebuked him for the same, that the good old archbishop came sometimes home much grieved and perplexed.

Within a while after, the earl (forgetting³ that unto princes the highest judgment of things is given, and unto us the glory of obedience is left) went out indeed. The archbishop being that Sunday morning (Feb. 8, 1600) at the court (whether by direction, or by his own accord, I know not) hastened home without any attendant, and commanded as many men as he then had in the house to be presently armed, and sent over unto the court, but not to go within the gates until master secretary Cecill, or some other by his instruction, should appoint them a leader. There were immediately presented unto him threescore men well armed, and appointed, who with a message from the archbishop, shewed themselves before the court ; of whose arrival there master secretary Cecill, with the rest of the lords of the council, were right glad, and said he was a most worthy prelate. They had speedily a leader appointed unto them, and marched presently, and were the first that entered into the gates of Essex house ; and in the first court made good the place until the earl yielded himself, and was by the lord admiral brought to Lambeth-house, where he remained an hour or two, and was from thence conveyed to the Tower. The archbishop had likewise in readiness that afternoon forty horsemen well appointed, and expected directions from the court how to dispose of them. The next morning he sent a gentleman to know how the queen did, and how she rested all night. To whom she made answer, that she rested and slept the better for his care the day before ; “but I beshrew his heart” (said she) “he would not believe this of Essex, though I had often told him it would, one day, thus come to pass.”

After this, when her majesty understood that her own recommendation of the earl had wrought that good opinion of him in the archbishop, and that she now found his readiness for her defence, with horse, and men, and the nearness thereof unto the court, to stand her at that time in great stead, she began to entertain him in her wonted favour, and grace again, and ever after continued her good opinion of him unto her dying day.

Towards which time, though by reason of her melancholy

³ *Forgetting.*] [Tacit. Annal. lib. 4.]

disease, she was impatient of others speeches with her, yet was she well pleased to hear the archbishop, the then bishops of London, and Chichester, and the now bishop of Worcester, with some other divines, give her comfort and counsel to prepare herself to God-ward, and most devoutly prayed with them, making signs and tokens unto her last remembrance of the sweet comfort which she took in their presence, especially when towards her end they put her in mind of the unspeakable joys she was now going unto; where, no doubt, she remaineth a glorious saint of God, and as a most religious prince, rewarded with a crown of immortality, and bliss.

Now the much-lamented death of this noble queen gave great hope to the factious of challenging forthwith all exemption from the censures, and subjection of ecclesiastical authority. But how vain their hopes were, the issue hath declared; and although the archbishop was much dejected and grieved for the loss of his dear sovereign and mistress, who had so highly advanced him, yet he with the rest of the lords, repaired immediately to Whitehall, and after two hours sitting in council about the penning of the proclamation, he principally (as his place required) with a chearful countenance, and the rest of the lords in like sort accompanying him, first at the court-gate at Whitehall, with the applause, and unspeakable comfort of all the people, proclaimed her most rightful successor, JAMES (then king of Scotland) king of England, France, and Ireland. Afterwards, in like chearful sort, the archbishop with the rest of the lords⁴, trooped up to the cross in

⁴ *The rest of the lords.*] "In proclaiming the king, he [sir Anthony Weldon] forgets one circumstance, that the lords coming to London, Ludgate was shut, and there the lord mayor and the aldermen were, who, seeing the lords, told them that none should come into the city unless they came with an intent to proclaim James, king of Scots, king of England. They replied, they came with no other intent, and did promise, upon their honour, that they would proclaim him. The lord mayor [Sir Robert Lee] replied, that it was no sufficient security and assurance to take their honours' word in so great a business, and that he would have better security: whereupon one or two of the lords pulled off their blue ribbons, together with their Georges, and did mortgage them that they would proclaim none other, and then they were admitted, and did proclaim king James accordingly. This was done to show their unanimous consent, and the king's undoubted title."—Bishop Goodman's *Court of King James*, vol. i. p. 8, 1839. 8vo. Edited by the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A. from the MS. in the Bodleian Library. The truth of this anecdote is confirmed by Johnstone, *Hist. Brit.*, p. 359.

Cheapside, and there with like acclamation of the lord mayor and citizens, proclaimed him again (March 24, 1602).

I am doubtful to speak (lest I might seem to detract from others) of the great comfort which the common people and citizens took in the presence of the archbishop, and how heartily they prayed for him at his return; as if they nothing doubted, but that all went well for the state in that council, among whom he was present.

He was indeed beloved of all sorts of people, yea even of some of them who were the most fervent reproachers themselves, as they have confessed since his death; and well worthy was he so to be, for that he carried a most mild and moderate hand over them. A more particular love also he deserved of many, for his affection unto liberal and ingenious arts, whereof his domestic government and care was no less argument than his public; which I have formerly spoken of. For, besides the pains which he took himself (after he was bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of Canterbury) many years, with a number of worthy young gentlemen, in reading unto them thrice a-day, he took into his house, besides his chaplains, divers of quality to instruct them in the mathematics, and other lectures of sundry arts and languages; giving them good allowance, and preferments otherwise, as occasion was offered. And besides the many poor scholars, whom he kept in his house till he could provide for them, and prefer them (as he did sundry to good estates), he also maintained divers in the university at his own charge, and gave liberally to them and others of any towardliness, as he heard of their necessity and wants.

He kept likewise for the exercise of military discipline, a good armory, and a fair stable of great horses; insomuch as he was able to arm at all points both horse and foot, and divers times had one hundred foot, and fifty horse of his own servants mustered, and trained; for which purpose he entertained captains. He had also skilful riders, who taught them to manage their horses, and instructed them in warlike exercises, all whom he rewarded in liberal manner. By this means he had divers of his own gentlemen that afterwards proved good soldiers; many whereof became captains and commanders, and some for their valour and service were knighted in the field. There were also divers others, that for learning, languages, and qualities, were fit to be employed by any prince in Christendom. Insomuch as his

house, for the lectures and scholastical exercises therein performed, might justly be accounted a little academy⁵, and in some respects superior, and more profitable; viz. for martial affairs, and the experience that divines and other scholars had, being near, and often at the court, and chief seats of justice, from whence they continually had the passages and intelligences both for matters of state, and government in causes ecclesiastical and civil. By which their continual experience, many of his domestical chaplains⁶, both before, and since his death, attained unto the chiefest honours and dignities in our church and commonwealth.

And here I may not forget his religious care and provident order for the due execution of his charge, and determination of all such causes as belonged unto his proper cognizance and place. To which end and purpose, he appointed every Thursday in term a solemn and set commission day; upon which he had a sermon in his chapel by one of his household chaplains, and entertained the commissioners, and their attendants, though to his great expence, which he little esteemed in regard of the well guiding, and ordering the affairs, then by him undertaken. That day you should have had a senate of the worthiest and greatest counsellors of state, with the assistance of the chief prelates, justices, judges, and sufficientest lawyers of both professions, that those times afforded.

You may then hereby observe the archbishop's exceeding care and singular wisdom in proceeding with the advice of so many worthy, prudent, and learned men of several faculties; whereby the subjects came chearfully to the hearing of their causes, and without fear of partiality in any particular person. And howsoever the cause went, the archbishop could not be impeached of rash or inconsiderate proceeding, seeing he had the consent and approbation of all professions. For the archbishop always gave sentence, and ordered matters as the greater part of the court did incline, beginning at the junior first, although himself would sometimes dissent from them in opinion, and so he would tell them, but without tartness; yea in such kind and loving manner, as no man was hindered in delivering his mind. By which means

⁵ *A little academy.*] See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, in vol. i. p. 487, note.

⁶ *His domestical chaplains.*] [Dr. Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Ravis, bishop of London; Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Goldisbury, bishop of Gloucester; Dr. Parry, bishop of Worcester; Dr. Redman, bishop of Norwich; Dr. Buckeridge, bishop of Rochester.]

he was sure always to have the cause fully debated, and every man's opinion fully known; which when he found concurring with his own, and the proceedings ordered according to the rules of justice, he would go on to sentence and determine the cause.

Wherein he carried himself with great resolution, and courage, were the persons never so great that were interested in the same, as you may perceive by one instance (among many) when himself was yet no counsellor of state. A gentleman of good note seeing how the court was inclined to order his cause (not according to his desire) told the archbishop, that upon another occasion there grew some speech of that cause before the lords of the council, and their lordships were of another opinion than his grace, and the rest of the commissioners, seemed to be; "What tellest thou me (said the archbishop) of the lords of the council? I tell thee, they are in these cases to be advised by us, and not we by them." He would upon such like occasions oftentimes say unto his private friends towards his latter time (when they talked familiarly with him, and observed his courage and stoutness) "That two things did help much to make a man confident in good causes, namely, *Orbitas et Senectus*; and (said he) they steed me both."

This orderly proceeding and course upheld the reputation and dignity of the commission court; which albeit it be of great authority, and dealeth for the most part in matters of great weight and importance, yet the want of worthy assistants and counsel (if the like care should not be continued) may make it grow to be of little reputation, as experience hath somewhat taught us since the decease of this good archbishop: whereunto not unaptly may be applied that which Plutarch reporteth of Cato Utican, when he was prætor: "For he would oftentimes go on foot, bare legged, and without his gown, unto his prætorian chair, and there give sentence of life and death, whereby he rather defaced and impaired the majesty and dignity of his office, than gave it countenance by his manner of proceeding; although otherwise he were a good commonwealth's man, and ministered justice uprightly unto all."

But I return unto our archbishop again. He gave audience unto suitors twice a day, and afforded them set hours for their dispatch, at which time he would so courteously entreat them, giving them so mild and gentle answers, that even they that sped

not of their suits, did depart without discontentment. Wherein I may justly compare him unto Titus, *qui neminem unquam à se tristem dimisit*; (Sueton. in vita) he dismissed no man sorrowful from his presence. Wherefore he gave also express commandment unto his officers, that suitors and strangers should ever be courteously entertained, as well for expedition of their suits, as for hospitality sake.

He had a desire always to keep a great and bountiful house; and so he did, having the same well ordered and governed by his head officers therein, and all things in plentiful manner, both for his own service, and entertainment of strangers, according to their several qualities and degrees. He often feasted the clergy, nobility, and gentry of his diocese and neighbourhood. And at Christmas, especially, his gates were always open, and his hall set twice or thrice over with strangers. Upon some chief festival-days he was served with great solemnity, sometime upon the knee, as well for the upholding of the state that belonged⁷ unto his place, as for the better education and practice of his gentlemen and attendants in point of service.

Every year he entertained the queen at one of his houses, so long as he was archbishop; and some years twice or thrice; where all things were performed in so seemly an order, that she went thence always exceedingly well pleased. And besides many public and gracious favours done unto him, she would salute him, and bid him farewell by the name of *Black Husband*; calling also his men her servants, as a token of her good contentment with their attendance and pains.

Every third year he went into Kent (unless great occasions hindred him) where he was so honourably attended upon by his own train (consisting of two hundred persons) and with the gentlemen of the country, that he did sometimes ride into the city of Canterbury, and into other towns, with eight hundred or a thou-

⁷ *The state that belonged.*] "I fear I have been too long already; I will only put you further in mind, that when in the following pages you compare the archbishops of Canterbury preceding, and succeeding the Reformation, and accuse the former to have minded chiefly *great worldly pomp and appearance*; but praise the latter for *regarding little or nothing the vain shews of exterior grandeur and glory*; the comparison is not altogether just. For Parker and *Whitgift*, whom you chuse to instance, lived in as great state, pomp, and magnificence, and were attended with as large a retinue, as most of their predecessors."—Henry Wharton's *Observations on Strype's Life of Cranmer*, in the Appendix to that work, p. 264.

sand horse. And surely the entertainment which he gave them, and they him, was so great, that, as I am verily persuaded, no shire in England did, or could, give greater, or with more chearful minds, unto each other. The fatherly care which he had of his clergy, (whom he never charged with visitation, but once in twenty years) his affability amongst the gentlemen, and courteous usage of his tenants, gained him so great a love, that he might very far prevail with them; yea, they never denied him any request that he made unto them.

At his first journey into Kent he rode to Dover, being attended with an hundred of his own servants, at least, in livery, whereof there were forty gentlemen in chains of gold. The train of clergy and gentlemen in the country, and their followers, was above five hundred horse. At his entrance into the town, there happily landed an intelligencer from Rome, of good parts, and account, who wondered to see an archbishop, or clergyman in England, so revered, and attended. But seeing him upon the next Sabbath-day after in the cathedral church of Canterbury, attended upon by his gentlemen, and servants (as is aforesaid;) also by the dean, prebendaries, and preachers in their surplices, and scarlet hoods, and heard the solemn music, with the voices, and organs, cornets, and sackbuts, he was overtaken with admiration, and told an English gentleman* of very good quality (who then accompanied him) "That they were led in great blindness at Rome by our own nation, who made the people there believe, that there was not in England, either archbishop, or bishop, or cathedral, or any church or ecclesiastical government; but that all was pulled down to the ground, and that the people heard their ministers in woods, and fields, amongst trees, and brute beasts: but, for his own part, he protested, that (unless it were in the pope's chapel) he never saw a more solemn sight, or heard a more heavenly sound." "Well," said the English gentleman, "I am glad of this your so lucky and first sight; ere long you will be of another mind, and, I hope, work miracles when you return to Rome, in making those that are led in this blindness, to see and understand the truth." "It is" (said the intelligencer) "the chief cause of my coming, to see with mine own eyes, and truly to inform others." Whereupon the said English gentleman accompanied him to London, and so to the court, where he saw and heard many things to confirm the gentleman's report, for the

* Told an *English gentleman*.] [Sir Edward Hobby.]

government of the church, and civil carriage of the people, in their obedience to the clergy and magistrates in the commonwealth. Afterwards this intelligencer had private speech with sir Francis Walsingham (then principal secretary to her majesty) who related all this to the archbishop with due approbation of his Kentish journey; confessing that he should reverence and honour him therefore while he lived^o. And although he were one of the

^o *While he lived.*] "My lord of London" (Dr. Bancroft), "there seriously put his majesty" (king James I.) "in mind of the speeches which the French ambassador, Mons. Rosni, gave out concerning our church of England, both at Canterbury after his arrival; and after, at the court, upon the view of our solemn service and ceremonies: namely, that if the reformed churches in France had kept the same orders amongst them, which we have; he was assured that there would have been many thousands of protestants more there, than now there are."—Barlow's *Sum of the Hampton Court Conference*, 1604. p. 37, 8. 4to.

Rosny, afterwards better known as the great duc de Sully, was ambassador extraordinary with Louis Galluccio de l'Hospital, marquis de Vitry, in 1603, and his testimony on such a point can scarcely be estimated too highly, considering his general qualifications for forming a judgment on such matters, and his special fitness, as being himself a French protestant.

The account which next follows relates to a French embassy, that of Antoine Coiffier, dit Ruzé, marquis d'Effiat (afterwards maréchal of France, the father of Cinq Mars), with Tanneguy le Veneur, comte de Tillières, immediately before the marriage of Charles I. with the princess Henrietta Maria. It was in the year 1625:

"At the same time, among those persons of gallantry that came into England, to make up the splendor of the embassy, and were present at this feast *d'amour*, as some of themselves called it, there was an abbat, but a gentleman that held his abbacy, *à la mode de France*, in a *lay* capacity.

"He had received the gift of our service book, and to requite the donor, having much of a scholar, and of ingenious breeding, he laid aside all other business to read it over. Like a vowed person to another profession he was not hasty to praise it, but suspended his sentence till he might come in place to see the practice of it.—It was well thought of by him, that the trial of the soundness in religion consists not altogether in the draught of a book, but in the motion likewise, and exercise of it. The abbat made his mind known to the lord keeper by sir George Goring, now earl of Norwich, that he would gladly be present in the abbey of Westminster, upon our Christmas-day, in the morning, to behold and hear how that great feast was solemnized in our congregations, which heard very ill beyond the seas for profaneness; whereas the book for uniformity of publick prayer which he had received, though it was not set off with much ceremony to quicken devotion, yet it wanted neither a stamp of reverence, nor the metal of godliness.—Yet he would be careful in launching out so far in curiosity to give no scandal to catholicks, whose jealousie might perhaps suspect him, as if he thought it lawful to use

honourable counsellors, before mentioned¹, that seemed to favour the precise faction, yet, undoubtedly, he was, after this time a kind

both ours and the church of Rome's communion.—Therefore he made suit to be placed where none could perceive him, and that an interpreter of the liturgy might assist him to turn the book, and to make right answers to such questions as fell by the way into his animadversions. None more forward than the lord keeper to meet the abbat in this request. *Veritas oculatos testes non reformidat*. The abbat kept his hour to come to church upon that high feast, and a place was well fancied aloft, with a lattice and curtains to conceal him. Mr. William Boswell, like Philip riding with the treasurer of queen Candace in the same chariot, sate with him, directing him in the process of all the sacred offices performed, and made clear explanation to all his scruples. The church work of that ever-blessed day fell to the lord keeper (*archbishop Williams*) to perform it, but in the place of the dean of that collegiate church. He sung the service, preached the sermon, consecrated the Lord's table, and being assisted by some of the prebendaries, distributed the elements of the Holy Communion to a great multitude, meekly kneeling upon their knees. Four hours and better were spent that morning before the congregation was dismissed with the episcopal blessing. The abbat was entreated to be a guest at the dinner provided in the college-hall, where all the members of that incorporation feasted together, even to the Eleemosynaries, called the Beads-men of the foundation, no distinction being made, but high and low eating their meat with gladness together, upon the occasion of our Saviour's nativity, that it might not be forgotten that the poor shepherds were admitted to worship the babe in the manger, as well as the potentates of the east, who brought rich presents to offer up at the shrine of his cradle. All having had their comfort both in spiritual and bodily repast, the master of the feast, and the abbat, with some few besides, retired into a gallery. The good abbat presently showed that he was bred up in the Franco-gallican liberty of speech, and without further proem defies the English that were roosted in the abbies of France, for lying varlets above all others he ever met.

“We have none of their good word, I am sure, says the keeper, but what is it that doth empassion you for the present against them? That I shall calmly tell your lordship, says the abbat. I have been long inquisitive what outward face of God's worship was retained in your church of England; what decorums were kept in the external communion of your assemblies. St. Paul *did rejoice to behold good order among the Colossians, as well as to hear of the steadfastness of their faith* (Coloss. ii. 5). Therefore, waving polemical points of doctrine, I demanded after those things that lay open to the view, and pertained to the exterior visage of the house of God.—And that my intelligence might not return by broken merchants, but through the best hands, I consulted with none but English in the affairs of their own home, and with none but such as had taken the scapular, or habit of some sacred

¹ *Before mentioned.*] See p. 583.

friend to the archbishop, and did him many good offices with the queen.

order upon them in affairs of religion.—But, Jesu, how they have deceived me! What an idea of deformity, limned in their own brain, have they hung up before me! They told me of no composed office of prayer used in all these churches by authority, as I have found it this day, but of extemporaneous babblings. They traduced your pulpits, as if they were not possessed by men that be ordained by imposition of hands, but that shop-keepers and the scum of the people usurp that place in course one after another, as they presumed themselves to be gifted. Above all, they turned their reproaches against your behaviour at the sacrament, describing it as a prodigious monster of profaneness: that your tables, being furnished with meats and drinks, you took the scraps and relics of your bread and cups, and call upon one another to remember the passion of our Lord Jesus. All this I perceive is infernally false. And though I deplore your schism from the Catholick church, yet I should bear false witness if I did not confess that your decency, which I discerned at that holy duty, was very allowable both in the consecrator and receiver.

“My brother abbat, says the lord keeper with a smile, I hope you will think the better of our religion, since on Christ’s good day your own eyes have made this observation among us. The better of the religion? *says the abbat, taking the words to relate to the reformed of France.* Nay, taking all together which I have seen among you (and he brought it out with great acrimony of voice and gesture), I will lose my head, if you and our Huguenots are of one religion. I protest, sir, *says the keeper*, you divide us without cause: for the harmony of Protestant confessions divulged to all the world do manifest our consonancy in faith and doctrine. And for diversity in outward administrations, it is a note as old as Irenæus which will justify us from a rupture, that variety of ceremonies in several churches, the foundation being preserved, doth commend the unity of faith. I allow what Irenæus writes, *says the abbat*, for we ourselves use not the same offices and breviaries in all places. But why do not the Huguenots at Charenton, and in other districts, follow your example? Because, *says the lord keeper*, no part of your kingdom but is under the jurisdiction of a diocesan bishop, and I know you will not suffer them to set up another bishop in the precincts of that territory, where one is established before; that would savour of schism in earnest. And where they have no means to maintain God’s worship with costly charge, and where they want the authority of a bishop among them, the people will arrogate the greatest share in government. So that in many things you must excuse them, because the hand of constraint is upon them.—But what constrains them, *says the abbat*, that they do not solemnize the anniversary feast of Christ’s nativity as you do? nay, as we do? For it is for no better reason than because they would be unlike to us in every thing.—Do you say this upon certainty? *says the keeper.* Yes, or call me poltroon, if I feign it, *says the other.* In good truth, *says the keeper*, you tell me news. I was ever, as Tully writes of himself to Atticus, in *curiositate* δέξῃναι, apt to search narrowly into foreign churches, and I did never suspect that our brethren that live with you were deficient in that duty. For the churches of the Low

Howbeit, some of near alliance unto sir Francis, bearing themselves very boldly upon his favour, would oftentimes handle the archbishop very roughly, and much provoke him by vain speeches, and brags of their own worth and scholarship; and (being mere lay-men) would very unmannerly compare themselves with the best conformable divines, for true knowledge, and understanding of the Scriptures. But the archbishop smiling at their vanities, would notwithstanding courteously handle and entreat them in his own house, according to the true rule of hospitality; not unlike unto Pericles, who being reviled by a lewd fellow in the market-place all the day long, returned no bad language, but dispatched his affairs in hearing the suppliants, and determining their causes; and when night came on, the party followed him still, railing upon him till he came to his own house. It being now

Countries, of Heidelberg, Helvetia, Flassia, Breme, and others, do observe a yearly day to the memory of our Saviour's birth. I conceive the like for Geneva. For when Calvin had retired to Basil, some mutation about holy feasts was made in Geneva. Upon his return thither again, Hallerius, both in his own, and in Musculus's name, complains that the celebration of that memorable feast was neglected. Calvin returns him answer (the epistle is extant, dated anno 1551, Jan.): 'Sancte testari possum me inscio ac ne optante quidem hanc rem fuisse transactam. Ex quo sum revocatus, hoc temperamentum quæsi ut Christi natalis celebraretur vestro more.' But will you have the judgment of protestant divines when they were in a globe and collection together from all quarters. At the synod of Dort, convened about six years past, all the divines, with the assessors from the states, intermitted their sessions against the feast of Christ's nativity with common suffrages, and the reason is given in plain words. Sessio 36. Decemb. 19. 'Quia eo tempore festum natalis D N. Jesu Christi instabat, propter cujus celebrationem,' &c. It will be the harder for those of the religion in France to answer for this omission. Yet judge more charitably than to think they do it only out of crossness to dis-conform to your practice. He that runs backward further than he need from his adversary plays his prize like a coward. And I use to say it often, that there ought to be no secret antipathies in divinity or in churches, for which no reason can be given. But let every house sweep the dust from their own door. We have done our endeavour, God be praised, to model a church-way, which is not afraid to be searched into by the sharpest critics for purity and antiquity. But as Pacat said in his Paneg. in another case, 'Parum est quando ceperit, terminum non habebit.' Yet I am confident it began when Christ taught upon earth, and I hope it shall last till He comes again.—I will put my attestation thus to your confidence, says the abbat, that I think you are not far from the kingdom of heaven. So with mutual smiles and embraces they parted."—Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 210—12. London, 1693.

dark, Pericles, as he entered in, commanded one of his servants to light him home.

You see now of what an excellent nature this archbishop was; how far from giving offence, how ready to forgive a wrong, merciful, compassionate, and tender-hearted. Yet was he not void (as no man is) of infirmities. The holy Scripture noteth of Elias, *that he was a man subject to the like passions as we are*, (James v. 17). But, as Horace saith,

“ optimus ille
Qui minimis urgetur.” (Serm. lib. i. sat. 3.)

So may it be confessed of this archbishop, that the greatest, or rather only fault known in him was choler; and yet in him so corrected, not by philosophy alone (as Socrates confessed of his faults) but by the word and grace of God, as it rather served for a whetstone of his courage in just causes, than any weapon whetted against the person, goods, or good name of any other. So that it may (as I am verily persuaded) be rightfully said of him that he was such a magistrate as Jethro advised Moses to take in judging the people of God, and such a bishop as St. Paul requireth in the church of Christ. *Provide* (saith Jethro, Exod. xviii. 21) *among all the people, men of courage, fearing God, dealing truly, hating covetousness, and appoint such over them to be rulers. And a bishop* (saith St. Paul) *must be unreprouable, the husband of one wife, watching, temperate, modest, harbarous, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre, but gentle, no fighter, not covetous, one that can rule his own house honestly. He may not be a young scholar, lest he, being puffed up, fall into the condemnation of the devil. He must also be well reported of, even of them which are without, lest he fall into rebuke, and the snare of the devil.* (1 Tim. c. iii.)

And now what is there that the devil himself, with all his imps, popish, or schismatical libellers, can rebuke or condemn, in this good archbishop's saintly life? Let them examine his actions, in all his carriage and course, if so they can convince him in any thing that was not agreeable to the directions of Jethro for a magistrate, and answerable unto the rule of Saint Paul for a bishop.

As for good works (whereof the papists so vainly brag, as particular effects of their superstitious doctrines, yea, for which heaven itself is a due reward by condignity) many towns, cities

and counties can yield a plentiful testimony for him in this behalf ; namely, Lincoln, Worcester, the marches of Wales, Kent, and Surry, wherein he lived ; and, in particular, that notable monument of our time, his Hospital of the Blessed Trinity in Croydon², which he built very fair, and college-wise, for a warden, and eight and twenty brothers and sisters. He built also near unto it a goodly free school, with a schoolmaster's house, allowing unto the schoolmaster twenty pounds by year for ever. All which he performed with such alacrity, and good success, that he hath been heard divers times to profess with great comfort, that, notwithstanding the charge of the purchase and building was not small unto him, in comparison of his estate (who neither impaired house-keeping, nor retinue at that time) yet when he had finished and done that whole work, he found himself no worse in his estate than when he first began, which he ascribed unto the extraordinary blessing and goodness of God.

After the finishing of this hospital, among many other his good deeds, the French leiger ambassador in England, called Boys Sici³, enquired what works the archbishop had published, for that he would willingly read his books, who was reputed the peerless prelate for piety and learning in our days, and whom in conference, he found so grave, godly, and judicious ; when it was answered, that he only published certain books in the English tongue, in defence of the ecclesiastical government (although it be very well known to many who were near unto him, that he left divers learned treatises in written-hand, well worthy the printing) and that it was thereupon incidentally told the ambassador that he had founded an hospital, and a school, he used these words ; *profecto hospitale, ad sublevandam paupertatem, et schola, ad instruendam juventutem, sunt optimi libri, quos archiepiscopus conscribere potuit* ; Truly an hospital to sustain the poor, and a school to train up youth, are the worthiest books that an archbishop could set forth.

And albeit the archbishop had ever a great affection to lie at his mansion house at Croydon, for the sweetness of the place, especially in summer time ; whereby also he might sometimes retire himself from the multiplicity of businesses and suitors in the vacations : yet, after he had built his hospital, and his school, he

² In Croydon.] See p. 497.

³ Called Boys Sici.] Jean de Thumery, seigneur de Boissise. See p. 498.

was farther in love with the place than before. The chief comfort of repose or solace that he took, was in often dining at the hospital among his poor brethren, as he called them. There he was often visited by his entire and honourable friends the earl of Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Cumberland, the lord Zouch, the bishop of London, and others of near place about her majesty, in whose company he chiefly delighted.

In the absence of his friends, he would be exceeding cheerful and affable with his own gentlemen and servants, though his bounty towards them and the poor did not consist in words, but in deeds, for he was very liberal in rewarding them, both with leases, offices, and otherwise with supplies, as their occasions required, out of his purse ; and would, I make no question, have done much more for them out of his own estate, if he had had ability, and time (after his sickness first seized upon him) to dispose of his worldly affairs.

As his bounty was very great towards his own (for in that number likewise he always accounted the poor society of his hospital) so were his hands every where reached out to the necessities of all sorts. Yea such was his charity, that if he had seen poor men addicted to labour, he would have given them money, and waste ground to employ in gardening, or some such use as might be for their relief. Or if he heard that any of his poor neighbours were decrepit, or destitute of means to follow their trade, he would supply their needs either with money or fuel, and sometimes poor watermen's wants with boats, and such like ; wherein he dealt no worse with them, than that famous bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosthead, dealt with his poor kinsman ; in whose behalf when he was solicited to advance him, and thereupon enquiring what course of life he followed, and receiving answer that he was an husbandman ; " Why then," (quoth he) " if his plough be broken, I will repair it, or, rather than fail, bestow a new one upon him, whereby he may go on in his course of life ; but so to advance him as to make him forget his trade, or condition in which he was brought up, that mean I not to do."

I fear lest I have held the reader too long in these private matters ; therefore I will for brevity sake omit to speak of the fair library which he left behind him, with many other memorable things (worthy the observation) and return again unto his public affairs.

The archbishop (respecting the welfare of the church and public

cause) albeit he was very confident of the king's princely wisdom by the experience he had thereof (being now an ancient counsellor) and well understanding the passages of matters betwixt his majesty and the state of our country, (whereby he did conceive that it was not probable so wise and learned a prince could be overcome with the conceits of such innovators, whose fancies could not stand but with hazard of the state) yet he held it most expedient to send that reverend gentleman, master doctor Nevill, dean of Canterbury, into Scotland to his majesty, in the name of the bishops and clergy of England, to tender their bounden duties, and to understand his highness's pleasure for the ordering and guiding of clergy causes. The dean brought a most gracious answer of his highness's purpose, which was to uphold and maintain the government of the late queen as she left it settled. Which answer did much comfort the archbishop; and the rather because it did yield full satisfaction unto some others, who peradventure might conceive some doubt of alteration, by reason of the puritan brags, and their affections unto the presbyterial government in Scotland.

In this mean while the preparations were great for solemnization of the late queen's funeral, which being performed very sumptuously, as became the dignity of so great a prince, the archbishop, as he was the principal in the custody of the kingdom, and chief in all councils of state, under his majesty in his absence, (for there is no interregnum in England, as Watson the priest did traiterously pretend) so in this last solemnity of obsequy unto his ever honoured sovereign and mistress he was the most eminent person in the whole land, and principal mourner, who received the offering, and had the banners presented unto him.

After this, when at his majesty's first entrance into England, the king had spoken with him at Theobalds, whereby he more fully conceived his religious pleasure touching the affairs of this commonwealth, he was therewith put into heart, especially when after his coming to London, he did again perceive his resolution for the continuance of the well-settled state of the church, which made him more cheerfully prepare himself for performance of his duty (as a thing belonging unto his place) against the day of coronation, July 25, 1603.

At which time the archbishop, with all due ceremonies and observances for so great a solemnity, crowned and anointed his sacred majesty king James in the collegiate church of Westmin-

ster. Then also and there he crowned our most noble and gracious queen Anne, his majesty's happy and fruitful wife, whose blessed seed God grant so to encrease and continue as there may never be wanting thereof to rule and reign in this kingdom.

The puritan faction did not surcease until by their importunity they obtained a conference⁴ before his highness, which continued for three days. His majesty having now at full heard their objections, and the bishops answers, (the weakness of the one, and the forcible reasons of the other, much confirming his royal mind in his former opinion) was pleased immediately thereupon to signify publicly⁵ his resolution for the continuance of the religion and ecclesiastical government formerly established; highly commending the wisdom, care, and constancy of his sister the late queen Elizabeth, in constituting and maintaining all things so well, as also approving the bishops learning, wisdom, and endeavour to uphold so godly and well-governed a church, which himself (by God's assistance) would ever advance and defend. Likewise he gave present command touching the new printing of the Common Prayer-book, for the further ratifying of the Liturgy and Orders of our church.

The parliament now growing on, the archbishop, that he might be the better prepared, did appoint a meeting at Fulham, at the bishop of London's house, to confer with some of the bishops and judges of his court, concerning the affairs of the church which were then to be treated upon. As he was thus going in his barge

⁴ *Obtained a conference.*] An account of this conference, which is important, as exhibiting a view of the state of the controversy at that time between the orthodox clergy and the puritans, and the perusal of which, in this place, is therefore recommended to the reader, was drawn up, at the command of Whitgift, by Dr. William Barlow, and entitled, "The Summe and Substance of the Conference, which it pleased his Excellent Majestie to have with the Lords Bishops, and other of his Clergie, at which the most of the Lordes of the Councell were present, in his Majesties Privy-Chamber at Hampton Court, January 14, 1603. London, printed by John Windet, 1604." 4to. It was republished in the first volume of *The Phoenix*, in the year 1707: and has appeared again, recently, in a valuable and seasonable collection of Tracts, called *The Churchman's Remembrancer*. The reader may also consult Wilkins, vol. iv. p. 373—5, p. 377, 8, and p. 406, 7; Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 13—16; Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 181, 2; Strype's *Whitgift*, Records, b. iv. no. 45; and Fuller's *Church History*, book ix. p. 7—21.

⁵ *To signify publicly.*] See Wilkins, vol. iv. p. 377, 8, Proclamation for authorizing uniformity and the Book of Common Prayer; also, p. 406, 7, Proclamation enjoining conformity to the established service.

upon an extraordinary cold day, and having his barge-cloth tied up (as his custom was) to the top of the bales, the wind blew very sharply, so that the young gentlemen (shaking with cold) desired to have the cloth down, which he would by no means permit, because the water was rough, and he would therefore see his way. By reason whereof the flashing of the water and sharpness of the air did so pierce the archbishop (being above threescore and thirteen years of age) that he complained the same night of a great cold which he had then taken in the mould of his head.

Notwithstanding which distemperature, for performance of his accustomed duty unto the king's majesty (as formerly unto the queen) he went upon the next sabbath following (being the first Sunday in Lent) over unto the court at Whitehall, where meeting the then bishop of London, they both had long speech with his highness about the affairs of the church, both before and after his majesty's coming from the chapel. For which cause, staying long at the court, and having fasted until near one of the clock, as he was going from his majesty unto the council-chamber to dinner, he was taken with a dead palsy, whereby all his right side was benumbed, and he bereaved of his speech. From the council-chamber he was, by means of his dearest friends, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, and the bishop of London, with the aid of the king's servants, carried to the lord treasurer's chamber, and afterwards in his barge conveyed home to Lambeth.

His majesty (being much troubled with the report of his sickness) came upon the Tuesday following to visit and comfort him with very kind and gracious speeches; saying, "That he would beg him of God in his prayer; which if he could obtain, he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be given him in this kingdom." The archbishop made offer to speak to his majesty in Latin; but neither his highness, nor any there present, well understood what he said, save only that by the last words, *pro Ecclesia Dei, pro Ecclesia Dei* (which in earnest manner, with his eyes and hands lift up, he oftentimes iterated) his majesty conceived (as it pleased him afterwards to report) that he continued the suit, which sundry times before, and at his last attendance on his highness, he had earnestly recommended unto his royal and special care in behalf of the church.

After his majesty's departure, the archbishop had neither perfect use of his speech, nor ability to write his mind, as he did desire by the signs that he used for ink and paper. Which being

brought unto him, and he making offer to write, had no feeling of his pen, for it fell out of his hands. When he perceived his impotency to write, after two or three assays, he fetched a great sigh, and lay down again; and on Wednesday following (at eight of the clock at night) the last of February, 1603^a, he quietly, and like a lamb, died, the servant of Christ, as in the time of his sickness, by many infallible signs, was manifest unto myself and those that attended him at that time of his visitation. Which cannot be better testified by any than by doctor Barlow, the now bishop of Lincoln, together with doctor Buckeridge (now bishop of Rochester,) and doctor Charryor, his then household chaplains, who for the most part were continually with him, from the beginning of his sickness until the end of the same. Of the manner of whose death, though some undiscreet men have censured uncharitably, yet I may truly say, as Solon did for the happy ends of Cleobis and Biton, who, in the absence of their mother's oxen, did yoke themselves, and drew her in her coach to the temple, and after their sacrifices performed, went to bed, and were found the next morning dead, without hurt or sorrow: so fared it with this good archbishop, who wanting the assistance of some, who by their places should have undergone with him the charge of guiding and supporting of ecclesiastical affairs, took the yoke and burden thereof upon himself for his mother the church's sake. And when he had performed his oblations of prayer and thanksgiving to God, was carried to bed, and there died, without suffering hurt or sorrow. Thus he, as Abraham, (of whom he was a true son,) *yielded up the spirit, and died in a good age, an old man, and of great years, and was gathered unto his people.* (Genes. xxv. 8.) He was bishop of Worcester six years and five months, and archbishop of Canterbury twenty years and five months.

Now though he lived and died, no doubt, a chosen and beloved servant of God, and one, who as a learned man⁷ truly saith, had devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the church, yet there wanted not some who after his death sought by an infamous libel⁸ to stain the glory of his ever honourable name. But their malice was soon discovered, and the

^a 1603.] i. e. 1604, according to the historical year. See vol. ii. p. 491, n. Compare also pp. 625 and 629 of this volume.

⁷ *As a learned man.*] [Camden's *Britannia*, Comitatus Cant. p. 338.]

⁸ *An infamous libel.*] He was libelled by Lewis Pickering. See Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 579.

author, at least the publisher, punished by an honourable sentence, given in the high court of star-chamber.

And if what was then spoken by their lordships, and the rest of that great and judicious court, concerning this archbishop's piety, wisdom, learning and government, were published in print, he that would have adventured to write any thing more of him might justly have been condemned of indiscretion. Therefore, as a burden that I am not able to undergo, I forbear to enter into any particular relation of their speeches and sentence.

His funeral was very honourably (as befitted his place) solemnized at Croydon the 27th of March following, 1604, where the earl of Worcester and the lord Zouch did him the honour in attending the hearse and carrying his banners. Doctor Babington, bishop of Worcester, made his funeral sermon; who likewise was his pupil in Cambridge, and performed that duty (among many other due observances of him in his life-time) with very great commendation, chusing for his text a portion of Scripture most fitting the worthiness of his person. *But Jehoiada waxed old, and was full of days and died. An hundred and thirty years old was he when he died. And they buried him in the city of David, with the kings, because he had done good in Israel, and toward God and his house.* (2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16.)

Having now committed the body of this most reverend personage (which was sometime the mansion of a most excellent soul) unto his grave (where it rests in assured expectation of a glorious resurrection) I will, for conclusion, speak somewhat of the outward shape and proportion thereof. He was of a middle stature, of a grave countenance, and brown complexion, black hair and eyes; he wore his beard neither long nor thick. For his small timber, he was of a good quick strength, straight and well shaped in all his limbs to the habit of his body, which began somewhat to burnish towards his latter years.

And thus, gentle reader, that I may not extend this discourse beyond the period of his life, who was the subject thereof, I withdraw my pen from paper, intreating either thy friendly acceptance of this my labour, or thy farther pains in writing and publishing some more complete and learned observations of thine own, touching this renowned archbishop's actions and fame, which could not, without great shame unto myself and others his followers, be buried in darkness with his body.

DOCTOR JOHN DONNE.

. . . Here much I ruminatè, as much I may,
With other views of men and manners now
Than once, and others of a life to come.

COWPER.

INTRODUCTION.

IF that great master of language and art, sir Henry Wotton, the late provost of Eton college, had lived to see the publication of these sermons, he had presented the world¹ with the author's life exactly written. And it was pity he did not; for it was a work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it; betwixt whom, and the author, there was so mutual a knowledge, and such a friendship contracted in their youth, as nothing but death could force a separation. And, though their bodies were divided, their affections were not: for, that learned knight's love followed his friend's fame beyond death and the forgetful grave; which he testified by intreating me, whom he acquainted with his design, to inquire of some particulars that concerned it, not doubting but my knowledge of the author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence useful. I did most gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content till I had made my collection ready to be augmented and completed by his matchless pen: but then, death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that sad news, and heard also that these sermons were to be printed², and want the author's life, which I

¹ *Presented the world.*] See in *Reliquie Wottonianæ*, p. 360, 1, a letter of sir Henry to Izaak Walton.

² *These sermons were to be printed.*] *Eighty Sermons by that learned and rev. divine, John Donne, D.D., late dean of St. Paul's.* 1640. fol.

From the dedication by his son to king Charles I., it appears that the world was much indebted for this publication to the advice and encouragement of archbishop Laud.

"The leave and encouragement I have had for the publishing these sermons from the person most intrusted by your majesty in the government of the church, and most highly dignified in it, I think I ought in this place to mention for his honour, that they who receive any benefit from hence, may know in part to whom to acknowledge it; and that this, whatever it is, is owing to him to whom they stand otherwise so deeply engaged for his providence and care, next under your majesty, over the truth, and peace, and dignity of the church of England; for which he will not want lasting acknowledgments amongst wise and good men." Such a testimony, at the critical

thought to be very remarkable: indignation or grief (indeed I know not which) transported me so far, that I reviewed my forsaken collections, and resolved the world should see the best plain picture of the author's life that my artless pencil, guided by the hand of truth, could present to it.

And, if I shall now be demanded, as once Pompey's poor bond-man was ^a, (the grateful wretch had been left alone on the sea-shore, with the forsaken dead body of his once glorious lord and master; and was then gathering the scattered pieces of an old broken boat to make a funeral pile to burn it, which was the custom of the Romans,) "Who art thou that alone hast the honour to bury the body of Pompey the great?" so, who am I that do thus officiously set the author's memory on fire? I hope the question will prove to have in it more of wonder than disdain: but wonder indeed the reader may, that I who profess myself artless, should presume with my faint light to shew forth his life, whose very name makes it illustrious! But, be this to the disadvantage of the person represented, certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder, who shall here see the author's picture in a natural dress, which ought to beget faith in what is spoken: for, he that wants skill to deceive, may safely be trusted.

And if the author's glorious spirit, which now is in heaven, can have the leisure to look down and see me, the poorest, the meanest of all his friends, in the midst of this officious duty, confident I am, that he will not disdain this well-meant sacrifice to his memory: for, whilst his conversation made me and many others happy below, I know his humility and gentleness was then eminent; and, I have heard divines say, those virtues that were but sparks upon earth, become great and glorious flames in heaven.

Before I proceed further, I am to intreat the reader to take notice, that when doctor Donne's sermons were first printed, this was then my excuse for daring to write his life; and I dare not now appear without it.

season when it was given, is honourable to both parties. The sermons were published only a few months before the archbishop's impeachment, and when he had been now for some time the object of bitter maledictions and persecution from his enemies.

^a Plutarch.

DOCTOR JOHN DONNE.

MASTER John Donne was born in London, in the year 1573, of good and virtuous parents; and, though his own learning and other multiplied merits may justly appear sufficient to dignify both himself and his posterity; yet, the reader may be pleased to know, that his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that country.

By his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England; as also, from that worthy and laborious judge Rastall¹, who left posterity the vast statutes of the law of this nation most exactly abridged.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age; and, in his eleventh year, was sent to the university of Oxford; having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin tongue. This and some other of his remarkable abilities, made one then give this censure of him; That this age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula; of whom story says, That he was rather born, than made wise by study.

There he remained for some years in Hart Hall, having for the advancement of his studies tutors of several sciences to attend and instruct him, till time made him capable, and his learning expressed in public exercises declared him worthy to receive his first degree in the schools; which he forbore by advice from his friends, who being for their religion of the Romish persuasion, were conscionably averse to some parts of the oath that is always

¹ Judge Rastall.] See *Life of More*, in vol. ii. p. 49.

tendered at those times, and, not to be refused by those that expect the titulary honour of their studies.

About the fourteenth year of his age, he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge; where, that he might receive nourishment from both soils, he staid till his seventeenth year; all which time he was a most laborious student, often changing his studies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reasons formerly mentioned.

About the seventeenth year of his age, he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, with an intent to study the law; where he gave great testimonies of his wit, his learning, and of his improvement in that profession; which never served him for other use than an ornament and self-satisfaction.

His father died before his admission into this society; and being a merchant, left him his portion in money (it was 3000*l.*). His mother, and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him tutors both in the mathematicks, and in all the other liberal sciences, to attend him. But with these arts they were advised to instil into him particular principles of the Romish church; of which those tutors profest (though secretly) themselves to be members.

They had almost obliged him to their faith; having for their advantage, besides many opportunities, the example of his dear and pious parents, which was a most powerful persuasion, and did work much upon him, as he professeth in his preface to his *Pseudo-Martyr*; a book of which the reader shall have some account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himself of no religion that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And reason and piety had both persuaded him, that there could be no such sin as schism, if an adherence to some visible church were not necessary.

About the nineteenth year of his age, he being then unresolved what religion to adhere to, and, considering how much it concerned his soul to choose the most orthodox, did therefore (though his youth and health promised him a long life) to rectify all scruples that might concern that, presently lay aside all study of the law; and, of all other sciences that might give him a denomination; and began seriously to survey, and consider the

body of divinity, as it was then controverted betwixt the reformed, and the Roman church. And as "God's blessed Spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him," (they be his own words ^b) "so he calls the same Holy Spirit to witness this protestation; that in that disquisition and search, he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself; and, by that which he took to be the safest way; namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties;" and indeed, truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he believed the cardinal Bellarmine to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty: and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own conscience; he therefore proceeded in this search with all moderate haste, and about the twentieth year of his age, did shew the then dean of Gloucester (whose name my memory hath now lost) all the cardinal's works marked with many weighty observations under his own hand; which works were bequeathed by him at his death as a legacy to a most dear friend.

About a year following he resolved to travel; and the earl of Essex going first to Cales², and after the island voyages, the first anno 1596, the second 1597, he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his lordship, and was an eye-witness of those happy and unhappy employments.

But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years first in Italy, and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was at his first going into Italy designed for travelling to the Holy Land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of company, or of a safe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness: which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary pattern

^b In his Preface to *Pseudo-Martyr*.

² Cales.] Cadiz.

of gravity and wisdom, the lord Elsemore³, then keeper of the great seal, and lord chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting his person and behaviour, took him to be his chief secretary; supposing and intending it to be an introduction to some more weighty employment in the state; for which his lordship did often protest he thought him very fit.

Nor did his lordship in this time of master Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be so much his servant, as to forget he was his friend; and to testify it, did always use him with much courtesy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he esteemed his company and discourse to be a great ornament.

He continued that employment for the space of five years, being daily useful, and not mercenary to his friends. During which time he (I dare not say unhappily) fell into such a liking, as (with her approbation) increased into a love with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the lady Elsemore, and daughter to sir George More, then chancellor of the garter and lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had some intimation of it, and knowing prevention to be a great part of wisdom, did therefore remove her with much haste from that to his own house at Lothesley, in the county of Surry; but too late, by reason of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed, as never to be violated by either party.

These promises were only known to themselves: and the friends of both parties used much diligence, and many arguments, to kill or cool their affections to each other: but in vain; for, love is a flattering mischief, that hath denied aged and wise men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father: a passion! that carries us to commit *errors* with as much ease as whirlwinds remove feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire. And such an industry did, notwithstanding much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together (I forbear to tell the manner how) and at last to a marriage too, without the allowance of those friends, whose approbation always was, and ever will be necessary, to make even a virtuous love become lawful.

³ *Lord Elsemore.*] See p. 604.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so; and, that pre-apprehensions might make it the less enormous, when it was known: it was purposely whispered into the ears of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But, to put a period to the jealousies of sir George (doubt often begetting more restless thoughts than the certain knowledge of what we fear) the news was, in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour Henry, earl of Northumberland: but it was to sir George so immeasurably unwelcome⁴, and so transported him,

⁴ *So immeasurably unwelcome.*] Since the publication of the former editions of this collection, a work has appeared, under the title of "The Loseley Manuscripts. . . Edited by A. J. Kempe, Esq. 1836." 8vo. It is a selection from the muniments of the More family, and contains (pp. 328—44) some curious letters of Donne, and others, relating to his clandestine marriage. The following is from his first letter to sir George More:

"Sir,

"If a very respective feare of yo^r displeasure, and a doubt that my L. whom I know ow^t of yo^r worthiness to love yo^r much, would be so compassionate wth yo^r as to add his anger to yo^r, did not so much increase my sicknes as that I cannot stir, I had taken the boldnes to have donne the office of this letter by wayting upon yo^r myself to have given yo^r truthe and clearnes of this matter between yo^r daughter and me, by w^{ch} I know yo^r wisdome wyll proportion the punishm^t. So long since as her being at York House this had foundac'on, and so much then of promise and contract built upon yt, as w^{ch} ow^t violence to conscience might not be shaken. At her lyeng in town this last Parliam^t, I found meanes to see her twice or thrice. We both knew the obligac'ons that lay upon us, and we adventurd equally, and about three weeks before Christmas we were married. And as at the doinge, there were not usd above fyve persons, of w^{ch} I protest to yo^r by my salvation, there was not one that had any dependence or relation to yo^r, so in all the passage of it did I forbear to use any suche person, who by furtheringe of yt might violate any trust or duty towards yo^r. The reasons why I did not foreacquaint yo^r wth it (to deale wth the same plainnes that I have used) were these. I knew my p'sent estate lesse than fitt for her, I knew (yet I knew not why) that I stood not right in yo^r opinion. I knew that to have given any intimac'on of yt had been to impossibilitate the whole matt^r. And then having these honest purposes in o^r harts, and those fetters in o^r consciences, methinks we should be pardoned, if o^r fault be but this, that wee did not, by fore-revealinge of yt, consent to o^r hindrance and torment. S^r, I acknowledge my fault to be so great, as I dare scarce offer any other prayer to yo^r in myne owne behalf then this, to beleeeve this truthe, that I neyth^r had dishonest end nor meanes. But for her whom I tender much more then my fortunes or lyfe (els I woould I might neyth^r joy in this lyfe,

that as though his passion of anger and inconsideration, might exceed theirs of love and error, he presently engaged his sister the lady Elsemore, to join with him to procure her lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his lordship.—This request was followed with violence ; and though sir George were remembered, that errors might be overpunished, and desired therefore to forbear till second considerations might clear some scruples ; yet, he became restless until his suit was granted, and the punishment executed. And though the lord chancellor did not at Mr. Donne's dismissal, give him such a commendation as the great emperor Charles the fifth did of his secretary Eraso, when he presented him to his son and successor Philip the second, saying, "That in his Eraso, he gave to him a greater gift than all his estate, and all the kingdoms which he then resigned to him:" yet the lord chancellor said, "He parted with a friend, and such a secretary as was fitter to serve a king than a subject."

Immediately after his dismissal from his service, he sent a sad letter to his wife, to acquaint her with it ; and, after the subscription of his name, writ,

John Donne, Anne Donne, Undone,

and God knows it proved too true.

For this bitter physic of Mr. Donne's dismissal was not strong enough to purge out all sir George's choler ; for, he was not satisfied till Mr. Donne and his sometime compupil in Cambridge that married him, namely, Samuel Brook (who was after doctor in divinity, and master of Trinity college), and his brother Mr. Christopher Brook, sometime Mr. Donne's chamber-fellow in Lincoln's-Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to three several prisons.

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.

He was now at liberty, but his days were still cloudy ; and being past these troubles, others did still multiply upon him ; for his wife was (to her extreme sorrow) detained from him ; and,

nor enjoy the next), I humbly beg of yo^r that she may not to her danger feele the terror of yo^r sodaine anger." .

though with Jacob he endured not an hard service for her, yet he lost a good one, and was forced to make good his title, and to get possession of her by a long and restless suit in law ; which proved troublesome and sadly-chargeable to him, whose youth, and travel, and needless bounty, had brought his estate into a narrow compass.

It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men ; and it proved so with sir George ; for these, and a general report of Mr. Donne's merits, together with his winning behaviour (which when it would intice, had a strange kind of elegant irresistible art) these and time had so dispassionated sir George, that as the world had approved his daughter's choice, so he also could not but see a more than ordinary merit in his new son : and this at last melted him into so much remorse (for love and anger are so like agues, as to have hot and cold fits ; and love in parents, though it may be quenched, yet is easily rekindled, and expires not till death denies mankind a natural heat) that he laboured his son's restoration to his place ; using to that end, both his own and his sister's power to her lord ; but with no success ; for his answer was, " That though he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it was inconsistent with his place and credit, to discharge and re-admit servants at the request of passionate petitioners."

Sir George's endeavour for Mr. Donne's re-admission was by all means to be kept secret ; for men do more naturally reluct for errors, than submit to put on those blemishes that attend their visible acknowledgment.—But however, it was not long before sir George appeared to be so far reconciled, as to wish their happiness ; and not to deny them his paternal blessing ; but yet he refused to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelyhood.

Mr. Donne's estate was the greatest part spent in many and chargeable travels, books, and dear-bought experience ; he was out of all employment that might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been curiously and plentifully educated ; both their natures were generous, and accustomed to confer, and not to receive courtesies. These and other considerations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want.

But his sorrows were lessened and his wants prevented by the seasonable courtesy of their noble kinsman sir Francis Wolly^a of Pirford in Surry, who intreated them to a cohabitation with him, where they remained with much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him for some years; and, as their charge encreased (she had yearly a child), so did his love and bounty.

It hath been observed by wise and considering men, that wealth hath seldom been the portion, and never the mark to discover good people; but, that Almighty God, who disposeth all things wisely, hath of his abundant goodness denied it (he only knows why) to many, whose minds he hath enriched with greater blessings of knowledge and virtue, as the fairer testimonies of his love to mankind; and this was the present condition of this man of so excellent erudition and endowments; whose necessary and daily expences were hardly reconcilable with his uncertain and narrow estate. Which I mention, for that at this time there was a most generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares; the declaration of which shall be the next employment of my pen.

God has been so good to his church, as to afford it in every age some such men to serve at his altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind; a disposition that is so like to God himself, that it owes itself only to him who takes a pleasure to behold it in his creatures. These times^c he did bless with many such; some of which still live to be patterns of apostolical charity, and of more than human patience. I have said this, because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following discourse; namely, Dr. Morton, the most laborious and learned bishop of Durham; one, that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals, and a chearful heart at the age of ninety-four years (and is yet living); one, that in his days of plenty had so large a heart as to use his large revenue to the encouragement of learning and virtue, and is now^d (be it spoken with sorrow) reduced to a narrow estate, which he embraces without repining;

^a *Wolly.*] First cousin to Donne's wife; for some account of him see Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. i. p. 155, and vol. iii. p. 96; and see also Kempe's *Loseley Manuscripts*, p. 323.

^c 1608.

^d *And is now.*] This life was first published in the year 1640; but the time here referred to is that of the second edition, which came out in 1658: a date which sufficiently accounts for the tone of expression in the text.

and still shews the beauty of his mind by so liberal a hand, as if this were an age in which *to-morrow were to care for itself*. I have taken a pleasure in giving the reader a short, but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received this following relation.—He sent to Mr. Donne, and intreated to borrow an hour of his time for a conference the next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes passed before he spake to Mr. Donne to this purpose: “Mr. Donne, the occasion on sending for you is to propose to you what I have often revolved in my own thought since I last saw you; which nevertheless I will not declare but upon this condition, that you shall not return me a present answer, but forbear three days, and bestow some part of that time in fasting and prayer; and after a serious consideration of what I shall propose, then return to me with your answer. Deny me not, Mr. Donne; for it is the effect of a true love, which I would gladly pay as a debt due for yours to me.”

This request being granted, the doctor exprest himself thus:

“Mr. Donne, I know your education and abilities; I know your expectation of a state-employment; and I know your fitness for it; and I know too, the many delays and contingencies that attend court-promises; and let me tell you that my love begot by our long friendship, and your merits, hath prompted me to such an inquisition after your present temporal estate, as makes me no stranger to your necessities; which I know to be such as your generous spirit could not bear, if it were not supported with a pious patience. You know I have formerly perswaded you to wave your court-hopes, and enter into holy orders; which I now again persuade you to embrace, with this reason added to my former request: the king hath yesterday made me dean of Gloucester, and I am also possessed of a benefice⁷, the profits of which

⁷ *Possessed of a benefice.*] “He willingly and freely offered to resign unto him the rectory of Long-Marston in Yorkshire, being of the yearly value (*plus minus*) of two hundred pounds *per annum*; yet to this friendly motion he would not then give his assent, but put it by, in hope (as it should seem) of some other preferment, for which he thought himself more fit.

“And long after, the said Mr. Donne, having grappled with many extremities at home, he passed over into France, where he gave himself to the study of the laws: and from Amiens, as I remember, he writ a letter to his always true friend dean Morton, wherein he requested his advice, whether taking the degree of a doctor in that profession of the laws, it might not be conduible and advantageous unto him to practise at home in the Arches, London. Unto whom the dean then returned him answer, that in his judg-

are equal to those of my deanery. I will think my deanery enough for my maintenance (who am, and resolve to die a single man) and will quit my benefice, and estate you in it, (which the patron is willing I shall do) if God shall incline your heart to embrace this motion. Remember, Mr. Donne, no man's education or parts make him too good for this employment, which is to be an ambassador for the God of glory, that God who by a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind. Make me no present answer, but remember your promise, and return to me the third day with your resolution."

At the hearing of this Mr. Donne's faint breath and perplexed countenance gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict; but he performed his promise, and departed without returning an answer till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect:

"My most worthy and most dear friend, since I saw you, I have been faithful to my promise, and have also meditated much of your great kindness, which hath been such as would exceed even my gratitude; but that it cannot do; and more I cannot return you; and I do that with an heart full of humility and thanks, though I may not accept of your offer. But, sir, my refusal is not for that I think myself too good for that calling, for which kings, if they think so, are not good enough: nor, for that my education and learning, though not eminent, may not, being assisted with God's grace, and humility, render me in some measure fit for it; but, I dare make so dear a friend as you are my

ment he thought the ministry in the church of God would be safer, and fitter for him: whereupon he desisted from further prosecution of those studies.

"For doubtless the holy Spirit had the greatest stroke and power to incline and draw him to that sacred profession: for myself have long since seen his picture in a dear friend's chamber of his in Lincoln's-inn, all enveloped with a darkish shadow, his face and feature hardly discernible, with this ejaculation and wish written thereon, *Domine illumina tenebras meas*, which long after was really accomplished, when by king James' weighty and powerful persuasions he took holy orders.

"For a close concerning this learned gentleman, I will add one instance of his ripe and sudden wit. For at one time, when bishop Morton gave him a good quantity of gold (then a useful token), saying, *Here, Mr. Donne, take this, gold is restorative*; he presently answered, *Sir, I doubt I shall never restore it back again*; and I am assured that he never did."—*Life of Dr. Thomas Morton, late bishop of Duresme*, by J. N. (Dr. Joseph Nelson) Yorke, A.D. 1699, p. 99.

confessor: some irregularities of my life have been so visible to some men, that though I have, I thank God, made my peace with him by penitential resolutions against them, and by the assistance of his grace banished them my affections; yet this, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to man, as to free me from their censures, and it may be that sacred calling from a dishonour. And besides; whereas it is determined by the best of casuists, that God's glory should be the first end, and a maintenance the second motive to embrace that calling; and though each man may propose to himself both together, yet the first may not be put last without a violation of conscience, which he that searches the heart will judge. And truly my present condition is such, that if I ask my own conscience, whether it be reconcileable to that rule, it is at this time so perplexed about it, that I can neither give myself nor you an answer. You know, sir, who says, *Happy is that man, whose conscience doth not accuse him for that thing which he does.* To these I might add other reasons that dissuade me; but I crave your favour that I may forbear to express them, and thankfully decline your offer."

This was his present resolution; but, the heart of man is not in his own keeping; and he was destined to this sacred service by an higher hand; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance: of which I shall give the reader an account before I shall give a rest to my pen.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with sir Francis Wolly till his death; a little before which time, sir Francis was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt sir George and his forsaken son and daughter; sir George conditioning by bond, to pay to Mr. Donne 800*l.* at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20*l.* quarterly for their maintenance, as the interest for it, till the said portion was paid.

Most of those years that he lived with sir Francis, he studied the civil and canon laws; in which he acquired such a perfection as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that study the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr. Donne took for himself a house in Mitcham (near to Croydon in Surrey) a place noted for good air, and choice company: there his wife and children remained: and for himself he took lodgings in London, near to Whitehall, whither his friends and occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited by many

of the nobility and others of this nation, who used him in their counsels of greatest consideration ; and with some rewards for his better subsistence.

Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was sought for by most ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers, whose learning or business occasioned their stay in this nation.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his constant residence in London ; but he still denied it, having settled his dear wife and children at Mitcham, and near some friends that were bountiful to them and him : for they, God knows, needed it : and that you may the better now judge of the then present condition of his mind and fortune, I shall present you with an extract collected out of some few of his many letters.

— “ And the reason why I did not send an answer to your last week’s letter, was, because it then found me under too great a sadness ; and at present it is thus with me : there is not one person, but myself, well of my family. I have already lost half a child, and with that mischance of her’s, my wife has fallen into such a discomposure, as would afflict her too extremely, but that the sickness of all her other children stupifies her : of one of which, in good faith, I have not much hope : and these meet with a fortune so ill provided for physic, and such relief, that if God should ease us with burials, I know not how to perform even that : but, I flatter myself with this hope, that I am dying too ; for I cannot waste faster than by such griefs. As for,——

“ From my hospital at Mitcham,

“ *Aug.* 10.

“ JOHN DONNE.”

Thus he did bemoan himself : and thus in other letters.

— “ For, we hardly discover a sin, when it is but an omission of some good, and no accusing act ; with this or the former, I have often suspected myself to be overtaken ; which is, with an over earnest desire of the next life : and though I know it is not merely a weariness of this, because I had the same desire when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than I now do ; yet I doubt worldly troubles have encreased it. It is now spring, and all the pleasures of it displease me ; every other tree blossoms, and I wither : I grow older and not better ; my strength diminisheth, and my load grows heavier ; and yet, I would fain be or

do something: but, that I cannot tell what, is no wonder in this time of my sadness; for, to choose is to do; but, to be no part of any body, is as to be nothing; and so I am, and shall so judge myself unless I could be so incorporated into a part of the world, as my business to contribute some sustentation to the whole. This I made account I began early, when I undertook the study of our laws: but was diverted by leaving and embracing the worst voluptuousness, an hydroptique immoderate desire of human learning and languages: beautiful ornaments indeed to men of great fortunes; but mine is grown so low as to need an occupation: which I thought I entered well into, when I subjected myself to such a service as I thought might exercise my poor abilities: and there I stumbled, and fell too: and now I am become so little, or such a nothing, that I am not a subject good enough for one of my own letters.—Sir, I fear my present discontent does not proceed from a good root, that I am so well content to be nothing, that is, dead. But, sir, though my fortune hath made me such, as that I am rather a sickness or a disease of the world, than any part of it, and therefore neither love it nor life; yet, I would gladly live to become some such thing as you should not repent loving me. Sir, your own soul cannot be more zealous for your good than I am, and, God who loves that zeal in me, will not suffer you to doubt it. You would pity me now, if you saw me write, for my pain hath drawn my head so much awry, and holds it so, that my eye cannot follow my pen. I therefore receive you into my prayers with mine own weary soul, and commend myself to your's. I doubt not but next week will bring you good news, for I have either mending or dying on my side: but, if I do continue longer thus, I shall have comfort in this, that my blessed Saviour in exercising his justice upon my two worldly parts, my fortune and my body, reserves all his mercy for that which most needs it, my soul, which is, I doubt, too like a porter, that is very often too near the gate, and yet goes not out. Sir, I profess to you truly, that my lothness to give over writing now, seems to myself a sign that I shall write no more—

“Your poor friend, and

“God's poor patient,

“*Sept. 7.*

“JOHN DONNE.”

By this you have seen a part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind: and, thus it

continued with him for about two years; all which time his family remained constantly at Mitcham; and, to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Roman church; and especially those of supremacy and allegiance. And, to that place and such studies he could have wedded himself during his life: but, the earnest persuasion of friends became at last to be so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where sir Robert Drury, a gentleman of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house in Drury Lane, and, not only rent-free, but was also a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and his in all their joy and sorrows.

At this time of Mr. Donne's, and his wife's living in sir Robert's house, the lord Hay^a was by king James sent upon a glorious embassy to the then French king Henry the fourth, and sir Robert put on sudden resolution to accompany him to the French Court, and to be present at his audience there. And sir Robert put on as sudden a resolution, to solicit Mr. Donne to be his companion in that journey. And this desire was suddenly made known to his wife, who was then with child, and otherways under so dangerous a habit of body, as to her health, that she profest an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying, her divining soul boded her some ill in his absence; and therefore, desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really to resolve against it. But sir Robert became restless in his persuasions for it; and Mr. Donne was so generous, as to think he had sold his liberty when he received so many charitable kindnesses from him: and told his wife so; who did therefore with an unwilling-willingness give a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months: for, about that time they determined their return.—Within a few days after this resolve, the ambassador, sir Robert, and Mr. Donne left London; and were the twelfth day got all safe to Paris.—Two days after their arrival there, Mr. Donne was left alone, in that room in which sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had dined together. To this place sir Robert

^a *Lord Hay.*] James Hay, created baron Hay of Sawley 29th of June, 1615, viscount Doncaster 5th of July, 1617, and earl of Carlisle 13th of September, 1622. He was much employed in embassies. He died in 1636.

returned within half an hour; and, as he left, so he found Mr. Donne alone; but, in such an ecstasy, and so altered as to his looks, as amazed sir Robert to behold him: insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short time of his absence? To which Mr. Donne was not able to make a present answer: but, after a long and perplexed pause, did at last say, "I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw you. I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through this room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms: this I have seen since I saw you." To which sir Robert replied; "Sure sir, you have slept since I saw you; and this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I desire you to forget, for you are now awake." To which Mr. Donne's reply was; "I cannot be surer that I now live, than that I have not slept since I saw you: and am as sure that at her second appearing she stopt and looked me in the face and vanished."—Rest and sleep had not altered Mr. Donne's opinion the next day: for he then affirmed this vision with a more deliberate, and so confirmed a confidence, that he inclined sir Robert to a faint belief that the vision was true.—It is truly said, that desire and doubt have no rest: and it proved so with sir Robert, for he immediately sent a servant to Drury house with a charge to hasten back, and bring him word, whether Mrs. Donne were alive? and if alive, in what condition she was as to her health?—The twelfth day the messenger returned with this account.—That he found and left Mrs. Donne very sad, and sick in her bed: and that after a long and dangerous labour she had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion proved to be the same day, and about the very hour that Mr. Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in his chamber.

This is a relation that will beget some wonder: and, it well may; for most of our world are at present possess with an opinion that visions and miracles are ceased. And, though it is most certain, that two lutes, being both strung and tuned to an equal pitch, and then, one played upon, the other that is not touched, being laid upon a table at a fit distance, will (like an echo to a trumpet) warble a faint audible harmony, in answer to the same tune: yet many will not believe there is any such thing, as a sympathy of souls; and I am well pleased, that every reader do enjoy his own opinion: but, if the unbelieving will not allow the believing reader of this story a liberty to believe that it may be

true; then, I wish him to consider, many wise men have believed, that the ghost of Julius Cæsar did appear to Brutus, and that both St. Austin and Monica his mother had visions in order to his conversion. And, though these and many others (too many to name) have but the authority of human story, yet the incredible reader may find in the sacred story, (1 Sam. xxviii.) that Samuel did appear to Saul even after his death (whether really or not, I undertake not to determine). And, Bildad in the book of Job, says these words. (Job iv.) *A spirit passed before my face, the hair of my head stood up, fear and trembling came upon me, and made all my bones to shake.* Upon which words I will make no comment, but leave them to be considered by the incredulous reader; to whom I will also commend this following consideration; that there be many pious and learned men, that believe our merciful God hath assigned to every man a particular guardian angel⁹, to be his constant monitor; and to attend him in all his dangers, both of body and soul. And the opinion that every man hath his particular angel, may gain some authority, by the relation of St. Peter's miraculous deliverance out of prison, (Acts xii.) not by many, but by one angel. And this belief may yet gain more credit, by the reader's considering that when Peter after his enlargement knocked at the door of Mary the mother of John; and Rhode, the maid servant, being surprised with joy that Peter was there, did not let him in, but ran in haste and told the disciples (who were then and there met together) that Peter was at the door; and, they not believing it, *said she was mad*: yet, when she again affirmed it, though they then believed it not, yet they concluded, and said: *It is his angel.*

More observations of this nature, and inferences from them, might be made to gain the relation a firmer belief; but I forbear, least I, that intended to be but a relator, may be thought to be an engaged person for the proving what was related to me. And yet, I think myself bound to declare, that though it was not told me by Mr. Donne himself, it was told me (now long since) by a person of honour, and of such intimacy with him, that he knew more of the secrets of his soul, than any person then living: and I think they told me the truth; for, it was told with such cir-

⁹ *Guardian angel.*] See bishop Richard Montague's very able, learned and eloquent discourse, *Immediate Address unto God alone, first delivered in a Sermon before his Majesty at Windsor, since revised and enlarged to a just treatise; Of Invocation of Saints (and Angels).* 1624. 4to.

cumstances, and such asseveration, that (to say nothing of my own thoughts) I verily believe he that told it me, did himself believe it to be true.

I forbear the reader's farther trouble as to the relation, and what concerns it; and will conclude mine, with commending to his view a copy of verses given by Mr. Donne to his wife at the time that he then parted from her. And I beg leave to tell, that I have heard some critics, learned both in languages and poetry say, that none of the Greek or Latin poets did ever equal them.

A VALEDICTORY, FORBIDDING TO MOURN.

As virtuous men pass mildly away,
And whisper to their souls to go,
Whilst some of their sad friends do say,
The breath goes now, and some say no:

So let us melt, and make no noise;
No wind-sighs, or tear-floods us move;
'Twere profanation of our joys,
To tell the laity our love.

Movings of th' earth cause harms, and fears;
Men reckon what they did or meant:
But trepidation of the spheres,
Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull sublunary lovers' love,
(Whose soul is sense,) cannot admit
Absence; because that doth remove
Those things that elemented it.

But we by a soul so much refin'd,
That our souls know not what it is,
Inter-assured of the mind,
Care not, hands, eyes, or lips to miss.

Our two souls¹ therefore which are one,
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold, to airy thinness beat.

If we be two, we are two so
As stiff twin-compasses are two:
Thy soul, the fixed foot, makes no show
To move, but does, if th' other do.

¹ *Our two souls.*] "To the following comparison of a man that travels, and his wife that stays at home, with a pair of compasses, it may be doubted whether absurdity or ingenuity has the better claim."—Johnson's Critique on what he calls the Metaphysical Poets, in his *Life of Cowley*, Works, vol. ix. p. 38.

And, though thine in the centre sit,
 Yet, when my other far does roam,
 'Thine leans, and hearkens after it,
 And grows erect as mine comes home.

Such thou must be to me, who must
 Like th' other foot, obliquely run :
 Thy firmness makes my circle just,
 And me to end, where I begun.

I return from my account of the vision, to tell the reader, that both before Mr. Donne's going into France, at his being there, and after his return, many of the nobility, and others that were powerful at court, were watchful and solicitous to the king for some secular employment for him. The king had formerly both known and put a value upon his company ; and also had given him some hopes of a state employment ; being always much pleased when Mr. Donne attended him, especially at his meals, where there were usually many deep discourses of general learning : and very often friendly disputes or debates of religion betwixt his majesty and those divines, whose places required their attendance on him at those times : particularly the dean of the chapel : who then was bishop Montague (the publisher of the learned and eloquent works of his majesty) and the most reverend doctor Andrews, the late learned bishop of Winchester, who was then the king's almoner.

About this time, there grew many disputes that concerned the oath of supremacy and allegiance, in which the king had appeared, and engaged himself by his public writings now extant : and, his majesty discoursing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reasons which are usually urged against the taking of those oaths, apprehended such a validity and clearness in his stating the questions, and his answers to them, that his majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his answers to them ; and, having done that, not to send, but be his own messenger and bring them to him. To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and, within six weeks brought them to him under his own hand-writing, as they be now printed ; the book bearing the name of *Pseudo-Martyr*, printed anno 1610.

When the king had read and considered that book, he persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the ministry ; to which at that time he was, and appeared very unwilling, apprehending it (such

was his mistaken modesty) to be too weighty for his abilities; and though his majesty had promised him a favour, and many persons of worth mediated with his majesty for some secular employment for him (to which his education had apted him), and particularly the earl of Somerset, when in his greatest height of favour; who being then at Theobalds with the king, where one of the clerks of the council died, that night the earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and at Mr. Donne's coming, said "Mr. Donne, to testify the reality of my affection, and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden till I go up to the king, and bring you word that you are clerk of the council: doubt not my doing this, for I know the king loves you, and know the king will not deny me." But the king gave a positive denial to all requests, and having a discerning spirit replied, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned divine, and will prove a powerful preacher; and my desire is to prefer him that way; and in that way I will deny you nothing for him." After that time, as he professeth^d, the king descended to a persuasion, almost to a solicitation of him to enter into sacred orders; which though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years. All which time he applied himself to an incessant study of textual divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

In the first and most blessed times of Christianity, when the clergy were looked upon with reverence, and deserved it, when they overcame their opposers by high examples of virtue, by a blessed patience and long suffering; those only were then judged worthy the ministry, whose quiet and meek spirits did make them look upon that sacred calling with an humble adoration and fear to undertake it; which indeed requires such great degrees of humility, and labour, and care, that none but such were then thought worthy of that celestial dignity. And such only were then sought out, and solicited to undertake it. This I have mentioned, because forwardness and inconsideration could not in Mr. Donne, as in many others, be an argument of insufficiency or unfitness; for he had considered long, and had many strifes within himself concerning the strictness of life and competency of learning required in such as enter into sacred orders; and doubtless, considering his own demerits, did humbly ask God with St. Paul,

^d In his book of Devotions.

Lord, who is sufficient for these things? and with meek Moses, *Lord, who am I?* And sure, if he had consulted with flesh and blood, he had not for these reasons put his hand to that holy plough. But God, who is able to prevail, wrestled with him, as the angel did with Jacob, *and marked him*; marked him for his own; marked him with a blessing; a blessing of obedience to the motions of his blessed Spirit. And then, as he had formerly asked God with Moses, *Who am I?* so now, being inspired with an apprehension of God's particular mercy to him, in the king's and others solicitations of him, he came to ask king David's thankful question, *Lord, who am I, that thou art so mindful of me?* So mindful of me as to lead me for more than forty years through this wilderness of the many temptations and various turnings of a dangerous life; so merciful to me as to move the learnedest of kings to descend to move me to serve at the altar; so merciful to me as at last to move my heart to embrace this holy motion! Thy motions I will and do embrace: and I now say with the blessed Virgin, *Be it with thy servant as seemeth best in thy sight*: and so blessed Jesus, I do take the cup of salvation, and will call upon thy name, and will preach thy gospel.

Such strifes as these St. Austin had when St. Ambrose endeavoured his conversion to Christianity; with which he confesseth he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned author (a man fit to write after no mean copy) did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King, then bishop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no stranger to Mr. Donne's abilities, (for he had been chaplain to the lord chancellor at the time of Mr. Donne's being his lordship's secretary,) that reverend man did receive the news with much gladness; and, after some expressions of joy, and a persuasion to be constant in his pious purpose, he proceeded with all convenient speed to ordain him first deacon, and then priest not long after.

Now the English church had gained a second St. Austin; for I think none was so like him before his conversion; none so like St. Ambrose after it: and if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other; the learning and holiness of both.

And now all his studies, which had been occasionally diffused, were all centred in divinity. Now he had a new calling^a, new

^a *A new calling.*] Mrs. Pilkington, in her *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 150, has recorded the following anecdote as related by dean Swift; but how far it may

thoughts, and a new employment for his wit and eloquence ; now all his earthly affections were changed into divine love, and all the faculties of his own soul were engaged in the conversion of others : in preaching the glad tidings of remission to repenting sinners, and peace to each troubled soul. To these he applied himself with all care and diligence : and now such a change was wrought in him, that he could say with David, *Oh how amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord God of Hosts !* Now he declared openly, that when he required a temporal, God gave him a spiritual blessing ; and that he was now gladder to be a door-keeper in the house of God, than he could be to enjoy the noblest of all temporal employments.

Presently after he entered into his holy profession the king sent for him, and made him his chaplain in ordinary, and promised to take a particular care for his preferment.

And though his long familiarity with scholars and persons of greatest quality was such as might have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any eminent auditory, yet his modesty in this employment was such, that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one friend, to preach privately in some village not far from London ; his first sermon being preached at Paddington. This he did till his majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at White-
 be authentic or not, I do not venture to pronounce : “ When doctor *Donne*, afterwards dean of *St. Paul’s, London*, took possession of the first living he ever had, being a speculative man, he took a walk into the church-yard, where the sexton was digging a grave, and throwing up a skull, the doctor took it up, to contemplate thereon ; and found a small sprig, or headless nail, sticking in the temple, which he drew out secretly, and wrapt it up in the corner of his handkerchief ; he then demanded of the grave-digger, whether he knew whose skull that was ? He said he did, very well ; declaring it was a man’s who kept a brandy-shop, an honest drunken fellow, who one night taking two quarts of that comfortable creature, was found dead in his bed the next morning. Had he a wife ? said the doctor. Yes, sir. Is she living ? Yes. What character does she bear ? A very good one ; only indeed the neighbours reflected on her, because she married the day after her husband was buried ; though, to be sure, she had no great reason to grieve after him. This was enough for the doctor, who under pretence of visiting all his parishioners called on her ; he asked her several questions, and amongst others, What sickness her first husband died of ? She giving him the same account he had before received, he suddenly opened the handkerchief, and cried in an authoritative voice, *Woman, do you know this nail ?* She was struck with horror at the unexpected demand, and instantly owned the fact.”

hall; and though much were expected from him, both by his majesty and others, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to satisfy and exceed their expectations; preaching the word so as shewed his own heart was possest with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others: a preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them: always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives: here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it; and a virtue so as to make it be beloved even by those that loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace and an inexpressible addition of comeliness.

There may be some that may incline to think (such indeed as have not heard him) that my affection to my friend hath transported me to an immoderate commendation of his preaching. If this meets with any such, let me intreat, though I will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witness for what I say; it being attested by a gentleman of worth (Mr. Chidley³, a frequent hearer of his sermons) in part of a funeral elegy writ by him on Dr. Donne, and is a known truth, though it be in verse.

“ . . . Each altar had his fire—

He kept his love, but not his object: wit
 He did not banish, but transplanted it;
 Taught it both time and place, and brought it home
 To piety, which it doth best become.
 For say, had ever pleasure such a dress?
 Have you seen crimes so shap'd, or loveliness
 Such as his lips did clothe religion in?
 Had not reproof a beauty passing sin?
 Corrupted nature sorrowed that she stood
 So near the danger of becoming good.
 And when he preach'd she wish'd her ears exempt
 From piety, that had such power to tempt.
 How did his sacred flattery beguile
 Men to amend? ——”

More of this, and more witnesses might be brought, but I forbear, and return.

³ *Chidley.*] “John Chudleigh, M.A. of Wadham college, in Oxford, and the eldest son of sir George Chudleigh, bart., of Alston, in Devonshire.”—*Zouch.*

That summer, in the very same month in which he entered into sacred orders, and was made the king's chaplain, his majesty then going his progress, was entreated to receive an entertainment in the university of Cambridge. And Mr. Donne attending his majesty at that time, his majesty was pleased to recommend him to the university, to be made doctor in divinity⁴. Doctor Harsnet (after archbishop of York) was then vice-chancellor, who knowing him to be the author of that learned book the *Pseudo-Martyr*, required no other proof of his abilities, but proposed it to the university, who presently assented, and expressed a gladness that they had such an occasion to entitle him to be theirs.

His abilities and industry in his profession were so eminent, and he so known and so beloved by persons of quality, that within the first year of his entering into sacred orders he had fourteen advowsons of several benefices presented to him; but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London, to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and education in it, and there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied the joys of his life; but an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge his wife died, leaving him a man of a narrow unsettled estate, and (having buried five) the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother; which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most dear and deserving wife's grave, and betook himself to a most retired and solitary life.

In this retiredness, which was often from the sight of his dearest friends, he became crucified to the world, and all those vanities, those imaginary pleasures that are daily acted on that restless stage; and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think (being passions may be both changed and heightened by accidents) but that that abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of

⁴ *Doctor in divinity.*] This was in March 1614-15. A considerably different account of the circumstances attendant on the taking of this degree, may be found in Nichols's *Progresses of king James I.*, vol. iii. p. 60. 1828. See also Lord Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 396.

his eyes and the companion of his youth ; her with whom he had divided so many pleasant sorrows and contented fears, as common people are not capable of ; not hard to think but that she being now removed by death, a commensurable grief took as full a possession of him as joy had done ; and so indeed it did : for now his very soul was elemented of nothing but sadness ; now grief took so full a possession of his heart as to leave no place for joy ; if it did, it was a joy to be alone, where like a pelican in the wilderness, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction, *Oh that I might have the desire of my heart ! Oh that God would grant the thing that I long for !* for then, *as the grave is become her house*, so I would hasten to make it mine also, *that we two might there make our beds together in the dark*. Thus as the Israelites sate mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sion, so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus venting his sorrows. Thus he began the day and ended the night ; ended the restless night and began the weary day in lamentations. And thus he continued, till a consideration of his new engagements to God, and St. Paul's *Wo is me if I preach not the gospel*, dispersed those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forced him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach where his beloved wife lay buried (in St. Clement's church, near Temple-bar, London,) and his text was a part of the prophet Jeremiah's Lamentation : *Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction*.

And indeed his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man ; and they with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness, and so they left the congregation ; but then their houses presented them with objects of diversion, and his presented him with nothing but fresh objects of sorrow, in beholding many helpless children, a narrow fortune, and a consideration of the many cares and casualties that attend their education.

In this time of sadness he was importuned by the grave benchers of Lincoln's Inn, who were once the companions and friends of his youth, to accept of their lecture, which by reason of Dr. Gataker's removal from thence, was then void ; of which he accepted, being most glad to renew his intermitted friendship

with those whom he so much loved ; and where he had been a Saul, though not to persecute Christianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular youth to neglect the visible practice of it, there to become a Paul, and preach salvation to his beloved brethren.

And now his life was as a shining light among his old friends : now he gave an ocular testimony of the strictness and regularity of it : now he might say as St. Paul adviseth his Corinthians, *Be ye followers of me, as I follow Christ, and walk as ye have me for an example* ; not the example of a busy-body, but of a contemplative, a harmless, an humble, and an holy life and conversation.

The love of that noble society was expressed to him many ways ; for, besides fair lodgings that were set apart and newly furnished for him with all necessities, other courtesies were also daily added ; indeed, so many and so freely, as if they meant their gratitude should exceed his merits ; and in this love-strife of desert and liberality they continued for the space of two years, he preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the emperor of Germany died, and the Palsgrave, who had lately married the lady Elizabeth, the king's only daughter, was elected and crowned king of Bohemia, the unhappy beginning of many miseries in that nation.

King James, whose motto (*Beati pacifici*) did truly speak the very thoughts of his heart, endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose the discords of that discomposed state ; and amongst other his endeavours did send them the lord Hay, earl of^a Doncaster, his ambassador, to those unsettled princes : and by a special command from his majesty Dr. Donne was appointed to assist and attend^b that employment to the princes of the union ; for which the earl was most glad, who had always put a great value on him, and taken a great pleasure in his conversation and discourse ; and his friends of Lincoln's Inn were as glad, for they feared that his immoderate study and sadness for his wife's

^a *Lord Hay, earl of.*] Viscount Doncaster, earl of Carlisle. See note at p. 648.

^b *Assist and attend.*] This was in the spring of the year 1619. See *Letters to several Persons of Honour, written by Dr. John Donne, &c.* 1654. 4to. p. 174, 5, and p. 222—5.

death would, as Jacob said, *make his days few*, and respecting his bodily health, *evil* too; and of this there were many visible signs.

At his going, he left his friends of Lincoln's Inn, and they him, with many reluctations; for though he could not say as St. Paul to his Ephesians, *Behold you, to whom I have preached the kingdom of God, shall from henceforth see my face no more*, yet he, believing himself to be in a consumption, questioned, and they feared it; all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body. But God, who is the God of all wisdom and goodness, turned it to the best: for this employment (to say nothing of the event of it) did not only divert him from those too serious studies and sad thoughts, but seemed to give him a new life by a true occasion of joy to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear and most honoured mistress the queen of Bohemia, in a foreign nation, and to be a witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him; who, having formerly known him as a courtier, was much joyed to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful preaching.

About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincoln's Inn, with his sorrows moderated and his health improved, and there betook himself to his constant course of preaching.

About a year after¹ his return out of Germany, Dr. Cary was made bishop of Exeter, and by his removal the deanery of St. Paul's being vacant, the king sent for Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at dinner the next day. When his majesty was sat down, before he had eat any meat, he said after this pleasant manner, "Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner; and though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love well; for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you dean of Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study, say grace there to yourself, and much good may it do you."

Immediately after he came to his deanery he employed work-

¹ *About a year after.*] He was elected dean Nov. 27, 1621.—*Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 185.

men to repair and beautify the chapel; suffering, as holy David once vowed, *his eyes and temples to take no rest, till he had first beautified the house of God.*

The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, sir George More (whom time had made a lover and admirer of him) came to pay to him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he refused to receive it, and said (as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved son Joseph was alive, *It is enough*) "You have been kind to me and mine: I know your present condition is such as not to abound; and I hope mine is or will be such as not to need it. I will therefore receive no more from you upon that contract;" and in testimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his deanery, the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White; the advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend, Richard earl of Dorset, then the patron, and confirmed by his brother, the late deceased Edward, both of them men of much honour.

By these and another ecclesiastical endowment which fell to him about the same time, given to him formerly by the earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor, and kind to his friends, and to make such provision for his children, that they were not left scandalous as relating to their or his profession and quality.

The next parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen prolocutor to the convocation; and about that time was appointed by his majesty, his most gracious master, to preach very many occasional sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross, and other places. All which employments he performed to the admiration of the representative body of the whole clergy of this nation.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the king's displeasure; and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who had told his majesty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humour of the pulpits, and was become busy in insinuating a fear of the king's inclining to popery, and a dislike of his government: and particularly for the king's then turning the evening lectures^a into catechising, and expounding

^a *Turning the evening lectures.*] The king's directions concerning preachers and preaching may be seen in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 723; Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 97; Wilkins' *Concil.*, vol. iv. p. 465, &c. It would be easy to enlarge upon the extravagant outcries which these directions

the Prayer of our Lord, and the Belief, and Commandments. His majesty was the more inclinable to believe this, for that a person of nobility and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the court (I shall forbear his name, unless I had a fairer occasion) and justly committed to prison; which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wise unless they be busy about what they understand not; and especially about religion.

occasioned amongst the Puritans and Calvinists; but let us be contented rather to turn ourselves to the healing, wise, and pious observations of the excellent bishop Hall.

"It was the observation of the learnedest king that ever sate hitherto in the English throne, that the cause of the miscarriage of our people into popery and other errors, was their ungroundedness in the points of Catechism. How should those souls be but carried about with every wind of doctrine, that are not well ballasted with solid informations? Whence it was that his said late majesty, of happy memory, gave publick order for bestowing the later part of God's day in familiar catechising; than which nothing could be devised more necessary, and behoveful to the souls of men. It was the ignorance, and ill-disposedness of some cavillers, that taxed this course as prejudicial to preachings; since in truth the most useful of all preaching is catechetical. This being the grounds, the other raiseth the walls and roof. This informs the judgment, that stirs up the affections. What good use is there of those affections that run before the judgment; or of those walls that want a foundation? For my part, I have spent the greater part of my life in this station of our holy service; I thank God, not unpainfully, nor unprofitably. But there is no one thing whereof I repent so much, as not to have bestowed more hours in this publick exercise of catechism, in regard whereof I would quarrel with my very sermons, and wish that a great part of them had been exchanged for this preaching conference. Those other divine discourses enrich the brain and the tongue; this settles the heart. Those other are but the descants to this plain song. Contemn it not, my brethren, for the easy and noted homeliness. The most excellent and most beneficial things are most familiar."—Dedication to *The Old Religion*, Works, vol. ii. folio. Doctor Donne himself vindicated the Directions respecting catechising very ably and satisfactorily in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, Sept. 15, 1622, and printed singly, in the same year. See p. 44—68. In one of his letters he speaks thus of this affair: "The directions which his majesty gave for preachers had scandalized many; therefore, he descended to pursue them with certain reasons of his proceedings therein; and I had commandment to publish them at the Cross to as great a congregation as ever I saw together; where they received comfortable assurance of his majesty's constancy in religion, and of his desire that all men should be bred in the knowledge of such things as might preserve them from the superstition of Rome."—*Letters, &c.* p. 231.

The king received this news with so much discontent and restlessness, that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt, but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the accusation ; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the king said he was right glad he rested no longer under the suspicion. When the king had said this, Dr. Donne kneeled down and thanked his majesty, and protested his answer was faithful and free from all collusion, and therefore desired that he might not rise till, as in like cases he always had from God, so he might have from his majesty, some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his opinion. At which the king raised him from his knees with his own hands, and protested he believed him ; and that he knew he was an honest man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly. And having thus dismissed him, he called some lords of his council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness, " My doctor is an honest man : and, my lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer than he hath now made me : and I always rejoice when I think that by my means he became a divine."

He was made dean the fiftieth year of his age ; and in his fifty-fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him, which inclined him to a consumption. But God, as Job thankfully acknowledged, *preserved his spirit*, and kept his intellectuals as clear and perfect as when that sickness first seized his body ; but it continued long and threatened him with death, which he dreaded not.

In this distemper of body, his dear friend doctor Henry King (then chief residentiary of that church, and late bishop of Chichester) a man generally known by the clergy of this nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, visited him daily ; and observing that his sickness rendered his recovery doubtful, he chose a seasonable time to speak to him to this purpose.

" Mr. dean, I am by your favour no stranger to your temporal estate, and you are no stranger to the offer lately made us for the renewing a lease of the best prebend's corps belonging to our church ; and you know it was denied, for that our tenant being very rich, offered to fine at so low a rate as held not proportion with his advantages : but I will either raise him to an higher sum, or procure that the other residentiaries shall join to accept of what was offered : one of these I can and will by your favour do without delay, and without any trouble either to your body or mind. I beseech you to accept of my offer, for I know it will be

a considerable addition to your present estate, which I know needs it."

To this, after a short pause, and raising himself upon his bed, he made this reply.

"My most dear friend, I most humbly thank you for your many favours, and this in particular: but, in my present condition, I shall not accept of your proposal; for doubtless there is such a sin as sacrilege; if there were not, it could not have a name in Scripture. And the primitive clergy were watchful against all appearances of that evil; and indeed then all Christians looked upon it with horror and detestation; judging it to be even an open defiance of the power and providence of almighty God, and a sad presage of a declining religion. But instead of such Christians, who had selected times set apart to fast and pray to God for a pious clergy which they then did obey, our times abound with men that are busy and litigious about trifles and church ceremonies; and yet so far from scrupling sacrilege that they make not so much as a *quære* what it is. But I thank God I have; and dare not now upon my sick bed, when almighty God hath made me useless to the service of the church, make any advantages out of it. But if he shall again restore me to such a degree of health as again to serve at his altar, I shall then gladly take the reward which the bountiful benefactors of this church have designed me; for God knows my children and relations will need it. In which number my mother (whose credulity and charity has contracted a very plentiful to a very narrow estate) must not be forgotten. But, doctor King, if I recover not, that little worldly estate that I shall leave behind me (that very little, when divided into eight parts) must, if you deny me not so charitable a favour, fall into your hands, as my most faithful friend and executor; of whose care and justice I make no more doubt than of God's blessing on that which I have conscientiously collected for them; but it shall not be augmented on my sick bed; and this I declare to be my unalterable resolution."

The reply to this was only a promise to observe his request.

Within a few days his distempers abated; and as his strength increased so did his thankfulness to almighty God, testified in his most excellent book of Devotions, which he published at his recovery. In which the reader may see the most secret thoughts that then possessed his soul, paraphrased and made public; a book that may not unfitly be called a sacred picture of spiritual

ecstasies, occasioned and applicable to the emergencies of that sickness; which book, being a composition of meditations, disquisitions, and prayers, he writ on his sick bed; herein imitating the holy patriarchs, who were wont to build their altars in that place where they had received their blessings.

This sickness brought him so near to the gates of death, and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he would often say his recovery was supernatural. But that God that then restored his health continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life. And then in August 1630, being with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Harvy, at Abury-hatch, in Essex, he there fell into a fever, which with the help of his constant infirmity (vapours from the spleen) hastened him into so visible a consumption, that his beholders might say, as St. Paul of himself, *He dies daily*; and he might say with Job, *My welfare passeth away as a cloud, the days of my affliction have taken hold of me, and weary nights are appointed for me.*

Reader, this sickness continued long, not only weakening but wearying him so much that my desire is, he may now take some rest; and that before I speak of his death, thou wilt not think it an impertinent digression to look back with me upon some observations of his life, which, whilst a gentle slumber gives rest to his spirits, may, I hope, not unfitly exercise thy consideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his life; an error which though he had a wit able and very apt to maintain paradoxes, yet he was very far from justifying it: and though his wife's competent years, and other reasons might be justly urged to moderate severe censures; yet, he would occasionally condemn himself for it: and doubtless it had been attended with an heavy repentance, if God had not blessed them with so mutual and cordial affections, as in the midst of their sufferings made their bread of sorrow taste more pleasantly than the banquets of dull and low-spirited people.

The recreations of his youth were poetry, in which he was so happy, as if nature and all her varieties had been made only to exercise his sharp wit, and high fancy; and in those pieces which were facetiously composed and carelessly scattered (most of them being written before the twentieth year of his age) it may appear by his choice metaphors, that both nature and all the arts joined to assist him with their utmost skill.

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of

those pieces that had been loosely (God knows too loosely) scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or, so short lived that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals. But, though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry as to forsake that: no not in his declining age; witnessed then by many divine sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious composures. Yea, even on his former sick-bed he wrote this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy that then possessed his soul in the assurance of God's favour to him when he composed it.

AN HYMN TO GOD THE FATHER.

Wilt thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it were done before?
Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
And do run still though still I do deplore?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

Wilt thou forgive that sin, which I have won
Others to sin, and made my sin their door?
Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
A year or two, but wallowed in a score?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore:
But swear by thyself, that at my death thy Son
Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;
And having done that, thou hast done,
I fear no more.

I have the rather mentioned this hymn, for that he caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the organ by the choristers of St. Paul's Church, in his own hearing, especially at the evening service; and at his return from his customary devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, "The words of this hymn have restored to me the same thoughts of joy that possess my soul in my sickness when I composed it. And, O the power of church-music! that harmony added to this hymn has raised the affections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude; and I observe, that I always return from paying this public duty of prayer and praise to God, with an unexpressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingness to leave the world."

After this manner, did the disciples of our Saviour, and the best of Christians in those ages of the church nearest to his time, offer their praises to Almighty God. And the reader of St. Augustine's life may there find, that towards his dissolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of Christianity had broke in upon them, and prophaned and ruined their sanctuaries; and, because their public hymns and lauds were lost out of their churches. And after this manner have many devout souls lifted up their hands and offered acceptable sacrifices unto almighty God where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried.

But now, oh Lord, how is that place become } 1656.
desolate '!

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death he caused to be drawn a figure of the body of Christ extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the cross: *his* varying no otherwise than to affix him not to a cross but to an anchor (the emblem of hope). This he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus

* *Become desolate.*] "Thus fell Laud (Jan. 10, 1644), and St. Paul's fell with him; the yearly contribution toward whose repair, anno 1641, when he was plunged into his troubles, fell from the sum of 15,000*l.* and upward to somewhat less than 1500*l.*, and afterwards by degrees to nothing. No less than 17,138*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which remained in the chamber of London toward the carrying on of the work, is seized on by an order of both houses of parliament, for the beginning of their war against the king. Most of the materials intended for finishing the work were turned into money; and the rest bestowed on the parish of St. Gregory's, for the rebuilding of that church: and all the scaffolding of the tower or steeple allotted to the payment of Jephson's regiment, who challenged an arrear of 1746*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* for their service in that cruel and unnatural war. The pavement of the church digged up, and sold to the wealthier citizens for beautifying their country houses: the floor converted into saw-pits in many places, for cutting out such timber as was turned into money: the lead torn off in some places also; the timber and arches of the roof being thereby exposed to wind and weather; part of the stonework which supported the tower or steeple fallen down, and threatening the like ruin unto all the rest: the gallant portico at the west end thereof obscured first by a new house looking towards Ludgate; and afterwards turned into an exchange for haberdashers of small wares, hosiers, and such petty chapmen: and finally the whole body of it converted to a stable or horse-garrison, for the better awing of that city, whose pride and faction raised the fire, and whose purse added fewel to it, for the inflaming of the kingdom."—Heylin's *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 538.

drawn to be engraven very small in Helitropian stones, and set in gold, and of these he sent to many of his dearest friends to be used as seals, or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and of his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, sir Henry Goodier, and sir Robert Drewry, could not be of that number ; nor could the lady Magdalen Herbert, the mother of George Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken possession of the grave before him : but sir Henry Wootton, and Dr. Hall, the then late deceased bishop of Norwich, were ; and, so were Dr. Duppa, bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Henry King, bishop of Chichester (lately deceased), men, in whom there was such a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and Christian humility, that they deserve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not ; I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of the Temple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations : a book, in which by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts : a book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and heaven : and may by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the altar of so pure a heart, as shall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixt upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each others company ; and this happy friendship was still maintained by many sacred endearments ; of which, that which followeth may be some testimony.

TO MR. GEORGE HERBERT ; SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY
SEALS OF THE ANCHOR AND CHRIST.

(A sheaf of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, which is the
crest of our poor family.)

Qui prius assuetus serpentum falce tabellas
Signare, hæc nostræ symbola parva domus
Adscitus domui domini.—

Adopted in God's family, and so
 My old coat lost, into new arms I go.
 The cross my seal in baptism spread below,
 Does by that form into an anchor grow.
 Crosses grow anchors; bear as thou should'st do
 Thy cross, and that cross grows an anchor too.
 But he that makes our crosses anchors thus,
 Is Christ; who there is crucified for us.

Yet with this I may my first serpents hold :
 (God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old)
 The serpent may as wise my pattern be ;
 My poison, as he feeds on dust, that's me.
 And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure
 He is my death ; but on the cross my cure.
 Crucify nature then ; and then implore
 All grace from him, crucified there before.
 When all is cross, and that cross anchor grown,
 This seal's a catechism, not a seal alone.
 Under that little seal great gifts I send,
 Both works and prayers, pawns and fruits of a friend.
 Oh may that saint that rides on our great seal,
 To you that bear his name large bounty deal.

JOHN DONNE.

IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS ; GEORGE HERBERT.

Quod crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
 Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet
 Tuive Christum——

Although the cross could not Christ here detain,
 When nail'd unto 't, but he ascends again :
 Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still,
 But only whilest thou speak'st ; this anchor will :
 Nor canst thou be content unless thou to
 This certain anchor add a seal, and so
 The water and the earth, both unto thee
 Do owe the symbol of their certainty.
 Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
 This holy cable's from all storms secure.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I return to tell the reader, that besides these verses to his dear Mr. Herbert, and that hymn that I mentioned to be sung in the quire of St. Paul's church ; he did also shorten and beguile many sad hours by composing other sacred ditties ; and he writ an hymn on his death-bed, which bears this title.

AN HYMN TO GOD, MY GOD, IN MY SICKNESS,
March 23, 1630.

Since I am coming to that holy room,
 Where, with thy quire of saints for evermore
 I shall be made thy music, as I come
 I tune my instrument here at the door,
 And, what I must do then, think here before.

Since my physicians by their loves are grown
 Cosmographers ! and I their map, who lie
 Flat on this bed

.

So, in his purple wrapt receive me, Lord !
 By these, his thorns, give me his other crown :
 And, as to other souls I preach'd thy word,
 Be this my text : my sermon to mine own.
 " That, he may raise, therefore, the Lord throws down."

If these fall under the censure of a soul, whose too much mixture with earth makes it unfit to judge of these high raptures and illuminations ; let him know that many holy and devout men have thought the soul of Prudentius to be most refined, when not many days before his death he charged it to present his God each morning and evening with a new and spiritual song ; justified by the example of king David and the good king Hezekiah, who upon the renovation of his years paid his thankful vows to almighty God in a royal hymn, which he concludes in these words, *The Lord was ready to save, therefore I will sing my songs to the stringed instruments all the days of my life in the temple of my God.*

The latter part of his life may be said to be a continued study ; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions ; and the next day betook himself to consult the fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends, or some other diversions of his thoughts, and would say, that he gave both his body and mind that refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the

work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and chearfulness.

Nor was his age only so industrious, but in the most unsettled days of his youth, his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in the morning : and it was no common business that drew him out of his chamber till past ten. All which time was employed in study ; though he took great liberty after it ; and if this seem strange, it may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours : some of which remain as testimonies of what is here written : for he left the resultance of fourteen hundred authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand ; he left also six score of his sermons, all written with his own hand ; also an exact and laborious treatise concerning Self-murder, called *Biathanatos* ; wherein all the laws violated by that act are diligently surveyed and judiciously censured ; a treatise written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the civil and canon law, but in many other such studies and arguments, as enter not into the consideration of many that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things.

Nor were these only found in his study ; but all businesses that past of any public consequence, either in this, or any of our neighbour nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them ; and, divers other businesses of importance ; all particularly and methodically digested by himself.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him ; making his will when no faculty of his soul was damped or made defective by pain or sickness, or he surprized by a sudden apprehension of death : but it was made with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father by making his children's portions equal ; and a lover of his friends, whom he remembered with legacies fitly and discreetly chosen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of some of them ; for, methinks they be persons that seem to challenge a recordation in this place ; as namely, to his brother-in-law sir Thomas Grimes, he gave that striking clock which he had long worn in his pocket—to his dear friend and executor Dr. King (late bishop of Chichester) that model of gold of the synod of Dort, with which the states presented him at his last being at the Hague—and the two

pictures of Padre Paulo and Fulgentio¹, men of his acquaintance when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that nation for their remarkable learning.—To his ancient friend Dr. Brook (that married him) master of Trinity college in Cambridge, he gave the picture of the blessed Virgin and Joseph.—To Dr. Winniff (who succeeded him in the deanery) he gave a picture called the Skeleton.—To the succeeding dean, who was not then known, he gave many necessaries of worth, and useful for his house; and also several pictures and ornaments for the chapel, with a desire that they might be registered, and remain as a legacy to his successors.—To the earls of Dorset and Carlisle, he gave several pictures; and so he did to many other friends; legacies, given rather to express his affection, than to make any addition to their estates: but unto the poor he was full of charity, and unto many others, who by his constant and long continued bounty might entitle themselves to be his alms-people: for all these, he made provision; and so largely, as having then six children living, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate. I forbear to mention any more, lest the reader may think I trespass upon his patience: but I will beg his favour to present him with the beginning and end of his will.

“In the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, Amen. I John Donne, by the mercy of Christ Jesus, and by the calling of the church of England priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding (praised be God therefore) do hereby make my last will and testament in manner and form following:

“First, I give my gracious God an intire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that assurance which his blessed spirit imprints in me now of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other; and for that constant and chearful resolution which the same spirit hath established in me to live and die in the religion now professed in the church of England. In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may be buried, in the most private manner that may be, in that place of St. Paul’s church, London, that the now residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &c.—And this my last will

¹ *Padre Paulo and Fulgentio.*] Paolo Sarpi and his celebrated friend. See the *Life of Wotton*, in this collection.

and testament, made in the fear of God (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in Jesus Christ) and in perfect love and charity with all the world (whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the highest of my superiors) written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number.

“Sealed Decemb. 13. 1630.”

Nor was this blessed sacrifice of charity expressed only at his death, but in his life also, by a chearful and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune necessitous : he was inquisitive after the wants of prisoners, and redeemed many from thence that lay for their fees or small debts ; he was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant, or a discreet and trusty friend, to distribute his charity to all the prisons in London at all the festival times of the year, especially at the birth and resurrection of our Saviour. He gave an hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and carelessness, became decayed in his estate : and, when the receiving of it was denied, by the gentleman's saying “He wanted not ;” for the reader may note, that as there be some spirits so generous as to labour to conceal and endure a sad poverty, rather than expose themselves to those blushes that attend the confession of it ; so there be others to whom nature and grace have afforded such sweet and compassionate souls, as to pity and prevent the distresses of mankind ; which I have mentioned because of Dr. Donne's reply, whose answer was, “I know you want not what will sustain nature, for a little will do that ; but my desire is, that you who in the days of your plenty have cheared and raised the hearts of so many of your dejected friends, would now receive this from me, and use it as a cordial for the cheering of your own ;” and upon these terms it was received. He was an happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends, and kindred, (which he never undertook faintly ; for such undertakings have usually faint effects) and they had such a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never advised them to do any thing in vain. He was even to her death a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her supportation, of which she had been destitute, but that God

raised him up to prevent her necessities; who having sucked in the religion of the Roman church with her mother's milk, spent her estate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his house but three months before him.

And to the end it may appear how just a steward he was of his lord and master's revenue, I have thought fit to let the reader know, that after his entrance into his deanery, as he numbered his years, he (at the foot of a private account, to which God and his angels were only witnesses with him) computed first his revenue, then what was given to the poor, and other pious uses; and lastly, what rested for him and his; and, having done that, he then blest each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer; which, for that they discover a more than common devotion, the reader shall partake some of them in his own words:

So all is that remains }
this year }

Deo Opt. Max. benigno
Largitori, a me, et ab iis
Quibus hæc a me reservantur,
Gloria et gratia in eternum.
Amen.

So, that this year, God hath }
blessed me and mine with }

Multiplicatæ sunt super
Nos misericordiæ tuæ
Domine.

Da Domine, ut quæ ex immensa
Bonitate tua nobis elargiri
Dignatus sis, in quorumcunque
Manus devenerint, in tuam
Semper cedant gloriam.
Amen.

In fine horum sex annorum manet——

Quid habeo quod non accepi a Domino?
Largitur etiam ut quæ largitus est
Sua iterum fiant, bono eorum usu; ut
Quemadmodum nec officiis hujus mundi,
Nec loci in quo me posuit, dignitati, nec

Servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni
 Curriculo mihi conscius sum me defuisse ;
 Ita et liberi, quibus quæ supersunt,
 Supersunt, grato, animo ea accipiant,
 Et beneficum authorem recognoscant.

Amen.

But I return from my long digression.

We left the author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from that place ; and having never for almost twenty years omitted his personal attendance on his majesty in that month in which he was to attend and preach to him ; nor, having ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent-preachers, and there being then (in January 1630) a report brought to London, or raised there, that Dr. Donne was dead ; that report gave him occasion to write this following letter to a dear friend.

“ Sir,

“ This advantage you and my other friends have by my frequent fevers, that I am so much the oftener at the gates of heaven ; and this advantage by the solitude and close imprisonment that they reduce me to after, that I am so much the oftener at my prayers, in which I shall never leave out your happiness ; and I doubt not, among his other blessings, God will add some one to you for my prayers. A man would almost be content to die (if there were no other benefit in death) to hear of so much sorrow, and so much good testimony from good men as I (God be blessed for it) did upon the report of my death. Yet I perceive it went not through all ; for, one writ to me that some (and he said of my friends) conceived I was not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself to live at ease, discharged of preaching. It is an unfriendly, and God knows an ill-grounded interpretation ; for I have always been sorrier when I could not preach, than any could be they could not hear me. It hath been my desire, and God may be pleased to grant it, that I might die in the pulpit. If not that, yet, that I might take my death in the pulpit, that is, die the sooner by occasion of those labours. Sir, I hope to see you presently after Candlemas, about which time will fall my Lent-sermon at court, except my lord chamber-

lain believe me to be dead, and so leave me out of the roll ; but as long as I live, and am not speechless, I would not willingly decline that service. I have better leisure to write, than you to read ; yet I would not willingly oppress you with too much letter. God so bless you and your son as I wish, to

“ Your poor friend and servant

“ in Christ Jesus,

“ J. DONNE.”

“ Jan. 7, 1630.”

Before that month ended, he was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first Friday in Lent. He had notice of it, and had in his sickness so prepared for that employment, that as he had long thirsted for it, so, he resolved his weakness should not hinder his journey ; he came therefore to London, some few days before his appointed day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends (who with sorrow saw his sickness had left him but so much flesh as did only cover his bones) doubted his strength to perform that task ; and did therefore dissuade him from undertaking it, assuring him however, it was like to shorten his life. But, he passionately denied their requests ; saying, “ he would not doubt that that God who in so many weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected strength, would now withdraw it in his last employment ; professing an holy ambition to perform that sacred work.” And, when to the amazement of some beholders he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he presented himself, not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body and a dying face. And doubtless, many did secretly ask that question in Ezekiel (Ezek. xxxvii. 3) ; *Do these bones live ? or, can that soul organize that tongue, to speak so long time as the sand in that glass will move towards its centre, and measure out an hour of this dying man's unspent life ?* Doubtless it cannot ; and yet, after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying ; the text being *to God the Lord belong the issues from death*. Many that then saw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, professing they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. Donne had preached his own funeral sermon.

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this

desired duty, he hastened to his house ; out of which he never moved, till, like St. Stephen, he was carried by devout men to his grave.

The next day after his sermon, his strength being much wasted, and his spirits so spent, as indisposed him to business, or to talk, a friend that had often been a witness of his free and facetious discourse, asked him, " Why are you sad ? " To whom he replied with a countenance so full of cheerful gravity, as gave testimony of an inward tranquillity of mind, and of a soul willing to take a farewell of this world ; and said,

" I am not sad ; but most of the night past I have entertained myself with many thoughts of several friends that have left me here, and are gone to that place from which they shall not return ; and, that within a few days I also shall go hence, and be no more seen. And, my preparation for this change is become my nightly meditation upon my bed, which my infirmities have now made restless to me. But, at this present time, I was in a serious contemplation of the providence and goodness of God to me ; to me who am less than the least of his mercies ; and looking back upon my life past, I now plainly see it was his hand that prevented me from all temporal employment ; and that it was his will I should never settle nor thrive till I entered into the ministry ; in which, I have now lived almost twenty years (I hope to his glory), and by which, I most humbly thank him, I have been enabled to requite most of those friends which shewed me kindness when my fortune was very low, as God knows it was : and (as it hath occasioned the expression of my gratitude) I thank God most of them have stood in need of my requital. I have lived to be useful and comfortable to my good father-in-law sir George Moore, whose patience God hath been pleased to exercise with many temporal crosses. I have maintained my own mother, whom it hath pleased God after a plentiful fortune in her younger days, to bring to a great decay in her very old age. I have quieted the consciences of many that have groaned under the burthen of a wounded spirit, whose prayers I hope are available for me. I cannot plead innocency of life, especially of my youth : but, I am to be judged by a merciful God, who is not willing to see what I have done amiss. And, though of myself I have nothing to present to him but sins and misery, yet, I know he looks not upon me now as I am of myself, but as I am in my Saviour, and hath given me even at this present time some testimonies by his holy

spirit, that I am of the number of his elect. I am therefore full of unexpressible joy, and shall die in peace."

I must here look so far back, as to tell the reader, that at his first return out of Essex to preach his last sermon, his old friend and physician, Dr. Fox, a man of great worth, came to him to consult his health; and that after a sight of him, and some queries concerning his distempers, he told him "That by cordials, and drinking milk twenty days together, there was a probability of his restoration to health;" but he passionately denied to drink it. Nevertheless, Dr. Fox, who loved him most entirely, wearied him with solicitations; till he yielded to take it for ten days; at the end of which time, he told Dr. Fox, "he had drunk it more to satisfy him than to recover his health; and, that he would not drink it ten days longer upon the best moral assurance of having twenty years added to his life: for he loved it not; and, was so far from fearing death, which to others is the king of terrors; that he longed for the day of his dissolution."

It is observed, that a desire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man; and, that those of the severest and most mortified lives, though they may become so humble as to banish self-flattery, and such weeds as naturally grow there; yet, they have not been able to kill this desire of glory, but that, like our radical heat, it will both live and die with us; and, many think it should do so; and, we want not sacred examples to justify the desire of having our memory to out-live our lives: which I mention, because Dr. Donne, by the persuasion of Dr. Fox, easily yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him: but Dr. Fox undertook not to persuade him how, or what monument it should be; that was left to Dr. Donne himself.

A monument being resolved upon, Dr. Donne sent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compass and height of it; and, to bring with it a board of the just height of his body. These being got, then without delay a choice painter was got to be in a readiness to draw his picture, which was taken as followeth.—Several charcoal-fires being first made in his large study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet in his hand, and, having put off all his cloaths, had this sheet put on him, and so tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed, as dead bodies are usually fitted to be shrouded and put into their coffin, or grave. Upon this urn he thus stood with his eyes shut, and

with so much of the sheet turned aside as might shew his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned toward the east, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our Saviour Jesus. In this posture he was drawn at his just height; and when the picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bed-side, where it continued, and became his hourly object² till his death: and, was then given to his dearest friend and executor doctor Henry King, then chief residentiary of St. Paul's, who caused him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble, as it now stands in that church; and by doctor Donne's own appointment, these words were to be affixed to it as his epitaph:

JOHANNES DONNE
SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.
POST VARIA STUDIA QUIBUS AB ANNIS TENERRIMIS FIDELITER, NEC INFELICITER INCUBUIT;
INSTINCTU ET IMPULSU SPIRITUS SANCTI,
MONITU ET HORTATU
REGIS JACOBI, ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXUS
ANNO SUI JESU, 1614. ET SUÆ ETATIS 42.
DECANATU HUIUS ECCLESIE INDUTUS 27
NOVEMBRIS 1621.
EXUTUS MORTE ULTIMO DIE MARTII 1631.
HIC LICET IN OCCIDUO CINERE ASPICIT EUM
CUJUS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

And now, having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a various life, even to the gates of death and the grave; my desire is, he may rest till I have told my reader,

² *His hourly object.*] It is related of the pious and truly primitive bishop Ken, that when his physician had told him, in reply to an inquiry of his own, how long he might probably live, *about two or three days*, his only observation was, his usual expression, *God's will be done*. "It can be no wonder" (says his son-in-law and biographer) "he should so little regard the terrors of death, who had for many years *travelled with his shroud in his portmanteau*; as what, he often said, *might be as soon wanted as any other of his habiliments*; and which was by himself put on, as soon as he came to Long Leate, giving notice of it the day before his death, by way of prevention, that his body might not be stripped."—*Short Account of the Life of Thomas Ken, D.D. sometime Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, by William Hawkins, of the Middle Temple, Esq.* p. 44. 8vo. 1713.

that I have seen many pictures of him, in several habits, and, at several ages, and, in several postures: and, I now mention this, because, I have seen one picture of him, drawn by a curious hand at his age of eighteen; with his sword and what other adornments might then suit with the present fashions of youth, and the giddy gaieties of that age: and his motto then was,

“How much shall I be chang’d,
Before I am chang’d.”

And, if that young, and his now dying picture, were at this time set together, every beholder might say, “Lord! how much is Dr. Donne already changed, before he is changed!” And, the view of them might give my reader occasion, to ask himself with some amazement, “Lord! How much may I also, that am now in health be changed, before I am changed! before this vile, this changeable body shall put off mortality!” and, therefore to prepare for it.——But this is not writ so much for my reader’s memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publicly in his sermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind; especially of his mind from a vertiginous giddiness; and would as often say, “His great and most blessed change was from a temporal, to a spiritual employment!” in which he was so happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be lost; and the beginning of it to be, from his first entering into sacred orders, and serving his most merciful God at his altar.

Upon Monday after the drawing of this picture, he took his last leave of his beloved study; and, being sensible of his hourly decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber: and that week sent at several times for many of his most considerable friends, with whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell; commending to their considerations some sentences useful for the regulation of their lives, and then dismiss them, as good Jacob did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following he appointed his servants, that if there were any business yet undone that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next: for, after that day he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world; nor ever did: but, as Job, so he waited for the appointed day of his dissolution.

And now he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to die;

to do which, he stood in need of no longer time, for he had studied it long; and, to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called God to witness* “He was that minute ready to deliver his soul into his hands, if that minute God would determine his dissolution.” In that sickness he begged of God the constancy to be preserved in that estate for ever; and his patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident he now had a modest assurance that his prayers were then heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change; and, in the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away and vapoured into spirit, his soul having, I verily believe, some revelation of the beatifical vision, he said, “I were miserable if I might not die;” and after those words, closed many periods of his faint breath, by saying often, “Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done.” His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the last minute of his life, and then forsook him not to serve another master (for who speaks like him) but died before him, for that it was then become useless to him that now conversed with God on earth, as angels are said to do in heaven, only by thoughts and looks. Being speechless, and, seeing heaven by that illumination by which he saw it; he did as St. Stephen, *look stedfastly into it, till he saw the Son of man, standing at the right hand of God his Father*; and, being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his soul ascended, and his last breath departed from him, he closed his own eyes; and then, disposed his hands and body into such a posture as required not the least alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus variable, thus virtuous was the life; thus excellent, thus exemplary was the death of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul’s church which he had appointed for that use some years before his death; and, by which he passed daily to pay his public devotions to almighty God (who was then served³ twice a day by a public form of prayer and praises in that place) but, he was not buried privately, though he desired it; for, beside an unnumbered number of others, many persons of nobility, and of eminency for learning, who did love and honour him in his life, did shew it at his death,

* In his book of Devotions written then.

³ Was then served.] Compare above, vol. ii. p. 420, n.

by a voluntary and sad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a public sorrow.

To which place of his burial some mournful friend repaired, and, as Alexander the Great did to the grave of the famous Achilles, so they strewed his with an abundance of curious and costly flowers, which course they (who were never yet known) continued morning and evening for many days; not ceasing till the stones that were taken up in that church to give his body admission into the cold earth (now his bed of rest) were again by the masons art so levelled and firmed, as they had been formerly; and his place of burial undistinguishable to common view.

The next day after his burial some unknown friend, some one, of the many lovers and admirers of his virtue and learning, writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall, over his grave.

“Reader! I am to let thee know,
Donne’s body only, lies below:
For, could the grave his soul comprise,
Earth would be richer than the skies.”

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend ashes; for, as there be some persons that will not receive a reward for that for which God accounts himself a debtor; persons that dare trust God with their charity, and without a witness; so there was by some grateful and unknown friend, that thought Dr. Donne’s memory ought to be perpetuated, an hundred marks sent to his two faithful friends and executors, Dr. King and Dr. Montfort, toward making of his monument. It was not for many years known by whom; but, after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that it was he that sent it; and he lived to see as lively a representation of his dead friend as marble can express; a statue indeed so like Dr. Donne, that (as his friend sir Henry Wotton hath expressed himself) “It seems to breathe faintly; and posterity shall look upon it as a kind of artificial miracle.”

He was of stature moderately tall, of a straight and equally-proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an inexpressible addition of comeliness.

The melancholy and pleasant humour were in him so tempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind.

His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made useful by a commanding judgment.

His aspect was chearful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself.

His melting eyes shewed that he had a soft heart, full of noble compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a Christian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate (especially after he entered into his sacred calling) the mercies of almighty God, the immortality of the soul, and the joys of heaven; and would often say, in a kind of sacred ecstasy—Blessed be God that he is God, only and divinely like himself.

He was by nature highly passionate, but more apt to reluct at the excesses of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of so merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief.

He was earnest and unwearied in the search of knowledge; with which his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employed in a continual praise of that God that first breathed it into his active body; that body, which once was the temple of the Holy Ghost, and is now become a small quantity of Christian dust.

But I shall see it reanimated.

J. W.

Feb. 15, 1639.

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